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United States Committee for Refugees

FLIGHT FROM SURINAME--
REFUGEES IN FRENCH GUIANA

Issue Brief

USCR is a public information and advocacy program of the American Council for Nationalities Service. Established in 1958, it encourages the American public to participate actively in efforts to assist the world's refugees.

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FLIGHT FROM SURINAME--
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February 1987

This report was written for the U.S. Committee for Refugees by senior consultant Joseph Cerquone. Cerquone visited French Guiana in January and February, 1987. Much of the information in this report is based on interviews with refugees and officials during that trip. The Surinamese consul in French Guiana declined to be interviewed. In some cases, the identities of sources are concealed for their protection.

During recent months, thousands of Maroon refugees have fled Suriname. Ma Atema is one of them. She sits in a refugee camp that is in French Guiana, South America, and across the Maroni River from her country.

Ma Atema hunches over in agony for a very specific reason--last November, she cries, Surinamese government forces massacred 16 of her extended family. Virtually all were women and children. Three of the dead were pregnant.

The elderly Ma Atema keeps a list of the victims' names and ages for strangers to read, and it is a painful accounting. Distraught over her loss, Ma Atema simply wails after awhile, and lets Da Agwe, her son-in-law, talk about the massacre. Da Agwe, who lost his wife in the attack, begins by sketching in French Guiana's soil a drawing of the massacre site.

As horrible as it is, the plight of Ma Atema and her family is shared by many. By conservative estimates, 5,000 Maroons--a people sometimes loosely referred to as "bush Negroes"--have sought refuge in French Guiana. Their flight there constitutes a new and rapidly developing refugee situation in the Western Hemisphere.

Approximately one-half of the Maroons are in four camps near St. Laurent, a French Guianese border town, while the remainder stay with relatives and friends in the same area.

Officially, these people have fled civil war in neighboring Suriname. Yet, several sources contend that the refugees themselves are targets of Surinamese government persecution. Such charges are bolstered by accounts of mass killings, individual murders, military attacks on civilians, detention, disruption of food supplies, and various other forms of deprivation and harassment.

Despite its relative isolation, French Guiana plays a role in the world community as a part of France. So far, it has been humane toward the Maroons, though it regards their presence as an internal matter, not warranting substantial international involvement.

But pressure is building for change. Maroon refugees already make up at least seven percent of French Guiana's population, and more are expected. Nationally, they are linked to security concerns. France has a large aerospace center in French Guiana at Kourou, and authorities don't want to risk it by having poor relations with Suriname. At the same time, local officials worry over the refugees' impact on their communities. Perhaps in part a result of these pressures, talks about repatriating the refugees have already been held, even though conditions in Suriname are extremely uncertain.

Who are the Maroons? They are descendants of African slaves who were brought to the New World to work the plantations of Suriname, formerly Dutch Guiana. The Maroons' ancestors, however, rebelled against their enslavement beginning in 1651. They fled into the jungle and developed a unique Afro-American culture with its own political system. Also, they used the jungles as a base in their successful guerrilla war for freedom. In 1760, Maroons signed the Treaty of Ouca with the plantation owners of coastal Suriname, and became the first people in the New World to achieve independence.

Approximately 50,000 Maroons live in Suriname, most in remote central and eastern parts of the country, though a significant number are in Paramaribo, the capital. The isolation that the Maroons originally sought in the interest

of self-preservation has had a profound impact on their culture. Over the years, they have visited and communicated with the "outside," but only on their terms. Meanwhile, outsiders' contact with Maroons and visits to their territories have been minimal.

Some 2,000 Aluku, one of six groups of Maroons, settled long ago in western French Guiana. Commonly referred to as Boni, the Aluku are, as are all French Guianese, citizens of France. Prior to the outbreak of civil war in Suriname last July, there was constant contact between Maroons on both sides of the Maroni, the river which divides Suriname and French Guiana.

The events which have led up to the current warfare have unfolded slowly. The Netherlands granted independence to Suriname in 1975, and for five years the fledgling nation functioned as a parliamentary democracy. However, the government fell to a military coup in 1980. The new leaders dissolved Parliament and suspended the national constitution, saying they wanted to diminish the importance of ethnicity in politics. Suriname has a diverse population of 400,000, primarily Hindustani and Creole.

Lt. Col. Desire Bouterse, the current ruler of Suriname, soon rose to power promising Surinamers better lives. But Bouterse's government quickly degenerated. In December 1982, amidst mounting public pressure for a return to civilian rule, 15 opposition leaders were tortured and executed without trial while they were in government custody.

As a result, the Surinamese government "left the impression that those who violate essential rights, more importantly, the right to life, enjoy impunity," according to the Organization of American States (OAS) Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Location of Maroon Refugee Camps in French Guiana



Δ Refugee camps

U.S. COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES
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Because of the slayings, the Netherlands, the United States, and other countries cut crucial foreign assistance to Suriname. The suspensions have severely hurt; nonetheless, Suriname has not reformed its policies and practices on human rights. "...the Surinamese government has [failed] to respect fundamental individual human rights, most notably, the right to life, free speech, due process, humane treatment and the...right of people to choose their own leaders..." the OAS human rights commission concluded in July 1985. In its most recent human rights report, issued in February 1987, the U.S. State Department noted that "the human rights situation in Suriname deteriorated seriously in mid-1986, particularly in the areas of suspected killings, disappearance, arbitrary arrest, and detention." Furthermore, the State Department said that Maroons are "victims of most human rights violations...."

So far, the current civil war has been the most serious challenge to Bouterse's rule. Several sources say it began as a personal dispute between Bouterse and 24-year-old Ronny Brunswijk, a former army sergeant and a Djuka Maroon [many refugees are Djukas, a tribe from the regions of the Cottica and Tapanahony Rivers in Suriname]. Yet, it quickly became a series of strikes by Brunswijk's small, poorly equipped guerrilla army and retaliatory attacks by larger and better-armed government forces. Fighting was fierce in late November and early December; virtually all of it has occurred in Maroon areas of the country.

Although the war may be a minor affair by international standards--the Surinamese military, though it dwarfs the rebel forces, is relatively small --injuries, deaths, and deprivation have resulted. Many innocents have been displaced by fighting or have left their villages for shanty towns in

Paramaribo after being told by the government to clear parts of eastern Suriname. Albina, a key trading center for Maroons near the mouth of the Maroni River has been destroyed, and Stoelmanseiland, the site of the only hospital on Suriname's eastern border south of Albina has been bombed. Other villages have also been flattened by air bombardment. For their part, the rebels have taken up hit-and-run tactics against key economic targets.

Disturbingly, several sources allege that the Surinamese government is not merely seeking to crush the rebels, but that it is committing genocide against the Maroons. Though the Maroons have enjoyed treaty rights which allow them political, religious, and cultural freedoms, the current government imposed "people's committees" on traditional village political units. Furthermore, cultural tensions between Maroons and Creoles are well-known, and they have been exacerbated by the Maroon-led civil war. Bouterse, himself a Creole, is described as regarding all Maroons as rebel sympathizers and abettors.

"Many [Maroons] told me about terrible radio broadcasts...made by Bouterse," noted Janina Rubinowitz, a researcher, educator, and artist, who has been visiting Suriname for 20 years. She returned from there most recently in January and reported on her findings.

Rubinowitz said Maroons told her that Bouterse made many cultural slurs against them. "[He] shamed all Maroons....," she reported being told, "he threatened to 'kill all of you' and to 'find your planting grounds and bomb them.'"

Refugees in French Guiana told USCR that they had either survived or knew of at least two massacres of Maroons in Suriname. Ma Atema and her

son-in-law, Da Agwe, said their family members were murdered November 19 off a road between the towns of Moengo and Albina, about 127 kilometers from Paramaribo.

According to them, the attack was unprovoked, though they indicated their families were probably suspected of being rebel supporters, or even close to Brunswijk himself, since the slaughter happened near the insurgent leader's native village. Actually, these Maroons were migrants from the Tapanahony River region who had moved north because a daughter had married and settled there.

The refugees explained that on the day of the killings, soldiers appeared, rounded up women and children, and then took them away to another part of the jungle to be shot. Da Agwe said he couldn't find the bodies until weeks later.

"They had been eaten by vultures," he recalled.

A second massacre reportedly happened November 29. Survivors said 15 Maroons died, including an infant, and that the killers appeared to be non-Surinamese.

Press speculation has raised the possibility that Libyans in Suriname may have committed the killings. Libya opened a diplomatic mission in Paramaribo two years ago.

"It has been confirmed...that Libyan advisors are in Suriname," the Dutch newspaper De Volksrant said last December. Reportedly, two unidentified Surinamese businessmen had given the location of some 200 Libyan "terrorism experts" to Dutch media.

The massacre reports warrant further investigation and analysis by



French naval vessel on the Maroni River outside St. Laurent. French Guiana has strengthened its military presence along the river in recent months.



Bullet wound of massacre survivor interviewed by USCR at the Maroon refugee camp at the St. Laurent airport.

independent parties to resolve the questions that remain--estimates of the number of such attacks and the deaths they have caused vary widely, for example. But there is no doubt that civilians were brutally killed. Dutch newspapers have published pictures of slain Maroons, while governments and organizations including the Netherlands, the United States, and the UN have condemned and publicized accounts of massacres. In its human rights report, the State Department said that killings have occurred in Paramaribo as well as in the bush, and it added that conservative estimates put the minimum total number of civilian dead from Surinamese military sweeps in December at 244.

So far, explanation of the deaths has been less than satisfactory. Noting that civilians were warned to leave war zones, Suriname contends that such killings should be expected in a civil war.

"The death of innocents is a logical consequence of combat," M. Henk Heidweller, a high-ranking Surinamese official, said in a newspaper interview.

Civil Unrest in Suriname--The Effect on Other Nations

French Guiana, the land in which massacre survivors and others have sought asylum, has a population of approximately 75,000. Though it is about the size of Indiana, it is also mostly wilderness, and people are confined by geography to living along the Atlantic coast; nearly half of the population is in Cayenne, the capital.

Ethnically, the country is extremely diverse. By one estimate, 85 different nationalities and 150 ethnic groups are found in French Guiana. Africans, Creoles, Europeans, East Asians, Chinese, and Amerindians are greatest in number, along with illegal immigrants from Haiti and Brazil. Census figures, however, are unreliable; the U.S. Consulate in Martinique,



Refugee children at play in a refugee camp at St. Laurent. Over 60 percent of the refugees in French Guiana are school-age children.



Maroon refugee camp at Apatou

which oversees American interests in French Guiana, says that a large number of Haitians and other immigrants may be under-reported. Other sources contend that Haitians are the largest single group in the country.

Once, foreign labor was welcomed for employment in menial jobs, especially during the construction of the French aerospace center at Kourou, a coastal city less than 100 kilometers northwest of Cayenne. However, such work is scarce now; overall, there is little industry in French Guiana, and the government employs much of the work force. Two years ago, the U.S. Consulate put unemployment at 15.3 percent, though it said a black market in labor makes that figure "problematical."

Meanwhile, tightening French immigration policies, as well as the Surinamese civil war, have prompted French Guiana to screen those within its borders. Authorities reportedly make immigration and security checks on the one bus which travels daily between St. Laurent and Cayenne.

Relations between the two countries have been strained. Suriname accused French Guiana of preparing an invasion after the latter strengthened its military presence along the Maroni. Widely disregarded as propaganda, the charge was formally denied. Suriname, too, is surely aggravated by reports of Brunswijk being seen visiting French Guiana's refugee camps, as well as Cayenne.

Contact between Suriname and the Netherlands, which was already uneasy, has also been severely tested. In December, former Surinamese Foreign Minister Henk Herrenberg charged the Netherlands with permitting the recruitment of anti-government mercenaries among its substantial--one press report says more than 180,000--Surinamese community. Consequently, and at the suggestion of the Surinamese government, the Dutch withdrew their ambassador from Paramaribo,

though diplomatic relations still exist between the two countries.

The United States has "correct," if not friendly, relations with the current government, according to State Department sources. Reportedly, Bouterse considers himself a leader of non-aligned nations. Regionally, Suriname has reportedly been isolated by its distinct language--Dutch is principally spoken--colonial roots, and customs. Bouterse's best "friend" appears to be Brazil. Surinamese military have trained in that country, and private Brazilian manufacturers have sold armaments to Suriname.

In 1983, Bouterse tried to appease Washington over the murders of his political opponents by expelling an influential Cuban delegation. Yet, times may have changed. The Washington Post reported on February 24 that Suriname is bolstering its ties with Libya. According to the story, the United States and France suspect Libya of trying to establish a base in Suriname for terrorist operations in Latin America. The report quoted Surinamese officials as defending the new relationship by saying they were, in effect, forced to look elsewhere for assistance after the Netherlands suspended its foreign aid package to Suriname several years ago.

Still, the United States, which is Suriname's largest trading partner, is taking a "wait-and see" approach to Surinamese promises of democracy, even though many observers consider them empty pledges. Promising a constitution that would "end racial politics," Bouterse predicted recently that "new democratic government structures" will be introduced after March 31, 1987. The constitution is being drawn up by a military-dominated assembly.

Because of a collapse of communication and severely reduced travel between urban Suriname and the interior, the Surinamese government, as well as

foreign embassies in Paramaribo, have almost no information about the well-being of thousands of Maroons who live in remote jungle. As for the refugee situation in French Guiana, U.S. consular officials from Martinique visited the area recently, and they take the position of respecting the Maroon presence there as an internal French matter. French Guiana is a two-and-one-half hour plane trip from Martinique, and consular officers normally visit the country only three times yearly.

The Refugee Situation

Within French Guiana, the influx of Maroons is officially described as under control and as inappropriate for significant international involvement. Indeed, the Maroons are not regarded as refugees, but as "displaced" persons; the term is meant to suggest that they are in French Guiana temporarily. Authorities see their role as providing the Maroons with protection and very basic food, shelter, and medical care. Currently, caring for the Maroons costs French Guiana \$400,000 monthly. Their assistance is supplemented by Dutch relief agencies.

Arrivals continue in 1987, though they have declined from the high levels of late 1986. Officials are vague about refugee flows; they respond to queries by saying that arrivals are unpredictable and closely linked to the intensity of fighting in Suriname. But unofficial estimates put January daily arrival rates at between 20 and 50 persons. For example, according to one private source, 38 persons alone sought refuge in French Guiana on one day during the weekend of January 30. Several reports indicate that Brunswijk forces are transporting Maroons in eastern Suriname to crossing points near and south of

Apatou, an up-river settlement in French Guiana. There are no reports of Maroons being denied asylum, or going to any other countries in South America.

Most of the refugees are women and children, and more than half of the estimated actual number of Maroons are living with relatives and friends in the St. Laurent region. The remainder are spread among four camps: the largest, near the St. Laurent airport, held in two sections approximately 1,300 people as of February; a second camp, Acarouany, about 25 kilometers from St. Laurent, held 850 persons, while 200 others were at a "transit" camp at Apatou. In February, a fourth camp opened near Acarounay at Charvein.

Structurally, the camps are no more than a collection of tents at the St. Laurent airport and Apatou; Acarouany, however, is different. There, Maroons stay in the abandoned houses of a former leper colony. When the refugees first learned of its history, they balked at the idea of going to Acarouany, but the camp is said to have become popular. Set amidst the jungle, it is regarded as a rough equivalent of Maroon villages in Suriname. The French Foreign Legion administers Acarouany, while French military units run the other camps.

Residents are free to come and go at all camps, and families have been kept together. Most of the refugees are healthy, and medical care is good. Still, much needed social and psychological services--the kind of care that would serve grieved family members well, for example--are unavailable. And, although a large percentage of the refugees are school-aged children, educational services, too, are lacking. Furthermore, there are also reports that some camp administrators can't communicate well with the refugees.

Many Maroons who were interviewed by USCR expressed gratitude to French

Guiana for granting them asylum. But there were minor complaints. Several people spoke of having being given either ill-fitting clothes or having hardly anything to wear. Others asked for better food and said that refugee children should be in school. There is reason to believe the French Guianese authorities will meet the physical needs of refugees, but schooling--implying some permanence to the refugees' presence, and a complicated proposition given the language accommodations that would have to be made--is another story.

Perhaps the most serious complaint appeared to be beyond the control of camp authorities. Recently, Suriname changed its currency, and the switch cut out many Maroons--both those still in the country and the refugees--who were unable to get to banks to exchange their old money. Consequently, life savings were rendered worthless in some cases, and refugees described themselves as destitute. One man who had the new currency said local St. Laurent banks refuse to honor it.

Yet, the loss of the savings is only one of the issues affecting the Maroons. Prior to the civil war, a large percentage of adults in every Maroon village received salaries from the government for services rendered on behalf of their community. They included tribal government representatives, boatmen, electricians, and other laborers. Women, too, held responsible positions within the tribal government, and the elderly and the infirm received welfare payments. Since mid-1986, however, the monies paid these people have stopped.

The Maroons' memories of their last days in Suriname were fresh and painful. Aside from the grief of massacre victims like Ma Atema, the strongest emotion that refugees showed was outrage over strafings of civilians by government aircraft.

"The plane was so low that the pilot could have seen women and children below," a man said as he described one such attack. In his case, he explained, insurgents were escorting Maroons to safety in clearly marked, noncombatant vehicles. A group of approximately 25 Maroons who were listening to his account confirmed the strafings, saying they happened regularly. All had been in French Guiana less than one month.

Stories also arose about the detention of Maroons in Suriname. Several people said they had relatives who were rounded up and never heard from again. Moreover, remaining family members are believed to suffer severe psychological pain as a result of the lack of information--for one thing, communication systems in the interior of Suriname, never extensive to begin with, have drastically deteriorated.

"We don't know if they are alive or dead," said one man. He also reported unconfirmed stories about detainees being tortured.

However, two individuals interviewed by USCR not only claimed to have been detained, but they also said they witnessed beatings. One man said he was picked up along with 23 others and held for two days because an informant had mistakenly reported him as a rebel sympathizer.

"They had a list of names, and they would call people out," he remembered. "They would break people's hands. Those who were hurt were just taken away."

Another man alleged that he had been held four days; he said that he was forced to stand with his hands on his head for one day, and given very little sustenance throughout his detention.

"People were beaten in front of me," he said.

These accounts don't stand alone. According to the State Department, for example, over 100 Maroons were picked up in a military sweep in December and taken to various military installations where conditions are notoriously poor. Some have been released, but many are still detained, even though they have not been turned over to judicial authorities for legal proceedings. De Volksrant reported the arrests of "dozens of Maroons" on December 2; and the OAS, in its 1985 report, said "the right to personal integrity" in Suriname is frequently violated through "arbitrary detentions...followed by beatings and deprivation of food, sleep, and shelter...."

"This situation is even more serious given the lack of access to the detainee by members of his family and lawyers....," the OAS added.

Additionally, a non-Maroon who lived in Suriname until very recently indirectly confirmed the refugees' accounts of detention. In an interview with USCR, this source claimed to have seen 30 Maroons detained at a military station in Albina in early August, and to have heard the cries of beating victims. Surinamese military also shot a retarded 20-year-old at a checkpoint in Albina last October, according to this source. She said officials indicated that the killing of the young man was warranted because he was a rebel supporter.

One large unanswered question pertains to the fate of Maroons who are still in Suriname. There are fears that many may be trapped, afraid or unwilling to leave, or deluding themselves to be safe from attack.

Rubinowitz, one of the few observers to travel inside Suriname

recently, saw extremely discouraging signs.

"Maroon culture is on the cutting edge of destruction," she said in her report.

According to Rubinowitz and refugee reports, some Maroons in and near Drietabbetje, a village in southeastern Suriname near the Tapanahony River, were grossly underweight and a few were starving. Villages were completely without rice and other foods, as well as basic necessities such as matches. Ironically, though, even if supplies were available, it is likely that Maroons wouldn't be able to buy them because of their financial destitution.

One well-informed independent source gave a mild assessment of conditions along Suriname's northern and central border with French Guiana. With few exceptions, he said, food, medical supplies, and health care were more than adequate. In fact, Medecins Sans Frontieres, a private, French medical services agency, which is coordinating services to the area, was considering withdrawing its operation in March.

This source added, though, that the condition of Maroons in the southeastern part of the country and in the south central region immediately below the Blommestein Sea--an area where 20,000 people live--was less clear. According to him and other sources, the Surinamese government has denied humanitarian organizations permission to work in south central Suriname, and it has also regularly blocked supply transports destined there.

Another unanswered question is the extent of French Guianese willingness to provide asylum to the refugees. Pressure built in January to end the "open door" policy which has been adopted so far as local mayors jointly expressed

several worries, including concerns over the Maroons' impact on community sanitation systems, health facilities, housing projects, and schools.

French Guiana has resisted suggestions to put refugee children in schools, claiming that such proposals are prohibitively expensive. But some observers say that position masks an attempt to keep the refugee situation from appearing permanent.

According to a local newspaper, the mayors asked departmental authorities to assume responsibility for the refugees' care "so that local economies don't suffer...." However, a well-informed source told USCR that local coffers would probably begin paying for care by July, at the latest, if the status quo continues.

Meanwhile, at another January meeting, representatives of French Guiana, the French foreign ministry, Suriname, and the refugees themselves discussed repatriation prospects.

French Guiana took the role of observer, although authorities say it would go along with a repatriation plan if three broadly defined criteria are met: the refugees' return to Suriname is voluntary; the Surinamese government cooperates; and the violence and persecution in Suriname decrease dramatically.

Reportedly, the refugees said they would consider returning to Suriname, but they wanted several conditions honored first. Chief among them are a Surinamese accounting of the massacres; an end to aerial strafings; redistribution of food and medical supplies in eastern Suriname; and a government restoration of Albina.

Basically, the repatriation session proved inconclusive. A source sympathetic to the Maroons said that the Surinamese delegation was alternately

unresponsive and condescending, and that it also knew that refugee representatives were using false names to protect themselves from potential reprisals. That fact raised fears that a Surinamese spy had infiltrated refugee camps; also, the Surinamese challenged the qualifications of the refugee delegates by noting their fraudulent identities:

In the refugees camps and Maroon villages near St. Laurent, the repatriation session triggered strong negative reaction. Several said they expected to be killed if they return to Suriname, and virtually all said they would return only if Bouterse leaves government. One village head man in La Charboniere, a small town near St. Laurent where many refugees fled, spoke vehemently against repatriation. Other sources said that the Paramacca, a small Maroon tribe of approximately 1,000, had asked permission to stay in French Guiana indefinitely. The Paramacca have fled en masse from Suriname.

"There is one thing I want to say," Granman Foster, the elderly paramount chief of the Paramacca, said at the conclusion of the interview with USCR. "My people are in a corner. They have nothing.... We need help to get Bouterse out. He must stop oppressing people."

Granman Foster, who has taken refuge at Apatou, said his people have been wrongly persecuted by Suriname. He explained that Bouterse became angry with his village of Langatabbetje because Brunswijk forces were using the area around it as a base. According to him, his people were caught in the middle, powerless to stop either the rebels or the government. Finally, Surinamese forces attacked Langatabbetje.

Though feelings against Bouterse were strong, it was not clear how many of the refugees actively support Brunswijk. Certainly, the atmosphere in the

camps suggests that sympathies generally lie with the rebels. The Maroons, though, may be more interested in a change of government than in Brunswijk. The rebel leader, whose own family members are refugees, is considered a political unknown, other than among the Maroons, who only seeks Bouterse's ouster. He has been quoted as saying he would step aside if he is successful.

Prospects

For the Maroons, it appears that their future is uncertain at best and dangerous at worst. Those who have made it to French Guiana are in a place of asylum that is growing increasingly restive about refugees. Another meeting on repatriation is scheduled for March. This time, Maroon leaders still in Suriname are expected to represent refugee interests. It isn't clear that the those representatives--leaders, but not refugees themselves--would have a clear understanding of the refugees' concerns and needs.

Meanwhile, for those Maroons who remain in Suriname, the future appears even more bleak. Many may be on the verge of starvation in Suriname because of disruptions caused by the civil war. Conceivably, others could become the victims of still more massacres. In any event, it appears likely that the predictions of most refugees who were interviewed will come true--namely, that substantially more refugees will be arriving in French Guiana.

Fighting in Suriname, along with the refugee flows, is also expected to continue. Although Brunswijk is given a modest chance of achieving a military victory, his battle against the regime could significantly hurt the economy of an already depressed country. In February, the Washington Post reported that Bouterse had announced plans to launch a new drive against the rebels by using helicopters and other military equipment he had acquired from abroad.

According to the Post, though, Bouterse did not disclose the source of the materiel. Meanwhile, a Dutch news agency also reported that government helicopters staged an air attack against three Maroon villages on the Cottica River on February 7. Casualty figures were unavailable. According to that same report, Henk Chen A Sen, the former president of Suriname who is prominent among Surinamese exiles in the Netherlands aiding the rebels, said that Alouette helicopters arrived in Suriname recently along with more than a dozen "Portuguese-speaking Africans." Reportedly, that aircraft was used in the February air attacks. Additionally, a source close to the situation confirmed to USCR the sighting of Libyan aircraft in Suriname.

In February, too, resignations marked the Surinamese government, and several days of anti-Bouterse demonstrations occurred in Paramaribo. Five officials, including foreign minister Herrenberg, officially quit for "personal reasons," but sources indicate that much more serious factors contributed to the resignations. How this disruption in the government will affect the so-called moves toward "democratization" remain to be seen. Demonstrators were in the hundreds, and they called for the ouster of Bouterse. Eight people were taken into custody for organizing the demonstration; unconfirmed reports indicated that government force may have been used against others.

In the meantime, French Guiana faces continuing a complicated balancing act that touches on the past, the present, and the future. Specifically, it must find a way to honor long held humanitarian traditions and values, while keeping reasonable relations with Suriname, which was provoked yet again recently by reports of anti-government mercenaries using French Guiana as a

staging area. Maintaining that balance should only become more difficult as human needs collide with political forces.

How long can refugee children be kept out of school in French Guiana in order to appease local concerns about a long-term refugee problem? How long can massacre victims like Ma Atema spend their days without benefit of appropriate care? Indeed, how long will it be before concerns about the welfare of the refugees receive the focussed attention they require? Currently, the answers to such questions are unavailable. Soon, though, they will have to be found.

The Amerindians--Suriname's Other Refugees

Maroons are the major part of the refugee story in French Guiana, but they are not the only one. Approximately 1,000 Amerindians, natives of northeastern South America, are estimated to have also fled across the Maroni River from Suriname.

The term Amerindian distinguishes these people from East Indians, migrants who came to the region in the last century to work plantations after the abolition of slavery. The Amerindians of Suriname, originally from the Arawak and Caribe groups, make up less than three percent of the population. In French Guiana, the Arawaks dominated centuries ago, but they were supplanted by Caribe. Census data puts the native population of French Guiana at 3,000.

The Amerindians' situation is unique. Objects of benign neglect through history, they, like many Western Hemisphere indigenous people, have been marginal to modern society. In Suriname, few have become urbanized; the

majority have, as one source noted, retained their isolated culture, one inclined toward hunting and fishing.

Their outsider status has had its disadvantages. Amerindians, moreso than Maroons, are considered Suriname's most economically depressed group. But because they have been so overlooked, there are no reports of Amerindians being political targets.

Though forced off their lands by the current conflict in Suriname, Amerindians are considered indifferent in general toward the civil war; furthermore, according to several sources, native guides led government death squads to Maroon villages to commit massacres. Indeed, some Maroon refugees interviewed by USCR complained bitterly about the guides. Also, some Amerindians have reportedly gone back back to Suriname and looted abandoned Maroon properties upon their return.

The Amerindians are the least visible refugees. None are in camps; virtually all are with relatives and friends in several villages in the northwest corner of French Guiana. Most are described as seeking permanent asylum, and some reportedly believe that they have been granted it. Yet, asked by USCR about those reports, French Guianese authorities denied them, saying that they only planned to shelter all refugees temporarily.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Civil unrest in Suriname appears to be not only continuing, but increasing, and there seems little hope that the conflicts in that country can be resolved quickly. But until that time, it is possible to ease the situation of the thousands of refugees who are fleeing persecution and violence in Suriname. It is within this context, that the following recommendations are made.

1. French Guiana is to be commended for its humaneness toward people fleeing Suriname. Still, the vast majority of those who have fled in recent months are unquestionably refugees under widely accepted international conventions, and as such, they should fall under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Especially in the setting of formal repatriation programs, UNHCR's involvement would be crucial, as it could conceivably monitor the conditions of repatriated individuals. UNHCR could also help guard against international and local pressures which often emphasize expediency rather than the protection of refugees. Rightly, French Guiana has involved the refugees in the repatriation discussions so far; still, their participation alone isn't enough. As refugees, these people not only deserve, but they also need, a diplomatic protector with experience and standing in the complex, delicate, and subtle world of repatriation negotiations. The UNHCR should be that party and French Guiana should invite its participation.

2. While French Guiana has treated refugees well so far, a more comprehensive response to their needs is warranted now. To date, merely minimal care has been provided in camps which are run solely by military administrators with limited ability to communicate with the refugees, and minimal sensitivity to their problems. The fact that there is no end to the turmoil in Suriname in sight--and the distinct possibility that civil warfare will intensify--dictates that a broader, more substantial, and more flexible "proactive" approach to refugee care be taken. In the interest of achieving that goal, authorities must acquire a deeper understanding of who the refugees are. To begin with, a census of the refugee population should be taken. Beyond that, massacre survivors should have psychological services available to them; the refugees' sense of loss and helplessness, including their sharp feelings of financial destitution, should be addressed; the large number of refugee school children should be taught; and overall, the refugees' time should be channelled constructively. A UNHCR presence in the camps would help to achieve these goals.

Similarly, more needs to be done for the refugees who are not in the camps, and the communities which have taken them in. At the least, there should be aid to sustain those communities through the current crisis, and steps should also be taken to promote understanding between the refugees and local citizens in order to preclude tensions.

3. Given the numerous reliable reports of widespread human rights violations in Suriname, it is critical that independent human rights organizations conduct thorough but urgent investigations and analyses of conditions in the country. Of particular concern are reports of massacres and murders, detentions, air strafings of civilian targets, and starvation. After the

findings of such an investigation are known, governments should rethink their policies toward Suriname accordingly. Furthermore, the Organization of American States and foreign embassies in Paramaribo should strengthen their monitoring of the human rights situation in Suriname, and in areas beyond the capital in particular. If they are denied the ability to do so, they should react in ways that pressure the current government appropriately.

4. Surinamese refugees have suffered a lot, including neglect by the media. Particularly in the United States, Suriname's largest trading partner, press reports about the refugee situation in French Guiana and the factors which have caused it have been few and far between. This neglect must end. Conceivably, an atmosphere that is more conducive to refugee protection and to saving the lives of people still in Suriname would result if greater press attention was paid. For one thing, it would inform humanitarian organizations which are in a position to help, but which may know nothing about Surinamese refugees.

The plight of Surinamese refugees should not seem remote and insignificant. To the contrary, it is one which should be of great interest to any and all peace-loving people, and especially to Americans, since it is part of a tragedy that is occurring relatively near to U.S. shores. These refugees cherish independence, and they have a long history in the Western Hemisphere. Furthermore, it appears all but certain that the majority are struggling to survive racial persecution, something which Americans strongly repudiate.

THE MAJOR IMPLICATIONS OF SURINAME'S 'SMALL WAR'

by Scott B. MacDonald

Rebel forces surround a border town and force government troops to withdraw. In the interior, another town of strategic economic importance falls to the rebels. The government counterattacks, recapturing the town in the interior. Reports filter out from the battle zone of government-conducted massacres of civilians and foreign advisers, while the nation's leader, a military man, broadcasts that victory had been achieved and that all is well.

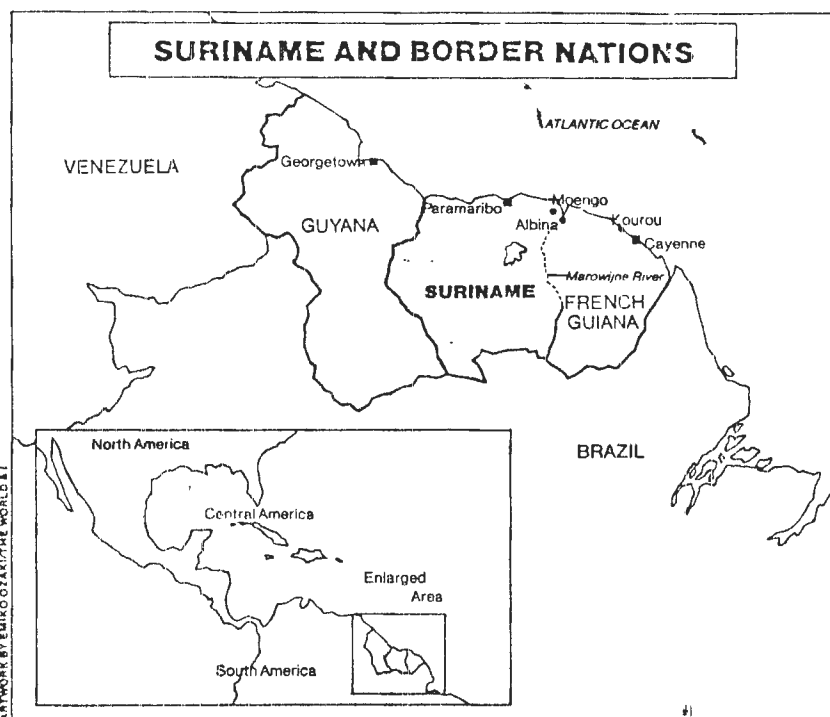
Although all of the above could

easily have taken place somewhere in Central America, Africa, or Asia, this scenario is drawn from recent events in Suriname, a nation slightly larger than the state of Georgia, located on the northeast shoulder of South America. The rebel troops are those of the Surinamese Liberation Army (SLA) led by Cpl. Ronnie Brunswijk; the government is that of Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse, and the foreign advisers are Libyans. It appears that war has come to Suriname, and the adversaries are locked in mortal combat

over what the future direction of the nation will be. Moreover, it is not certain that the Libyan-supported government, which has mined a dam to explode and flood the capital, can survive. The SLA, operating from neighboring French Guiana, has substantial support from segments of the population, such as the Bush Negroes, and is funded by exile communities in the Netherlands and North America. The struggle began in late July 1986 and has been largely overlooked by the American press; arguably be-



Tête-à-tête: The current head of state Lt. Col. Bouterse (left), pitted against bodyguard turned rebel leader Cpl. Ronnie Brunswijk (above, right).



cause Suriname is not located on any of the major travel routes, does not have lavish hotel accommodations, nor does its language—Sranan Tongo (sometimes called Taki-Taki)—easily lend itself to many reporters. Nonetheless, a brutal civil war with geopolitical implications, not to mention sensitized American security concerns raised by the Libyan involvement, has evolved.

Suriname, granted its independence by the Dutch in 1975, centered its political system around the parliament, which was dominated by three major political parties representing the largest ethnic groups: the Creoles (31 percent of the population), the Hindustanis (37 percent), and the Javanese (10.3 percent). In 1980 the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Henk Aaron was toppled during a mili-

tary coup led by a group known as the "Sergeants." Since the coup, the former Dutch colony has been ruled by Bouterse and his close military associates. The traditional ethnic parties have been banned, and two marginal leftist parties still function under close scrutiny. These parties, the Revolutionary People's Party (RVP) and the Progressive Laborers and Farmers Union (PALU), have little actual power and have been in and out of Bouterse's favor depending on the government's need for a scapegoat. The brutal murder of 15 leading opposition figures by the government in December 1982, followed by the alleged suicide of the regime's number two man, Maj. Roy Horb, who was appalled by the massacre, characterizes the present political climate in Suriname, as does the muzzling

of the press and an erratic course between the Left and the Right, complete with linkages to Cuba and Libya.

Economically, things have gone from bad to worse. In 1985, the economy shrank for the fourth consecutive year, registering a GNP growth rate of -5.1 percent, one of the worst in the Caribbean region. Inflation has risen from 4.6 percent in 1984 to 12.5 percent in 1985; the figure for 1986 is expected to be still higher. Because of the slide in bauxite and alumina earnings and sporadic labor unrest in that sector, a recent study by the Inter-American Development Bank noted that prospects for 1987 are "uncertain" and that the nation will require "several difficult years of transition." Moreover, in the aftermath of the December 1982 massacre, the Dutch suspended an aid package, which had been a "golden handshake" at the time of independence in 1975, worth \$1.5 billion over a 10-15 year period. That loss, estimated at \$600 million at the time of suspension, was a severe blow to the economy as the yearly disbursements accounted for close to a third of the GNP. The United States, in deferring to the Netherlands on this issue, also suspended aid.

The ill winds blowing into Suriname continued through 1986 as the regime's image was tainted even further by the drug arrest of one of Bouterse's lieutenants and his conviction in an American court. While this incident had negative implications for the government at a time when international attention was being focused on the drug trade, a new internal opponent has arisen to haunt Bouterse.

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Cpl. Ronnie Brunswijk, a former bodyguard to Bouterse, left the regime in early 1986. Brunswijk leads the hardline opposition that believes the only way to return a democratic government to Suriname will be to drive Bouterse and his supporters from the country. Beginning in late July, the rebels began a campaign of hit-and-run attacks against government military forces. Operating from the porous border with French Guiana, the SLA has made life for the Bouterse government difficult.

The "small war"

The "war" along the Marowijne River that separates Suriname from French Guiana has become an arena of conflict between the well-equipped Surinamese armed forces and the SLA. The insurgents, numbering (by some estimates) 300-600 men, seized the government outposts at the town of Albina and downed a Brazilian-made helicopter carrying reinforcements. The government then sent more troops into the Marowijne District and claimed to destroy an SLA base, "inflicting heavy casualties on rebel forces."

Despite the claim of a government victory, the SLA campaign has continued with new attacks. Albina was surrounded, and in early December, the government evacuated the garrison. There were even raids conducted close to the major international airport causing the Brazilians to suspend Varig flights to Suriname. The intensity of the conflict, however, increased substantially in December when the SLA overran the key bauxite-producing town of Moengo in the northeast corner of

the country. An agreement concluded with the nation's two foreign bauxite companies, which would pump \$150 million into Suriname, was suddenly endangered by the SLA. Bouterse was forced to take prompt action: Allegedly backed by Libyan commandos (one source noted a total of 65), government troops launched a major counteroffensive and retook the town after heavy fighting. Libyan involvement, however, has been questioned as no proof has materialized and the accusations have been made solely by exile groups who may be seeking to convert the anti-Libyan stance of the United States into possible assistance. Officials of the American bauxite company in the area saw no evidence of Libyans. The uncertainty over whether Libyans were involved was also noted by Secretary of State George Shultz on December 16: "There are rumors about that [a Libyan presence] and there's a certain amount of information, but I don't consider it such that I would want to make a definitive statement." Elliot Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, however, has intimated that the Libyans are indeed in Suriname and that they are there for a purpose which is contrary to the interests of the United States.

Bouterse's "victory" at Moengo could turn out to be somewhat hollow. Although a strategic town was recaptured and the SLA suffered casualties, reports filtered out through a stream of refugees in French Guiana that government troops were responsible for close to 100 civilian deaths. According to former Suriname president Henk Chin A. Sen, who se-

cretly visited the area, the victims included old women and children. It has been alleged that the Bush Negro population (10 percent of the nation's 377,000 inhabitants) in the area was singled out as a target by government soldiers because that ethnic group was known to be supportive of the SLA. If this is the case, which is likely, the war has taken a new and violent twist as one group of the nation's multiethnic citizenry has been targeted for reprisal. A letter dated November 2, 1986, from a Bush Negro fundraiser in Amsterdam, documents the plight of this group of people: *"All maroon [another name for Bush Negro] are fighting [together] against Bouterse; our chiefs --[and] granmans--included and now because of this war, our people in Suriname are suffering. They are isolated from Paramaribo and they need food, medicine and weapon[s] to continue the war, because it becomes the war for life or death for the maroon now; we cannot stop, if we want to survival."*

Although traditionally there has existed a degree of tension among the various ethnic groups in the country, the level of violence against one group has never been high. This recent twist is a sad departure and has the potential to leave a negative legacy in the nation's future political development.

Broader implications

The ongoing rebellion in Suriname has a number of international implications as it involves not only the governments of Suriname and France (French Guiana is a part of that nation), but also Brazil, Libya, the Netherlands,



Members of the Surinamese Liberation Army at ease. The rebels and their leader, Brunswijk, believe the only way to restore democracy in Suriname is to oust Bouterse and his supporters from the nation.

and the United States. The SLA is large, made up of Surinamese exiles in the Netherlands and the United States. In the summer of 1986 Brunswijk secretly traveled to the Netherlands through French Guiana with a Dutch passport procured by Dutch supporters. In the Netherlands, the SLA military commander met with former government minister André Baakmat and other anti-Bouterse leaders. Although it is doubtful that Brunswijk came to the United States, it is certain that anti-Bouterse factions here have provided important funding for weapons and equipment. While the Dutch government has made it clear that it will not release aid to Suriname as long as Bouterse is at the nation's helm, the United States has quietly

sought to patch up relations, while maintaining a low profile in the process. The new set of circumstances poses a number of questions for both nations concerning the Bouterse regime, especially if the military strongman is unable to remain in control.

With a sizable military presence in French Guiana that numbers some 2,000 soldiers including members of the French Foreign Legion, it is doubtful that Paris fears a military clash with Suriname. The French clearly have an overwhelming military advantage that Bouterse is not likely to provoke through hot pursuit tactics against the SLA retreating into French Guiana. The SLA, however, does present a threat to his regime as well as being a potential embarrassment to the French

who appear unable (more likely unwilling) to halt the flow of anti-Bouterse supplies. France has agreed to conduct joint patrols along the Marowijne River but little else. The official French position was outlined in Paris on December 10, after Suriname had declared that France was planning an invasion. According to officials, France's position was to maintain "an attitude of strict neutrality and noninterference in the domestic affairs of Suriname."

Despite the disclaimer, it is likely that the French have decided to turn a blind eye to the SLA's comings and goings across the Marowijne River. A number of exile leaders, such as Sen and Lt. Michel E. Van Rey, have entered French Guiana on Dutch passports and gone on to secretly cross the border into Suriname. In addition, French journalists have entered Suriname illegally and the French press was one of the first to break the story of the massacre of civilians in east Suriname, even identifying them as Djukas, one of the major groups of Bush Negroes. The possibility exists that France is helping to supply the rebels.

The major factor contributing to this attitude by the French is the Libyan presence in Suriname, which borders French Guiana. The French Guianese town of Kourou is strategically important to Paris because it is the launching center for the European Space Program. The former Dutch colony is one of the few nations to maintain a sizeable Libyan mission within its borders, a fact that makes French officials apprehensive due to the poor state of relations between France and Libya. While the Lib-

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yan mission houses one of the largest foreign groups in the country—with at least three accredited diplomats and a force of more than 100 military instructors and commandos—little is known about how much actual assistance the Libyans provide the government. One source in Suriname has estimated that the number of commandos is between 55 and 65 and actual military advisers close to 40. If Bouterse is strongly challenged for control of the nation, Libya could send troops as it did in 1979 when 2,000 soldiers were dispatched to help Idi Amin in Uganda against a successful Tanzanian-led invasion. For Libya this would fulfill two objectives: It would bolster one of its few allies in the Western Hemisphere, and it would also embarrass France and the United States, providing a possible base of operations against French Guiana and the French Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe and U.S. allies in the Eastern Caribbean.

Roots of the conflict

Libya's motives for maintaining a presence in Suriname have their roots in its longstanding feud with France in Africa and with the United States, especially after the bombing of Tripoli in April 1986. The French have traditionally exerted a major influence in parts of Africa, especially West Africa, in many of its former colonies. French ties have evolved since the era of decolonization along economic and cultural lines. Moreover, many African states have relied on French military might to guarantee regional stability or national security. In

the late 1970s and 1980s, Libya has challenged the French position in a number of countries, especially Chad, where both nations have stationed troops and effectively partitioned the country in 1983, with Libyan forces taking control in the north and the French in the south.

While the French were able to halt Libyan advances in Africa, Libya turned in the mid-1980s to training and financing radical independence groups in a number of overseas French departments. French intelligence sources have noted Libyan involvement in Guadeloupe in the Caribbean and New Caledonia in the South Pacific. Questions have arisen about Libyan involvement in terrorist activities in Paris.

Libyan intentions in the Caribbean are also related to a strong desire to strike back at the United States. As the United States has a number of strong allies in the Eastern Caribbean, access from Suriname is convenient for Libyan agents to run operations. In particular, Libya has sought to maintain ties with small radical groups in Saint Lucia and Dominica. Considering the instability in the Eastern Caribbean in the 1970s, the United States has increased its presence in the area through greater amounts of foreign aid and military support. Although irritating, Libyan actions in the Eastern Caribbean to date have been kept to a minimum due largely to that nation's image as a meddler in others' affairs.

Suriname's Libyan ties date back to the 1960s and 1970s when Surinamese Islamic groups approached Col. Qaddafi for financial assistance in constructing religious buildings. The relationship

became more significant after 1983 when the United States and its Eastern Caribbean allies intervened in Grenada. The possibility of similar methods being used against Suriname, combined with considerable Brazilian pressure, forced Bouterse to expel the Cuban mission, which had grown to be quite sizable. Forced to reduce ties to Cuba, without Dutch and U.S. aid, and with an economy in increasingly dire straits, the lure of Libyan assistance was strong.

To further exacerbate the problem, Brazil, which was experiencing financial difficulties of its own, cut back on its aid. From 1983 onward, Libyan and Surinamese officials met, Bouterse traveled to Tripoli to meet with Qaddafi, and the Surinamese leader at one point contemplated converting to Islam. More likely, he was probably seeking to curry the Arab nation's favor. By 1986, the Libyan presence in Suriname had grown considerably: as evidenced by the construction of a number of Islamic religious centers, the arrival of Libyan counterinsurgency instructors and military equipment, and the signing of a barter agreement between the two nations.

"Apparently the purpose of these commandos and instructors is to replace a number of Cubans," a Surinamese leader now living in exile in the Netherlands recently noted. "To Libya it is important that these military [personnel] can be deployed for subversive activities in the region, especially since Grenada cannot function as a basis anymore and the Cuban presence in Suriname has ostensibly been repelled from Suriname." He also commented that the Libyans were in his country not so

much to protect it from a foreign invasion as to protect the government from its own citizens.

Trouble to the north

Of all of the players, Brazil, which has regarded the Guianas (Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana) as a sphere of influence, is probably the most concerned over the "small war" in Suriname. When the Cuban influence grew to the point where it posed a threat to the stability of its northern flank, Brazil moved to diminish the Cuban presence and draw Suriname back into the Brazilian camp. Since 1983, Brazil has provided Suriname with credit lines worth \$70 million. This financial assistance was used to import 11 Brazilian amphibious trucks and armored cars and a large amount of rockets, ammunition, and uni-

forms. Surinamese soldiers have also been sent to Brazil for instruction.

For Brazil, the trade-off was political stability in the north and a reduction of the Cuban influence, which could potentially prove disruptive. The emergency created by the SLA has altered radically the situation in the region. Brunswijk's group has threatened to attack targets in northern Brazil if more aid is given. The threat of being dragged into a guerrilla war in the jungles north of the Amazon River has little appeal to Brasilia. Consequently, the Brazilian government has maintained a low profile on the subject, while quietly moving ahead with plans to establish military outposts in the jungles of the northern frontier.

The major development of 1986 was the rise of Libya's influence

in Suriname and the decline of Brazil's, which was viewed with disquiet by the Netherlands. While the Dutch response to the February 1980 coup was one of dismay, it was not until the December 1982 massacre that the flow of foreign aid was severed. Since that time the Dutch have remained firm on the conditions under which the \$600 million pending would be released: There must be a return to democracy in Suriname and Bouterse must go, creating an alluring incentive for the opposition to overthrow the strongman. It has also been strongly hinted that the Dutch Staten (parliament) would be willing to increase the amount of assistance to \$1 billion if Bouterse is removed. While holding out these possible financial rewards, the Dutch have also pursued a campaign of blocking or



Surinamese villagers are directed away from the conflict between the rebel forces and government troops.

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vetoing Suriname's access to international credit markets either through multinational organizations such as the World Bank or through commercial banks, a move that has indeed hurt the Bouterse regime and the Surinamese economy. They have also contributed to the sense of urgency within the exile community and to the determination of the insurgents in Suriname to remove Bouterse.

The United States has distanced itself from the situation although it did at an earlier stage renew foreign aid. In many respects, Washington has deferred to both the Netherlands and Brazil on the matter. It does maintain, however, an interest in the region, and U.S. troops have used French Guiana for training with French forces. Moreover, at one point the Reagan administration did contemplate an overthrow of the Bouterse regime. The affairs of Suriname have decidedly come under examination, especially as the Libyan connection has grown.

The danger that Suriname's instability in some fashion will spill over into neighboring Guyana concerns the United States. Since the death of Forbes Burnham in August 1986, relations between the United States and Guyana, whose new leader, Prime Minister Desmond Hoyte, has sought to adopt a more pragmatic course for his nation, have thawed. Although Hoyte has not terminated his nation's relations with Cuba and other Eastern European countries, he has sought to improve ties with the conservative governments in the region and has toned down anti-American rhetoric which had been a hallmark of the Burnham regime.

Guyana has also demonstrated more flexibility in terms of its economy, something that the United States approves. The developing civil war in Suriname could considerably complicate the improving U.S.-Guyanese relations. If the SLA succeeds in ousting Bouterse and reestablishing a democratic government, there is apprehension that similar groups in Guyana that wish a more democratic system could also take to arms. This would pose new questions for the United States: Should support continue to be given to a government that obviously is not democratic or should support be provided for Guyanese "freedom fighters"? In the past, the United States has upheld international law and arrested Guyanese in the United States who have plotted and prepared to launch an invasion from North America to liberate their country from the corrupt and authoritarian Burnham regime.

Bouterse remains one of the few remaining nondemocratic leaders in the Caribbean and Latin America. His mining of the dam above the capital of Paramaribo with the intention of flooding it if it were lost to rebel forces, has done nothing to enhance his popularity. The rebellion has genuine grass-roots support and there is a growing debate about a post-Bouterse Suriname, especially as the majority prefer a return to democracy instead of remaining a dictatorial military regime and outpost of Libya.

Suriname has become a spider's web, entangling all those who touch it. From 1980, when Bouterse came to power, Cubans, Americans, Dutch, Brazili-

ans, Libyans, and French have become increasingly involved in the South American nation's troubled affairs. The military strongman, in his drive to remain in power, has moved his nation in a zig-zag direction, gaining the favor of first the Cubans, then the Americans and Brazilians, and now the Libyans. Bouterse, however, may be reaching the end of his reign. Repeated attempts to elicit aid from the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China have brought little but the rhetoric of solidarity. Considering the dead end that the economy has reached and the challenge posed by the SLA, it is not surprising that Bouterse, as if anticipating the worst, has already sent his family to Brazil.

Although the situation in Suriname has not yet blown up into a major international conflict, the potential problems posed are substantial. The easiest way out for almost all parties involved would be a quiet exit by Bouterse and a return to parliamentary government undertaken by the citizens of Suriname, without outside interference. The path does not appear likely as Bouterse and his close followers have already sealed off many of the possible exits and have found their backs against the wall of widespread public condemnation. It appears that Suriname, usually relegated to the back pages (if at all) of the press, may actually become a sadly more newsworthy item in the future. ■

Scott B. MacDonald is an international economist with the American Security Bank.

Ragtag rebels see Suriname regime on brink of collapse

By James Morrison
The Washington Times

A ragtag band of Surinamese rebels could overthrow a shaky military dictatorship "within three weeks" if Western nations would respond to their appeals for arms, exiled opposition leaders said yesterday.

The opponents of the military government headed by Col. Desi Bouterse cite widespread government atrocities, Libyan training of the government army and the recent mysterious arrival of Portuguese-speaking black soldiers suspected of being Cuban troops from Angola.

How do you attract the attention of the world to what is happening there?" asked Henk Chin A Sen, former president of the tiny South American country, who was forced

from office in a 1982 military coup led by Col. Bouterse.

Mr. Chin A Sen, Eddy Jozefzoon and Edgar Wijngaarde said the Surinamese rebels, who call themselves the Surinamese National Liberation Army, could force Col. Bouterse from power with as little as \$500,000 in military aid. They said the rebels currently receive no outside help.

They said there are frequent demonstrations in the capital, Paramaribo, calling for Col. Bouterse's ouster. They also said the rebels have moved within striking distance of the city.

A State Department official confirmed their claims, saying, "The situation continues to deteriorate there."

Mr. Jozefzoon and Mr. Chin A Sen,

who both recently returned from visits to the rebels, said a contingent of 14 Portuguese-speaking Africans arrived in Paramaribo Jan. 31 aboard French-built helicopters. They said they suspect the soldiers are not Angolans but Cubans who have fought in Angola on the side of the Marxist government.

Col. Bouterse expelled his Cuban advisers in 1983 under pressure from neighboring Brazil and shortly after the U.S. liberation of Grenada, which had fallen under Soviet and Cuban influence.

The State Department official said that if Cubans had returned, "the United States would take appropriate action." He would not elaborate.

The exiled leaders said Libya has supplied at least 60 and, according to

some of their sources, up to 200 military trainers for Col. Bouterse.

In a luncheon meeting with editors and reporters of The Washington Times, the exiled leaders said the rebel force has declared its desire to return democracy to Suriname and treats its prisoners humanely.

"We fight for democracy. We fight to guarantee human rights. We fight to guarantee what the Western world wants," Mr. Jozefzoon said. "What more can we do?"

The rebels are led by Ronny Brunswijk, a 25-year-old former soldier in Col. Bouterse's army, estimated to have between 2,000 and 3,000 troops.

Mr. Brunswijk commands fewer than 600 trained troops, many of whom are deserters, and can raise

no more than 1,500 fighters from sympathetic villages. They frequently fight with machetes and many wear only plastic sandals, gym shorts or underwear, the exiled leaders said.

Nevertheless, Mr. Brunswijk's "Jungle Commandos" are striking closer to the capital almost daily, the State Department official said. "They have moved to within a 10-mile radius of Paramaribo. The guerrillas are talking about forming a provisional government in Brunswijk territory," he said.

Mr. Wijngaarde, fund-raiser for the liberation movement, said, "Give us the weapons and we could end this in three weeks."

They said they saw evidence of army atrocities when they viewed mutilated bodies of villagers, includ-

ing nine women and children who had been shot in the back of the head.

They displayed what they said was a captured army report of a Feb. 2 attack on the village of Wanhatti. The report said the army killed two villagers, burned 88 homes, destroyed canoes and plundered radios, television sets and clothing.

The State Department has also condemned Col. Bouterse for human rights violations. A new report from the U.S. Committee for Refugees said more than 5,000 blacks have fled into neighboring French Guiana.

The refugee committee, which sent investigators to the French Guiana refugee camps, reported charges of "mass killings, individual murders, military attacks on civilians, detention, disruption of food supplies and various other forms of deprivation and harassment."

"Don't Help Marxists Consolidate"

The following are excerpts from a speech given by former ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick at the Conservative Political Action Conference on Friday, February 20, addressing the topic, "The Struggle for Freedom in the Third World":

I would like to begin by saying that that struggle [for freedom in the Third World], as most people here understand, is not quite what it is usually taken to be. It is not the same today that it was 30 years ago, or 40 years ago, or 50 years ago, or 60 years ago. It has changed rather dramatically, and it is continuing to change. It has changed to the detriment of the people of the Third World to their danger and ours. The character of freedom in the Third World is, of course, the same as it has always been, as the character of freedom in the world is the same.

But the struggle for freedom in the Third World has been transformed by the increasing success of the Soviet Union and its friends and its allies. The construction and growth of the socialist world system is the preeminent political fact of the last 20 years, in my opinion. It is a relatively new political fact. As recently as 20 years ago, the Soviet Union was basically a continental European power. And today, of course, it is a great global colonial power, with client states in Africa and in Asia, and in the Middle East, and in South America, Caribbean; with client states, really, and semi-client states in all parts of the world except North America; and that's not all. That world socialist system has the intention of expanding further—they tell us.

[I want to] review with you very briefly what the world socialist system, which is that great Soviet empire, means for them and for us. Wherever the Soviet system extends, it extends by force and is followed by force. The Soviet Union today has a military presence in not only its clear client states, but in many other countries which are either near its client states, or which the Soviets hope will become client states. It is very often not understood, for example, that in Africa, there is a Soviet and a Soviet-bloc military presence—that is, armed, disciplined, military forces—not just in Angola and Mozambique and Ethiopia, but also, of course, in Libya and Algeria and Benin and Guinea Bissau and the Congo and Ghana and Zimbabwe and Seychelles and elsewhere. The Soviet and Soviet-bloc military presence in Africa is a very important, relatively new political fact about Africa. That presence is not limited to Africa. It is also in Asia, in the

matter of fact, officials tend to shudder, in our foreign policy establishment, when the presence of Soviet and Soviet-bloc troops in those countries which I just named is even mentioned.

And that fact means the destruction of Third World hope, and the expansion of impoverishment and stagnation and tyranny, and often outright famine. [This] is a basic political fact of the last 20 years, and the tragedy of Third World people who had hoped for national independence and self-determination.

"Incremental Incorporation"

Now, the Soviet method of expanding is not really very straightforward. . . . It takes place under a lot of smoke, a lot of obfuscation. There is almost invariably an effort to suggest that a new initiative by the Soviets to take power in a Third World country is really an indigenous conflict . . . that does not concern East-West relations. It is almost invariably suggested that people who worry about East-West relations, about whether the Soviet Union is enhancing its power—for example, in Mozambique or in Seychelles—are semi-hysterical, obsessive kinds of people who look for Communists under their beds, and who have seen, you know, nightmares, fantasies, horror movies about Soviet takeovers, and been addled by them. And it is suggested that the expansion of Soviet power is a kind of fantasy in the mind of right-wing nuts. But the fact is, of course, the reality of Soviet expansion is not a fantasy. It is a basic political fact of the last 20 years.

The Soviet method of expanding not only deals in obfuscation, but it deals in time. It is paced, not hurried. It

is obscure, not clear. Usually, the Soviet manner of expansion proceeds by what I call incremental incorporation, and step by step. So that one government slightly more friendly to the Soviets than the last replaces each other. And the slippery slope descends to the loss of national independence. Today, there are countries, such, for example, as Surinam, which are engaged, I fear, in this process of incremental incorporation. Or places such as Seychelles, whose independence is threatened by—and seriously threatened by—this process of incremental incorporation. Or places like Burkina Faso, whose independence is threatened by a subtle process of incremental incorporation into the Soviet world.

system. These countries don't lose their freedom all at once. They lose it one step at a time. As odd people, like those assembled here, worry about it, and others say "Look at those obsessive people, worrying about East-West conflict, when those Third World citizens are only trying to get a square meal."

Everybody here understands, of course, that there is a relationship between freedom and economic development. It's a real relationship, and Third World people don't need to choose between whether they would rather be free, or whether they would rather be fed. They don't need to choose between the right to a full stomach and the right to a free press. The fact is that people who are free also turn out to be the ones who are fed. And people who lose their freedom, lose their living standards, and finally even alas the food needed to sustain them. The systematic use of food as a political instrument for control is one of the most tragic political facts of this last 20 years. It was not new in the last 20 years, by the way. We have encountered it before, of course. But we encountered its spread in the last 20 years.

Some people think that shortages and Communism go together, only because Communists so disrupt economies that there is no more production and there is no more distribution, and so there is no more to eat. But shortages and Communism also go together for another reason, and that is that hunger is the most exquisite method of political control yet developed by tyrants. Hunger as a method of political control is being used today, of course, still in Ethiopia, where more persons have died of starvation and mistreatment through forced resettlement than died in the natural famine. Hunger as a method of political control, I fear, is being used today in Mozambique and elsewhere. Hunger is even being used as a method of political control sometimes, among some people, in Nicaragua, of all places, a country which has always been characterized not by scarcity and hunger, but by plenty—good food, plenty to eat for the small population of that country. That small population is of course becoming smaller.

The population becomes smaller wherever Communist regimes take power, and drive out those people who seek to preserve some shred of their integrity and their independence, and drive out those people who can get across borders looking for a bit more to eat for themselves and their families. The fact is that Communism, every place it has come to power—you know it, I know it, I think everybody knows it who cares to—means scarcity.

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of schools and of the churches. And it means civil war, because the people of the Third World are accustomed to fighting for their freedom. They did not lose the bonds of their previous colonial masters in order to submit passively to new and much more terrible bondage. They fight for their independence. And the effort to incorporate countries—like Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and Angola, and Mozambique, and all the other unfortunate targeted states—into the Soviet socialist world system, is bitterly resisted by the people of those countries. We know how the Afghans resist. They resist by walking for days and for miles to take refuge in other places. They resist by fighting with their hands, with their lives, against their conquerors. They resist by refusing to obey. They resist by maintaining their religion and their culture under the most incredibly adverse circumstances.

We know how the Nicaraguans resist. In Nicaragua, as in Afghanistan, about a fourth of the total population has fled, has become refugees outside the country. We don't think, very often, about how high the percentage of Nicaraguan refugees is. That country of only two and a half million people has today a refugee population living outside Nicaragua of something between 350,000 and 400,000 Nicaraguans who have fled their country just since the Sandinistas came to power. That is the most eloquent testimony of all, of course, of the kind of government the Sandinistas have sought.

We know what kind of challenge it is to us and to our values when peoples in the Third World seek to maintain their independence, to feed their families, to enjoy self-determination, and, by the way, in the process to preserve the kind of world we need for our security, we know how terrible it is when they look to us and ask for help, and what can we do? What can we do about it all?

“We Helped Consolidate”

One thing we can do for certain. We can refuse to help Marxist-Leninist governments consolidate power over their own people. That we can do. We do not need to help in the consolidation of power by communist government over their citizens. We should not help in the communist consolidation of power over their citizens, and, God willing, we will not help in the consolidation of communist power over free peoples in the Third World.

But, there are some other places in the world where we have sometimes helped the Soviets in their consolidation of their new colonial empire. We helped, I think, quite a bit in the communist consolidation of power in Cuba with

in winning the kind of security within which he could complete the consolidation of communist power on the Cuban people. The Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement was, of course, not intended to be an instrument of tyranny, but it was. It was the biggest single assistance to Castro that any country could have given. In fact, it was more important, I believe, to Castro than all the aid the Soviet Union has provided to that country. I believe that Kennedy-Khrushchev deal is important to remember today because there are those who suggest that we should make similar deals in other countries.

Remember what Kennedy promised? He promised that in return for the Soviet withdrawal of their plant, their missile installations, which were not, presumably, nuclear-tipped but were about to be, the United States

would give assurances that it would never again commit . . . or permit aggression against Castro's Cuba; promised that we would never again attempt to overthrow the government of Cuba or permit anyone else in the hemisphere to try to overthrow that government. It was quite a promise that we made.

Now, we thought we were getting quite a bit for it. We thought we were getting a promise from Castro that there would be no export of Marxism-Leninism, and arms and guerrillas in this hemisphere. And we thought that we were getting a promise from Castro that he would behave like a good citizen of this hemisphere, and that his Soviet friends would also not seek to further expand their power in our hemisphere.

We know that we fulfilled our bargain, never again to try to overthrow the government of Cuba, not to permit anyone else to. And we know what happened to their end of the bargain. We could see that in Grenada, for example, and in the Grenada documents. We could see it in Nicaragua in the FSLN, and we can see it in El Salvador today in the FMLN, and we can see it in the steady flow of arms and men, guerrillas . . . to Colombia and Guatemala, and Ecuador and Peru, and other countries of the hemisphere. We didn't need to help Fidel Castro consolidate his tyranny over the Cuban people. We shouldn't have done it.

We helped quite a lot with the consolidation of power by the communist government in Nicaragua. We helped actually negotiate the departure of the Somoza government, which was, of course, a very bad government, but that wasn't all. We negotiated the replacement of the Somoza government by the FSLN. That's the incredible part. In fact, there was a meeting of Nicaraguan democratic leaders in Venezuela . . . planning a democratic transition and a democratic coalition government for Managua at the very time that the United States government was

ized the FSLN victory in Managua. It was a very important moment in American history. Our responsibility is very large. We helped the FSLN more than any other single government in the world helped them in that crucial moment of the seizure of power.

Dangerous New Ideas

And now there are those in our country who are proposing we help them further. There are those, for example, Senator Chris Dodd, who are proposing that since the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement was so successful that we try it again in Nicaragua, that we guarantee that government that we won't ever try to overthrow it and we won't let anybody else try to overthrow it providing they will give us promises like Fidel Castro gave us not to try to export their revolution. That is apparently a serious proposal, and it is apparently being seriously considered by some members of the United States Congress just now.

That's not all. Some people have some more creative ideas about how to help some more communist governments consolidate power over their people. There are people, Americans in high places, who actually are ready to help the United Nations negotiations bring about an agreement in Afghanistan, on Afghanistan, in which we would agree to cease any assistance to the Afghan freedom fighters or permit anybody else to give assistance to the Afghan freedom fighters, in exchange for a promise—what? A promise that someday the Soviet Union may withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, a promise that someday the Afghans might be left alone in their own societies to be governed by men chosen by the Soviet Union . . .

There are some other Americans who have some other ideas about how we could help some other communist countries consolidate power over their hapless, miserable, suffering, impoverished Third World citizens. There are actually Americans in very high places who propose, for example, to help the government of Angola re-open the Benguela railroad. That's hard to believe, but it's true. You know that the first major success of [UNITA] Savimbi forces consisted in shutting down the Benguela railroad.

There are some other Americans with some other good ideas. There's an idea that we might help the communist government of Mozambique consolidate its power over the struggling people of Mozambique by constructing a Beira corridor so that the port facilities of Mozambique can be developed and the trade enhanced and the Soviet socialist military build even a great new facility on the east coast of Africa. There are those who think the United States can help by providing more economic aid to

the people of Mozambique. I read that we're going to try to have this distributed through the United Nations, and that it may prove very difficult to get any of that food to the rebels struggling with RENAMO because they don't seem to be as well organized. Let me read to you what it says: “[U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator Peter] McPherson said he hopes the Western donors can contact RENAMO to obtain more information about the status of the 2.2 million persons living behind its lines and get food to those in need.” But he said, “RENAMO isn't an easy structure to kind of deal with in the direct sense you might.” It's a lot easier to deal with a Marxist government in Mozambique.

We don't need to help the Marxist government of Mozambique consolidate its power over the people of Mozambique.



Amh. Jeane Kirkpatrick

Dept. of State - Human Rights Report - 1986

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The military has governed Suriname since the 1980 coup that ousted an elected government and suspended the Constitution. Lieutenant Colonel Desire B. Bouterse has exercised political power as "Leader of the Revolution" and Commander of the Armed Forces. In 1985 he officially assumed the title of Head of Government. On December 1, the Government reimposed in eastern Suriname the State of Emergency which had been in effect throughout the country from 1980 to February 1986.

In January 1985, the military authority led by Commander Bouterse announced a timetable for a planned return to democracy. Under the timetable, an appointed National Assembly consisting of representatives of the military, business, and organized labor would draft a new constitution to be presented for popular approval by the end of March 1987.

In July 1986, representatives of the principal political parties, business, and labor have sat alongside the military in the Council of Ministers, which oversees the day-to-day affairs of government, and in the Toperaad (Supreme Council), Suriname's highest decision-making body which Bouterse chairs. Power is still in the hands of the military, which has imposed new government institutions by April 1988 after general elections are held.

Government continued to exercise control over Suriname's predominantly free market economy in 1986, primarily through a mechanism of centralized importing and distribution, high exchange controls, and import licenses for importers and manufacturers. Economic conditions deteriorated rapidly because of a shortage of foreign exchange. Imported goods are increasingly scarce and expensive. Companies engaged primarily in importing and commerce suffered a sharp decline in sales.

In 1986, 500 bauxite industry employees were dismissed from their jobs; however, unemployment rose less rapidly than might have, since companies in Suriname are forbidden by law from laying off workers without government approval. Nonetheless, during the last quarter of 1986, unemployment increased sharply as a result of an insurgency led by former private Ronnie Brunswijk which has destroyed or damaged several major economic targets, killing hundreds of workers.

Human rights situation in Suriname deteriorated seriously in 1986, particularly in the areas of suspected killings, disappearance, arbitrary arrest, and detention. This turn for the worse was largely due to the brutal practices employed by the Surinamese military in their effort to combat the Brunswijk insurgency which began in July.

Victims of most human rights violations in recent months have been Bush Negroes, members of an ethnic group descended from African slaves. Bush Negro villages are concentrated in the north and central Suriname, although many Bush Negroes now live in the capital, Paramaribo, and its suburbs. Brunswijk, a Bush Negro, is almost all his followers. The army appears to suspect all Bush Negroes to be sympathizers, and many Bush Negroes have been killed or arrested.

According to credible eyewitness reports, many innocent Bush Negroes, including women and children, were

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killed by the army in Eastern Suriname during the last quarter of the year. Several Bush Negro villages also were destroyed. The international community condemned these actions and called on the Surinamese Government to take steps to end the abuse and bring those responsible to justice. The Government has responded that it will investigate these reports. In other areas, the military continued to engage in arbitrary arrest, incommunicado detention, and physical mistreatment of prisoners.

Suriname's official National Institute for Human Rights (NIM), established in 1985, has proven to be a government-controlled body. Surinamese remain intimidated by the regime.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political Killing

According to credible eyewitness reports, noncombatant Bush Negroes, including women and children, were massacred by the military combating the insurgency in eastern Suriname. There have also been widespread reports of military death squads operating on government instruction against Bush Negroes.

The army and militia are believed to have been involved in the killings, directed primarily against Bush Negroes in Paramaribo and Moengo. In one instance, five bodies of Bush Negroes were found on the outskirts of Paramaribo, riddled with bullet holes. Dutch news media published photos and videotapes of several bodies found near the village of Moengotapoe. Interviews with survivors, as well as information from other reliable sources in Paramaribo, indicate that massacres like Moengotapoe took place in a number of other villages in the area. Conservative estimates of the number of civilians killed in the army's December sweep are at least 244.

b. Disappearance

There have been several credible reports of the kidnaping and disappearance of Bush Negroes, but the exact number of such cases is unknown.

c. Torture and Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

The 1985 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) report on Suriname expressed concern over widespread reports of torture by the Government. It also sharply contrasted prison conditions found in such military installations as Fort Zeelandia with those of Suriname's state penitentiaries, such as Santo Boma Prison. The report describes Fort Zeelandia's military wing as "badly overcrowded, filthy with only the most primitive facilities." It found Santo Boma a "truly model facility, where regular school classes and trades are taught and where guards and administrative authorities are 'well prepared educationally for their jobs.' However, overcrowding is a serious problem in Paramaribo jails such as Nieuwe Haven and Geyersvlugt, where suspects are held as long as 6 months while awaiting trial.

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1. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

There were several widely publicized cases of arbitrary arrest. In February a journalist who had publicly criticized the Government was arrested at Paramaribo's international airport on his way to the United States for a vacation. The journalist's family had their luggage searched and their passports confiscated by military police. According to the authorities, the journalist possessed subversive and "destabilizing" literature. However, the journalist said that the incriminating material consisted of nothing more than United Nations reports on human rights in Suriname and some clippings from Dutch newspapers. The journalist was interrogated at Fort Zeelandia for several days before being released. He never left the country.

Two Dutch journalists who entered Suriname illegally in order to interview the insurgent Brunswijk were arrested by military police on charges of espionage. Imprisoned in Fort Zeelandia, they were held for 8 days before the courts determined that there was insufficient evidence to support the charges. The journalists were then turned over to immigration authorities, who held them for another 9 days before deporting them. While these incidents highlight the vulnerability of individuals to arbitrary arrest, it is noteworthy that the courts ordered the journalists' release in the face of strident public opposition from the Minister of Justice.

As the strength of the insurgency grew, the military responded by arresting at least 20 Bush Negroes in sweeps through villages in eastern Suriname, beginning in late July. Members of the insurgent leader's family, including his younger brother in Brunswijk, and over 100 Bush Negro civilians from eastern Suriname where the insurgents operate, were detained at Fort Zeelandia, military police headquarters, the naval base, and possibly other military installations. On Christmas eve, the Government released 60 of these prisoners, mostly Bush Negroes, from Fort Zeelandia. The military admitted that 50 prisoners are still being held there and have not been turned over to judicial authorities for legal proceedings. The Government has still not disclosed the charges against them, if any. A regional representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross was allowed to visit the prisoners in December. While the charges were said to have been dropped against these prisoners released, their names were not disclosed, and they are clearly reluctant to talk to the press.

According to Surinamese law, a person suspected of having committed a crime for which the sentence is longer than 4 years may be detained for investigation for up to 14 days before being brought before a court to be charged. He may be detained longer only if a judge decides there is sufficient evidence to support the charge. There is no provision for bail during this period.

There were no reports of forced or compulsory labor in Suriname.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The judiciary continues to maintain its independence and to provide fair public trials when accused persons are turned over to it. The record of the National Police in this regard is poor. The Military Police, who are empowered to arrest

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promptly. Bush Negroes arrested in eastern Suriname and held incommunicado at Fort Zeelandia for many months are a case in point.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

In 1986 military police entered homes and businesses without warrants to conduct searches. The People's Militia and the February 23 Movement are organizations which monitor what people say, and act as informers to the authorities. There are no known cases of persons having been forced to join or actively support these organizations, though benefits do accrue to those who do. It is commonly believed that the Government engages in widespread wiretapping of private conversations. Some letters from overseas are believed to be opened by the Government for political reasons.

In early 1986, the Government began jamming Radio Netherlands Caribbean Service, which often carries items from the Dutch press about Suriname. Dutch newspapers and journals have not been available to the public since 1982, and publications from the Netherlands do not reach subscribers in Suriname.

Section 2 Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

Surinamese have not forgotten the brutal events of December 8 and 9, 1982, when 15 prominent opposition leaders were killed while in government custody; they remain circumspect about publicly criticizing the regime.

The press in Suriname is not free. The arrests of the Surinamese and Dutch journalists are examples of official efforts to interfere with the press. In another case, Bouterse himself publicly criticized a Paramaribo weekly newspaper for failing to contribute "to the goals of the revolution." He warned that it risked the same fate as a Paramaribo daily whose offices were burned by the army in 1982. Two months later, the editor of the weekly left the country to take up residence in Holland. While government censorship is not direct, local editors and journalists have been given a clear understanding of what is acceptable to the Government and what is not, particularly in reporting on military developments and fighting between the army and insurgents. Usually they are careful not to overstep the limits. On November 23, the media was forbidden to publish any news reports on events in eastern Suriname unless they were first cleared by the National Information Service (NIS). On December 23, video and sound tapes were confiscated from Dutch journalists working legally in Suriname, who had been interviewing inhabitants of Bush Negro villages in central Suriname. The media generally restricts coverage to sensitive issues to avoid criticism of official news releases.

There are two public and three private radio stations and one government-owned television station. There are two private daily papers and the private weekly newspaper. In addition, the Catholic and Moravian Churches each publish a small weekly newspaper which often carry articles critical of the Government. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches publish a combined monthly journal.

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b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

Restrictions on mass political meetings which had been in place since the coup in 1980 were relaxed somewhat in 1986. A political party sponsored a large public celebration of the 70th birthday of its founder, and another organized a church service to commemorate the 40th anniversary of its founding. However, political leaders are cautious about exercising this freedom and have been careful to avoid criticism of government policy. People may assemble freely for social purposes. Religious associations, clubs and fraternal societies operate without government interference.

The State of Emergency, the lifting of which was regarded as a significant step toward the long-awaited return to the rule of law, was reinstated on December 1 in most of the eastern half of Suriname. The enabling legislation authorized the military authorities to enact any measures they regard as necessary for the restoration of order in the area. The first decrees announced by the military placed a 6 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew in effect in two districts, prohibited gatherings of any kind in the entire State of Emergency area, required the surrender of all privately owned firearms in the country (later amended to apply only to the State of Emergency area), and placed restrictions on movement in eastern Suriname. At the same time, all foreigners were warned to stay out of the area covered by these decrees--which curiously included Zanderij International Airport.

Half the labor force is unionized. Labor organizing, union elections, wage negotiations, and labor actions, including strikes, normally take place freely. However, most labor leaders continue to be cautious in their dealings with the Government. Unions and business organizations are free to affiliate with international bodies. In November 1986, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions suspended one labor federation, the Moederbond, for supporting the Bouterse government. Three of Suriname's four labor federations and two business associations are participating in the Government and in the drafting of a new constitution.

c. Freedom of Religion

There is freedom of worship. No one religion is favored above any other, nor is there discrimination against members of any religious group. Articles and programs sponsored by religious groups appear in the newspapers and on radio and television. Religious groups publish without advance censorship, maintain international contacts, and freely organize trips abroad. Foreign clergy are allowed to minister to the needs of both local and expatriate congregations; however, in August 1985, Father Maarten Moederbeet was expelled from the country for making statements from his pulpit directly criticizing Bouterse. The National Institute for Human Rights (NIM), which had been charged in July 1986, held a public hearing on the complaint filed by the Catholic bishop, it ruled on December 31 that neither the rights of Father Moederbeet nor those of the Catholic diocese had been violated by the expulsion. However, NIM noted that Surinamese immigration law, which was enacted in 1938 and doesn't allow aliens to appeal expulsion orders, no longer met "international norms." NIM's decision only confirmed the popular perception that it is a government-controlled organ with no independent voice. Missionaries are allowed to enter the country and to proselytize.

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d. Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

Surinamese may move residences and change workplaces freely. They generally may travel abroad as they wish; however, travel within Suriname is now restricted because of fighting in eastern Suriname, and travel between government-held and guerrilla-dominated areas is practically impossible. The Government also has suspended flights by the Mission Aviation Fellowship, which provided supply and transportation services for religious missions in the interior. There was one case in 1986 in which passports were seized by the authorities to prevent persons identified as political opponents from traveling abroad. However, when threatened with legal action, the authorities returned the passports within a few days.

Surinamese may emigrate without interference and may return to take up residence at any time. In general, Surinamese identified with the previous government are not harassed if they return to the country. However, those regarded as enemies by the current regime are afraid to return. In its 1985 Report on Suriname, the IACHR expressed concern over reports of harassment, intimidation, and in some cases, the attempted assassination of political opponents of the Government who were living abroad.

Section 3 Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

Until the 1980 coup, Suriname was a functioning democracy. Upon taking over, Bouterse suspended the Constitution and placed effective power in the hands of a five-member Military Authority, presently reduced to two members. There have been no elections since the coup, but with the inclusion of civilians in the Government in 1984, an official policy of returning to an undefined "democratic system" was begun. In August 1985, Bouterse, as Chairman of the Military Authority, was made Head of Government. In January 1986, the 31-member National Assembly was appointed, 14 members nominated by the military, and the other 17 by the labor unions and a business association. The Assembly was charged with drafting a new constitution. On December 12, Bouterse announced that the draft constitution would be ready by March 1987 and that it would be submitted to a popular referendum for approval within 6 months. He also said that general elections will be held no later than March 1988.

In July 1986, a new Cabinet, composed of representatives of military, labor, and business groups, as well as of Suriname's three traditional parties, was appointed to implement a program of political and economic reforms. The nature of this program and of the future democratic system has not been further defined.

Section 4 Government Attitude Regarding International and Human Rights

In 1985 the Government appointed five persons to the NIM human rights commission. NIM exhibited little interest in pursuing individual complaints of human rights violations until October 1986, when it announced hearings on the case of the Catholic priest expelled from Suriname 18 months before. No reason was given for investigating this particular case.

1.1.1.1

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land acquisition of the United States Government for the purpose of establishing a national monument. The acquisition was made by the United States Government in the year 1908, and the land was located in the State of California. The land was acquired for the purpose of establishing a national monument, and the acquisition was made by the United States Government in the year 1908, and the land was located in the State of California.

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Miami Herald
Feb 87

Faltering economy, rebellion threaten Surinamese regime

By DON BOHNING
Herald Staff Writer

Suriname's military government marks its seventh anniversary in power next week, confronted with a deteriorating economy, rising popular discontent and a persistent guerrilla movement.

This week, for the first time since December 1982, when 15 prominent citizens were rounded up and executed, public protest demonstrations have flared against the military regime of Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse.

Bouterse, then a sergeant, and a group of other noncommissioned officers seized power on Feb. 25, 1980, in a dispute with the civilian government over their efforts to organize a military union.

Bouterse since has survived several internal coup attempts in the isolated former Dutch colony, but none appears to have threatened his left-of-center government as much as the current situation.

On Tuesday, several hundred protesters — with small groups shouting, "Down with Bouterse!" and "Seven years is enough!" — marched two miles to the colonial mansion near downtown Paramaribo, where Bouterse resides.

On Wednesday, security forces clashed with new protesters, many of them students who were shouting, "No bread, no school!" Several thousand elementary and high school students took to the streets in protest again Thursday.

The demonstrations come against the backdrop of an 8-month-old guerrilla insurgency led by Ronny Brunswijk, a former army private whose attacks have wreaked havoc with the country's economy and have forced the shutdown of Suriname's all-important bauxite industry, which accounts for three-fourths of the nation's foreign exchange.

Suralco, a subsidiary of the Pittsburgh-based Aluminum Co. of America (Alcoa) announced Feb. 3 that it was suspending its smelter and refining operations at its main Paramaribo plant, about 30 miles from Paramaribo.

In November, rebels had forced the closing of Suralco's mining operation at Moengo.

In addition to drying up the country's major source of foreign exchange, the bauxite industry shutdown leaves about 3,000 people out of work.

Rebel activities also have caused frequent power outages in the capital and residents report increasing shortages as the foreign exchange crisis worsens.

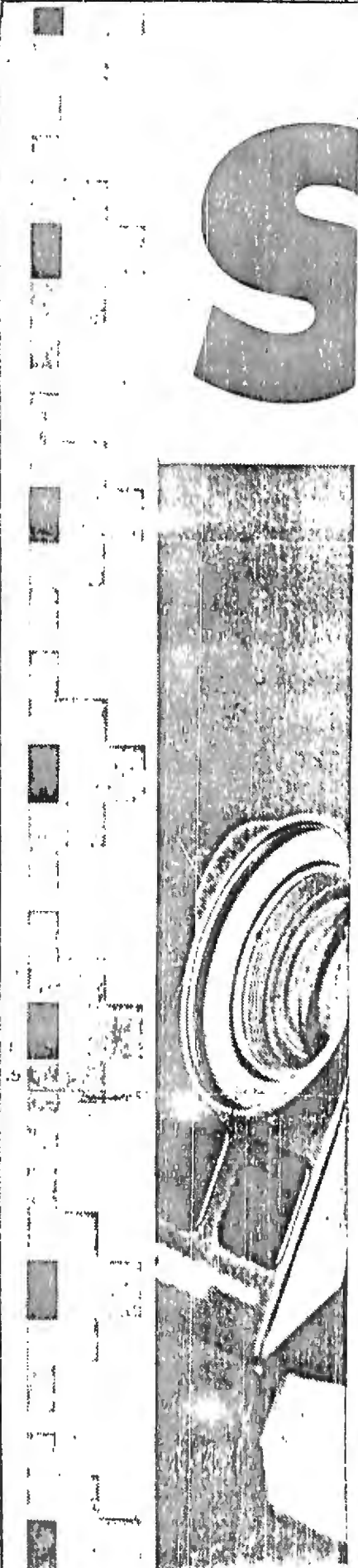
In an effort to deal with the rebels, diplomatic and exile sources report that Suriname's ill-equipped 2,000-man military recently has acquired weapons from Portugal, including two French-built Alouette helicopters that can be converted into gunships.

There is no indication, however, that the helicopters, reportedly piloted by Angolans, have yet been used against the rebels.

Brunswijk, 25, has generated most of his support from among Suriname's Bush Negro community, an ethnic minority to which he belongs and which accounts for

about 10 percent of the population. He has said that if he manages to bring Bouterse down, he will return the country to democratic rule. His rebel force is said to number about 600 and to be equipped with only the most rudimentary of weapons.

In an offensive against the rebels late last year, Suriname's military was widely accused of indiscriminate killings of Bush Negro women and children, including entire villages.



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WORLD NEWS

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1986 A39

Suriname Criticized For Civilian Deaths

Concern Grows Over Antirebel Measures

By Terri Shaw
Washington Post Foreign Service

A State Department official said Washington is "seriously concerned" about reports that Suriname government troops have been killing noncombatants in an offensive against rebels in the northeastern part of the small South American country.

The Surinamese government declared a state of emergency in the region Wednesday and urged all residents to leave, a source at the embassy in Washington said. He said the rebels, led by a former Army private named Ronny Brunswijk, had kidnaped local officials and caused serious economic damage in their attacks on targets such as a bauxite mine and a palm oil produc-

tion complex. About 85 percent of Suriname's export earnings are from bauxite.

Henk Chin A Sen, a former Surinamese president now in exile, said Friday in The Hague that he found evidence of "genocide" during a recent clandestine visit to the area of the insurgency.

"The soldiers go to a village and bring out old people, women and children and shoot them. I have seen the corpses. They have bullet holes in the head," Chin A Sen said in an interview with Reuters.

The British newspaper The Guardian on Friday noted reports that more weapons have been delivered recently through neighboring French Guiana to the several hundred rebels commanded by

See SURINAME, A52, Col. 1

Suriname Death Reports Spark U.S. Concern

The Washington Times

6A MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1986

Foreign

Americas

Suriname arrests U.S. mine boss

PARAMARIBO, Suriname — The director of the U.S.-owned Suriname Aluminum Company's SURALCO bauxite mining operations has been arrested by military police under suspicion of cooperating with rebels, government officials said yesterday. August Meijer, works manager of the SURALCO mine at Moengo, 60 miles east of here, was arrested Saturday and has been brought to the capital for questioning, the officials said. "There are indications he may have been involved in the theft of explosives," said Sgt. Maj. Edmond Demeees, director of the state news agency.

The arrest took place less than a week after the Suriname army announced it had regained control of Moengo, where rebels shut down SURALCO's bauxite mining operations Nov. 20. SURALCO, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA), is one of two major producers of bauxite for Suriname's alumina and aluminum sectors, which provide 30 percent of the former Dutch colony's foreign exchange earnings. ALCOA officials at the home office in Pittsburgh could not be reached for comment.

SURINAME, From A30

Brunswijk, Suriname has charged that the weapons come from Surinamese exiles based in the Netherlands, its former colonial power.

The Associated Press reported that almost 2,000 refugees from the fighting in Suriname have crowded into St. Laurent, which is across the border in French Guiana, and many more had crossed the Maroni River border at other points. It quoted Jacques Delpoy, the French colony's regional deputy governor, as saying that Suriname had evacuated most of the residents of the town of Albina, across the river from St. Laurent.

Refugees and residents of St. Laurent told AP that some rebels are based in the town and cross the river in raiding parties at night.

There have been no firm figures on the number of people who have died in the conflict. Estimates range from dozens to more than 100 in the recent fighting.

Brunswijk and his forces are Bush Negroes, descendants of escaped African slaves who fled into the northeastern region and have kept much of their African culture. The Bush Negroes make up about 10 percent of the multiracial population of Suriname, which is estimated at about 374,000. The pop-

ulation includes East Indian, Javanese and Creoles, or people of mixed race.

AP quoted Marcel Doye, a resident of St. Laurent, as saying many unarmed Bush Negroes had been killed by soldiers. The report added that an AP reporter was unable to find any witnesses to the reported killings.

The Guardian said a French volunteer doctor confirmed a report that government troops had killed 16 women and children near the mining town of Moengo, which the government said it recaptured from the rebels.

The State Department official said the department is aware of reports of a massacre of women and children, but had not received any independent confirmation.

In 1982, 15 prominent opponents of the government of Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse were murdered by government forces. The Netherlands and the United States then suspended aid to the government.

Bouterse, who took power in 1980, has now promised to return to a democratic form of government. A vote is to be held on a proposed constitution in April.

Suriname reportedly has asked Washington to resume aid, but the U.S. response has been that it would wait until there is progress on a return to democratic rule.

Suriname's Military Rulers Firm Up Libyan Tie

Over Links to Cuba Lapse but New Venture Raises Questions in Eastern Caribbean

By Bradley Graham
Contributing to Post Foreign Service

PARAMARIBO, Suriname—On Feb. 10, U.S. forces invaded Grenada, ending Cuba's influence there, Suriname's military government halted its affiliation with Fidel Castro by ordering Cuban diplomats and military personnel to leave the country. The Reagan administration looked on approvingly.

Little more than a year later, the 55-year-old strongman Desi Bouterse, who heads what he calls a "revolutionary government," did nothing that has alarmed Washington more than the courting of Libya or the invitation to the Libyans in 1985 to visit with Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. Bouterse signed a \$1.5 billion deal in 1985 that ended Libyan financing for a proposed Surinamese holding company to manage agricultural production and other domestic development. He moved quickly to open a Libyan mission in Paramaribo.

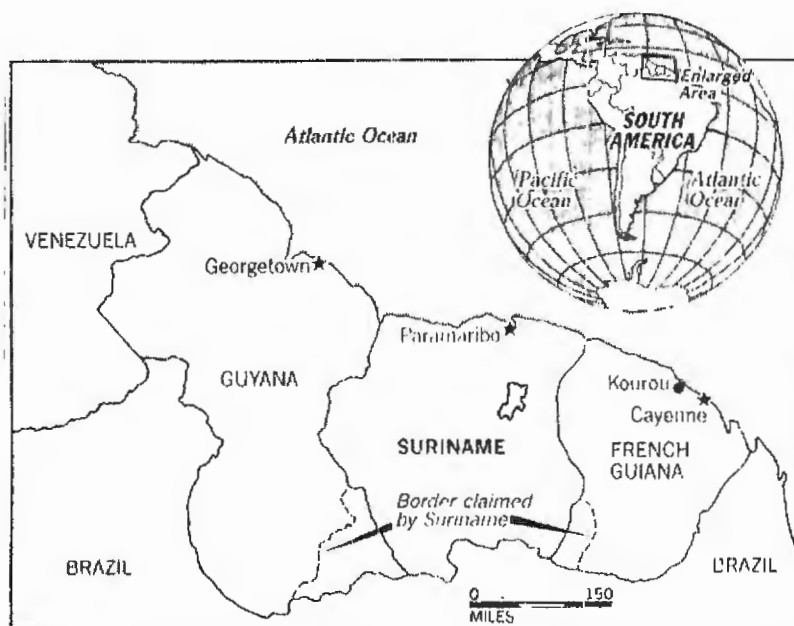
Bouterse (pronounced BOOT-suh) confronts a six-year guerrilla war aimed at overthrowing the seven-year-old government. Reports have circulated of cargo planes to supply Surinamese troops and of up to 200 fighters fighting alongside Cuban-trained Army soldiers.

Diplomats here said they had confirmation of a larger Libyan presence than the government says exists—14 in total, including the dependents of five Libyan diplomats. But the United States and France have repeatedly known to Surinamese officials their fear of subversive Libyan agents here.

The government suspects Libya of establishing a base in Suriname for terrorist operations in the region. The French, whose Guiana, the last colony on the continent, borders Suriname, see more cause for worry in the region.

A diplomatic source said he had heard Suriname for consideration of members of illegal liberation movements from French Guiana and Guadeloupe.

The presence of a rocket-launching site at Kourou on the French Guiana makes Paris



BY DAVE COOK • THE WASHINGTON POST

particularly sensitive to security threats in the region.

Surinamese officials have consistently denied reports that Libyan troops have been enlisted to help put down the rebels. They said, moreover, that no evidence has come to light of Libyans using this country as a terrorist base.

"It is an American problem to see ghosts sometimes where there are none," said Foreign Minister Henk Herrenberg in an interview before his resignation this month.

While reluctant to disclose intelligence on Libyan movements, foreign diplomatic sources here and in Washington said the Libyans have been particularly active in Suriname's sizable Moslem community, donating funds and distributing literature. An informed foreign source also confirmed that at least two Libyan cargo planes landed last year, unloading crates whose contents were not disclosed.

Defending the Libyan connection, Surinamese officials said they were pushed into it by a cutoff in Dutch development aid four years ago and by the Netherlands' repeated efforts to block loans from international financial institutions pending the return of democracy here. The Netherlands, once Suriname's colonial ruler, suspended a 10-to-15 year aid package totaling about \$1.5 billion after the 1982 murder of 15 leading opposition figures by government forces.

"We were in dire straits financial-

ly," said Cabinet director Henk Heidweiller, explaining the opening toward Libya. "We were being strangled everywhere by the Dutch."

Little of the promised Libyan aid has materialized, according to government officials and foreign diplomats who attribute the lack of follow-through to Qaddafi's difficulties elsewhere.

Meanwhile, Suriname's relations with the Netherlands have gone from bad to worse. Last month Bouterse asked Dutch ambassador Dirk Jan van Houten to leave in protest over Dutch reporting on human rights abuses. What particularly incensed the government was a cable from the Dutch Embassy listing 15 persons in the capital who it said had died in Army counterinsurgency actions. The government blamed most of the deaths on circumstances not related to the war or the armed forces.

Not only colonial ties but the presence in the Netherlands of more than 180,000 Surinamese, nearly half the population inside the country, makes this remote nation a subject of close, often emotional coverage in the Dutch press. Evidence of the killing of several dozen or more women and children by Army troops during an antiguerrilla offensive in eastern Suriname last December also received wide publicity in the Netherlands.

Surinamese officials accused the Dutch of complicity in the rebellion. They also charged the Netherlands

with engaging in an international "slander campaign" intended to create a climate that would justify invasion of Suriname.

"The Dutch wanted Suriname to be a model of decolonization, of dependence without war," said Heidweiller, a former ambassador to the Netherlands and the United States. "But they couldn't swallow the fact that we went our own way."

"The Dutch can't admit we are an independent state," added Herrenberg. "They think they can take better care of us than we can ourselves. We want them to understand we are fed up with their interference. We want them to respect our leaders the way we are trying to have our own democracy."

The Reagan administration revoked \$1.5 million dollars in economic aid to Suriname four years ago. But as a small gesture toward reestablishing normal relations, some funds for military training were restored in 1985. The money has gone to train 16 to 18 Surinamese in noncombat functions, particularly rescue and medical evacuation, according to a source familiar with the program.

As tensions persist with traditional foreign partners, Suriname authorities are attempting to turn toward closer ties with other Latin American nations. Their hope is to overcome years of regional isolation fostered in large part by Suriname's distinctive language (Dutch principally spoken here), ethnic roots (most Surinamese descend from East Indians, black Creoles, Indonesians, and Africans), color, roots and customs.

A new identity comes hard, though, for a country that has never experienced a liberation struggle and has little sense of nationhood. One diplomat described Suriname as a Caribbean country situated in South America with its heart on the North Sea.

"We are now trying to establish more ties in the Latin American region," said Cabinet director Heidweiller. "One of our main aims is integration and unity. We have been so isolated."

Suriname's neighbors welcome the shift, especially Brazil, whose borders on the south and east have stowed economic and military assistance on this country since Bouterse expelled the Cubans—whose presence had troubled Brazil.

Bouterse on the Ropes

Slowly but steadily, the guerrilla forces led by Ronnie Brunswijk are spreading their control toward Suriname's capital, Paramaribo. In their efforts to cut off dictator Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse, the guerrillas have attacked electric substations around the capital, destroying three and cutting the flow of electricity to half what is normal. It will take up to three months to replace equipment. Sources on the scene believe that conditions are ripening for a general strike or even an anti-Bouterse uprising. The economy is already suffering from increased foreign debt and low world market prices for bauxite and timber. Suralco—the Suriname Aluminum Co.—has announced it will remain closed for some time, even if electric power is restored.

WORLD INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

INSIGHT MARCH 2, 1987



... and his go ... have crippled Suriname's capital's electricity

War Paralyzes Suriname

Tribal Guerrillas Oppose 7-Year Military Ruler

By Bradley Graham
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOENGO, Suriname—The rebels walled out of the rain forest, overpowering local authorities and taking control of Suriname's main mining town here for more than a week at year's end, before the Army swept them back.

It was the most dramatic moment in a guerrilla campaign that has pitted a disfavored former soldier and his ragtag group of jungle-dwelling tribesmen against the unpopular forces of Desi Bouterse, military ruler and self-proclaimed leftist revolutionary. The war has shaken this small country on the northeast shoulder of South America and has posed the most disruptive threat to Bouterse's reign since he led a team of fellow sergeants in a coup nearly seven years ago.

Although government troops have secured key positions in war zones in eastern and central Suriname, the American-owned bauxite mining operation in this remote village remains shut, choking Suriname's primary source of foreign exchange as the insurgency wears into its seventh month.

In a desperate search for international assistance, Bouterse has found little sympathy. Reports of human rights abuses continue to dog his regime, while Surinamese officials bitterly accuse the Netherlands of turning the world against them.

The Netherlands, Suriname's former colonial master, cut off development aid four years ago. It has publicized evidence of recent indiscriminate killing by Army soldiers in the capital, Paramaribo, and in eastern villages of this country the size of Georgia, with a population under 400,000. In retaliation, Bouterse last month asked the Dutch ambassador to leave.

The United States and France, meantime, have warned the Surinamese leader not to seek aid from Libya, which is suspected of trying to establish a Latin American base in Suriname for terrorist operations. Two years ago, the Libyans opened a scientific mission in Paramaribo.

Bouterse says some foreign powers, which he declines to name, have offered him a safe haven and "several million dollars" to abandon Suriname. But he has no intention, he stated in an interview, of imitating last year's unceremonious exits by the rulers of Haiti and the Philippines.

"I live too pleasantly here in the country

See SURINAME, A14, Col. 3

to go anywhere else," said the Surinamese chief, who rose from sergeant to lieutenant colonel after taking power and now prefers the title of commander.

Bouterse, 41, is promising democratic elections by early next year. Many Surinamese are skeptical, citing unfulfilled past pledges. A new constitution, due in draft form in March, is expected to preserve a dominant role for the armed forces. Interior Minister Eric Wijsenbosch referred to as "the military's vanguard role."

Bouterse left open the possibility that he could run for president, saying he is "seriously considering" this at the urging of supporters. His 1984 coup displaced the civilian government that assumed control when Suriname's in-

Hopes for an early return to democracy were dashed in December 1982 with the killings without trial of 15 prominent opposition figures while in custody.

Now Maroon tribesmen, descendants of slaves who fled Portuguese and Dutch plantation owners two or three centuries ago, have rallied behind rebel leader Ronny Brunswijk in seeking to force Bouterse out. The rebellion appears to present little military threat, but resident diplomats and Surinamese say it promotes political turmoil and further darkens Suriname's prospects for economic recovery.

Guerrilla activity has forced the evacuation of thousands of villagers to Paramaribo and neighboring French Guiana. In December, Bouterse estimated direct war damage to the economy at 95 million Surinamese guilders, or about \$53 million at the official exchange rate.

The mine here, owned by a subsidiary of the Pittsburgh-based Aluminum Co. of America (Alcoa), has been idle since Nov. 20, when guerrillas seized Moengo. Exports of bauxite, alumina and aluminum have provided more than 70 percent of Suriname's foreign exchange earnings.

Before allowing the Moengo operation to resume, the government faces the difficult task of securing the site against hit-and-run guerrilla

attacks. "We have to sit and wait until the military tells us it's okay," said Wally Kowsoleea, spokesman for Suralco, the Alcoa subsidiary.

Sgt. Harvey C. Van Ommeren, who has charge of the military contingent here, said guerrillas remain active in the area. Recently they blew away sections of two nearby bridges, using dynamite. Two suspected rebels also took local troops by surprise when they sped into Moengo by motorboat to raid a food store and escaped.

Asked to describe the situation, a guard outside Suralco's bauxite crusher waved his hands in a way to suggest that things were still shaky. As he spoke, a soldier pulled three sticks of soggy dynamite from a tree outside the main gate. Down the road, the owner of a general store was closing it and loading all his goods in a truck bound for Paramaribo. He and other residents appeared hesitant to express their feelings in the presence of soldiers who accompanied two journalists flown here by helicopter.

Did the guerrillas harm the town as Army officers claim? "I personally have no complaint," said gas station owner Leonard Obergh. Is rebel leader Brunswijk popular? "It's difficult to say," he replied.

This is Brunswijk country. The 24-year-old former sergeant grew up in the village of Moengo Tapu, about 12 miles east of here.

Once a member of Bouterse's

security detail, Brunswijk is said to have had a falling out with superiors that led to his discharge in August 1984. He turned to banditry, robbing banks in this region and gaining a Robin Hood image by sharing stolen riches with fellow Maroons.

Arrested and brought to Paramaribo, he escaped in 1985, found his way to the Netherlands, where many Surinamese live—including numerous former high-level officials opposed to Bouterse—and returned to lead the rebellion, which started with an attack on a military outpost in July 1986.

While Brunswijk's forces are estimated to number fewer than 600, experts on Suriname's varied and disunited Maroon clans say many in the roughly 50,000 tribal population support the revolt.

The Maroons, also known as Bush Negroes, bear several grudges against the government. Since Suriname's independence, tribal elders have sought official reaffirmation of regional autonomy that the Dutch respected for more than 200 years.

Hurt feelings deepened after the 1980 coup when Bouterse, espousing leftist slogans, began setting up local "people's committees" as parallel structures to villagers' traditional political units. The Maroons also blame Bouterse for economic hardships suffered when the Dutch cut off aid following the 1982 killings.

Just what kind of government Brunswijk would install if victorious is unclear. In interviews, he has spoken generally in favor of free elections and democratic administration.

Bouterse has portrayed Brunswijk as a tool of the exile community. But whatever aid the rebels are receiving from groups abroad appears minor. Photos of the guerrillas have shown a motley group of jungle fighters armed with crossbows, hunting rifles, shotguns and relatively few automatic weapons.

The guerrillas have recruited several British mercenaries. But the Army has its foreign mercenaries, too. Two former U.S. Army Vietnam veterans are piloting the government's sole helicopter—a Bell 205 recently obtained from a private Venezuelan firm.

Paramaribo's Military Accused Of Abetting Rife Corruption

PARAMARIBO, Suriname—On the sparsely stocked shelves of the largest bookstore in this hapless country, the titles have not changed in more than a year. It has been that long since the store, Vaco, has received permission to import new books.

Some books do enter Suriname, however. A popular children's series was brought in under licenses awarded to businessmen friendly to the military-controlled regime, according to an industry source.

Similar instances of official privileges for favored middlemen abound in this former Dutch colony, with accompanying allegations that hundreds of thousands of dollars pass to government authorities in return. Stories circulate of large houses and expensive cars purchased for members of the military.

For years, charges of corruption have been made against Surinamese administrations. When Desi Bouterse took power in a coup seven years ago, he

promised to clean up the dealings. But residents entered here now voice astonishment and resentment at the level of corruption has reached.

"What we had before was pretty stuff compared to what's going on now," said a local businessman who owns a sizeable firm. He claimed a Surinamese teacher: "It's gotten so bad the crooks are outraged."

The conviction on drug charges in Miami last year of Capt. Etienne Boerenveen, member of Suriname's five-man military council, added to the stigma that clings to the leadership.

U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration officials posing as drug traffickers secretly tap Boerenveen offering to sell \$1 million per load—land right in Suriname for drug-trying around. He is now serving a 12-year sentence.

The normally reticent press has taken up the corruption issue, indicating the depth of public irritation, say residents.

—Bradley Graham

Ex-Sergeants Pursue Bush War in Suriname

SEKTIE:

TEL. :

BANK :

REF. :



MORAVIAN CHURCH
IN SURINAME

POSTBUS.

Paramaribo, February 24, 1987.

To our Brothers and Sisters in Christ's Church in Nicaragua:

Greetings in the Lord our Comforter during this time of grave trials, testings and sufferings in Nicaragua. The word of God is surely true when it says that the kingdom of God is built through much tribulation. It also says that when one part of the Body suffers, we all suffer.

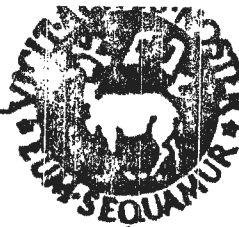
We have heard of your trials through many sources and are greatly encouraged by your example of faith during suffering. We share your deep pain when your people are denied the full opportunity to build a just, peaceful and Christian society based on the transcendent dignity of each human person who bears in himself the image of God. We know your suffering when attempts are made to violate the religious convictions of the Nicaraguan people by denying them the freedom of full access to the teachings of God's word through His appointed pastors and elders in the various local churches. We grieve over the means of intimidation, physical harassment and censorship through which the churches are being persecuted. The expulsion of priests, the raiding of church offices and the homes of church leaders are unthinkable reproaches to Christ's people and thus to Christ Himself. The barrage of distortions, slanderous insults and innuendos at home and abroad by some representatives of the civil government is most degrading.

We appreciate that you have attempted to maintain a climate of mutual respect with the civil government so that the Church can play its God-ordained role in the rebuilding of your country. We pray for more success in this regard.

We here in Suriname see some of these problems coming in our beloved country and can identify with some of your suffering. Though differing in many ways, our revolutionary process has brought with it many similar problems which not only affect the people, but the churches as well.

We want to assure you of our solidarity with you. We will regularly remember you in our prayers. May our sovereign Lord grant peace to your land so that the building of His Kingdom and the prospering of His Gospel may flourish. May He grant you relief from the many restrictions placed upon your churches, their leaders and the people of Nicaragua in general. May His grace, working through you, bring a just and lasting resolution to the fighting that causes so many lives to be lost and so much suffering.

IN SURINAME



MORAVIAN CHURCH
IN SURINAME

POSTBUS:

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- 2 -

This letter of solidarity is being made public in the various languages of our land so that the faithful in our respective congregations and as many as possible in our country will know what is actually happening to their brothers and sisters in Nicaragua.

We encourage you to make contact with us in whatever way possible and we will do the same that we may better know and pray for each other.

The Provincial Board
of the Moravian Church
In Suriname

Rev. Th.A. Darnoud, Chairman

Rev. R.F. Polanen, Vice Chairman

Horrorama latinoamericano

ARTHUR NICOLAS HLEBNIRIAN
REPRESENTATIVE IN WASHINGTON
OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES FOR THE DEFENSE OF
THEir OWN FAMILY AND PROPERTY
OF AMERICA, EUROPE, ASIA, OCEANIA AND AFRICA

ce en combate

uando una flotilla de tres
ó para reforzar la infantería

había terminado el combate,
idad contra estaba tratando

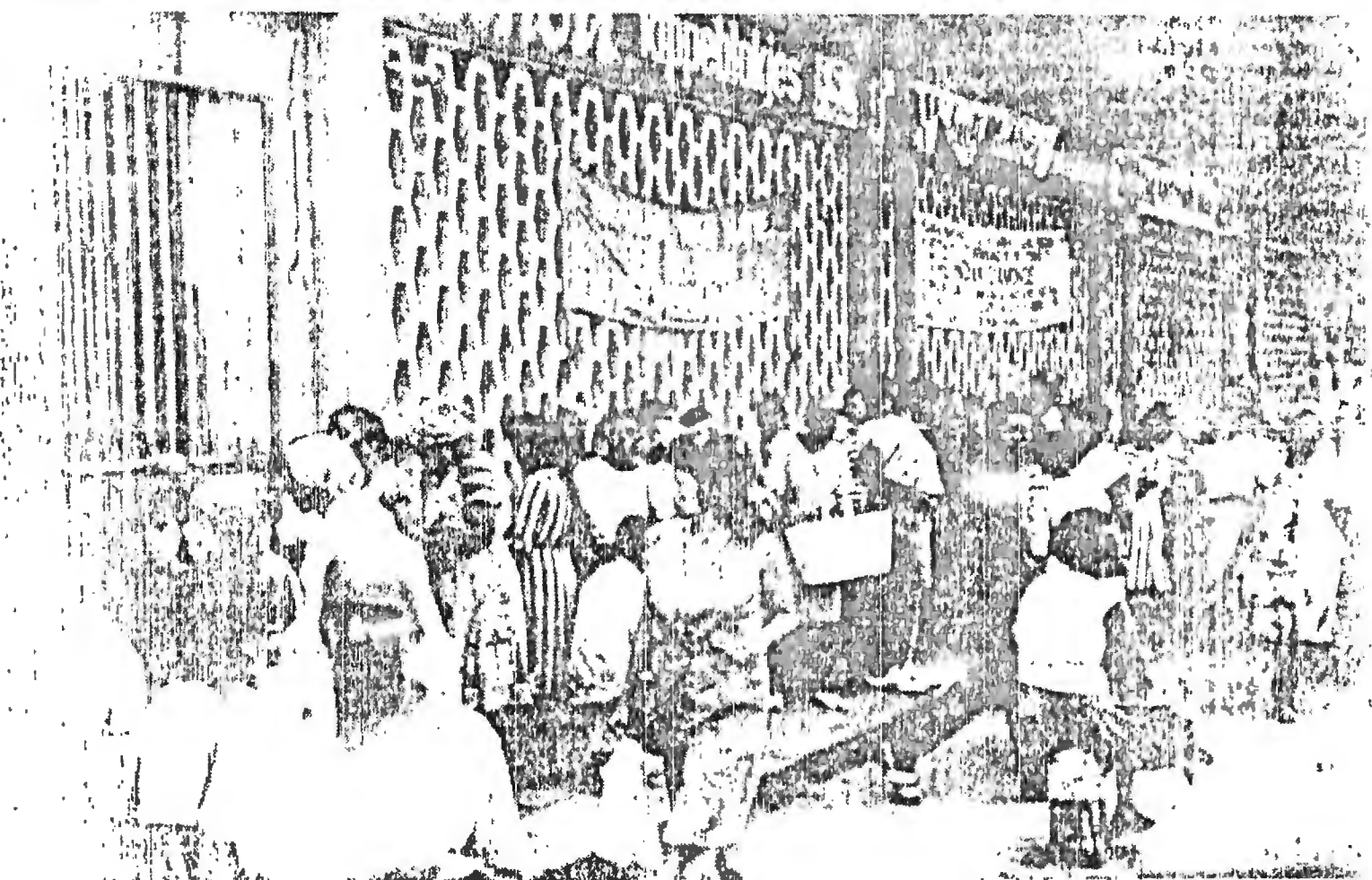
de rescatar el cadáver de Bertie.
Una portavoz del Ejército Popular Sandinista
contactada por teléfono en Managua expuso que no
tenía noticias del incidente.

Bertie, menudo, amistoso y con espejuelos, se
convirtió en un ardiente partidario de los rebeldes
después de abandonar en 1984 su empleo de
traductor en una compañía de seguros para unirse
a la FDN en su base principal, del lado de Honduras
en la frontera de esta nación con Nicaragua

Peter Flaherty, presidente de Ciudadan-
Reagan, grupo de Washington que ha cabal-
en el Congreso en favor de la aprobación
ayuda norteamericana a los rebeldes, comen-
Bertie pasó siete meses con los contras en
viajes que hizo el año pasado. Flaherty agre-
su grupo trajo a Bertie dos veces a Washing-
avión para comunicar a congresistas y otros
experiencias.

"Tenía un trabajo muy aburrido y u-
simplemente se montó en un avión que iba
Tegucigalpa porque quería ayudar a los con-
manifestó Flaherty.

El corresponsal de El Miami Herald
Washington Alfonso Chardy colabora en
artículo.



Asociado 1

La escasez y provoca largas colas en los supermercados de Paramaribo para comprar lo que haya

Se intensifican protestas en Surinam

PARAMARIBO (AP) -
El declinante económica y
los cambios de consumo en
de escasez, las quejas
de la media de Suriname
se han volviendo cada vez
más frecuentes y muchos dicen
que es alta lo que otrora no
se pronunciaba.
Bouterse, el líder de la
nación desde que
en 1980, debe
que las quejas ahora estén
Bouterse mismo es
nuevo.
"Bouterse está tan harto que
está dando el miedo", dijo un
líder de la oposición occidental "Bou-
terse está en una posición
de perder el La gente se

muestra abiertamente escepti-
ca".

Uno de los focos de las
protestas es una propuesta del
Ministerio de Finanzas de aho-
rrar divisas extranjeras elevan-
do el precio de la gasolina en el
30 por ciento —al equivalente
de unos \$2.60 por galón— y
reducir drásticamente las im-
portaciones de bienes de consu-
mo.

Aunque Bouterse, de 41 años,
indiscutiblemente sigue al con-
trol de esta nación de 410,000
habitantes, la oposición aquí en
la capital, donde vive la mitad
de la población, va en aumento.

Los rebeldes antiguberna-
mentales en las selvas del
interior constituyen una de las
razones del deterioro de la



Bouterse; culpado

economía. Atacan fábricas, mi-
nas plantaciones y la principal
línea de energía eléctrica

El resentimiento de la es-
sa clase media se ha a-
cuatro años o más de incapa-
dad de comprar, comer o v-
las cosas que quieren.

Al mismo tiempo, Boute-
que fue aclamado cuando
roco al primer ministro.
Hank Arron hace siete a-
está pidiendo aún mayor au-
ridad.

Durante una escasez de
en febrero, las amas de ca-
manifestaron frente a la a-
sión presidencial grita-
"Siete años son suficiente-
".

Los estudiantes de secon-
ria, enojados por una p-
policia, boicotearon las
a comienzos de marzo y en-
ron una declaración que d-
"Bouterse tiene que irse".

CARINEWS

FEBRUARY 1987

CARINEWS WAS NOT PUBLISHED DURING THE MONTHS OF DECEMBER AND JANUARY, DUE TO UNFORESEEN CIRCUMSTANCES, WHICH LED TO A SERIES OF DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING ALL OPERATIONS OF PARTNERSHIP FOR PRODUCTIVITY/INTERNATIONAL. IN DECEMBER, THE U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CARE (COOPERATIVE AMERICAN RELIEF EVERYWHERE), A NEW YORK-BASED PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION, AGREED THAT CARE WOULD TAKE OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF ALL OF PARTNERSHIP FOR PRODUCTIVITY'S OVERSEAS A.I.D. FUNDED PROJECTS, WHILE PFP'S U.S. AND SOME OTHER PROJECTS WERE BEING PHASED OUT. ACTIVITIES AND SERVICES FOR THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA PROVIDED BY THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PRODUCTIVITY INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT CENTER IN MIAMI IN THE AREAS OF MARKETING, SALES, COMMUNICATIONS, CARINEWS, AND WOMEN'S ACTION FOR PROGRESS ARE NOW BEING OPERATED BY TRABART INTERNATIONAL, INC., A FLORIDA-BASED CORPORATION. SUBSCRIBERS TO CARINEWS WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE CARINEWS WITH AN ADDITIONAL TWO MONTH CREDIT.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO VOTERS RECENTLY ENDED THE 30 YEARS' REIGN OF THE LATE DR. WILLIAMS' PEOPLE'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THEIR COUNTRY BY SWEEPING IN THE FORMER OPPOSITION PARTY, THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR RECONSTRUCTION. THE N.A.R., HEADED BY 60 YEAR OLD A.N.R. ROBINSON, WON 33 OF THE 36 SEATS IN THE TRINIDAD HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. ROBINSON PLEDGED TO DIVEST SOME STATE OWNED INDUSTRIES AND TO ENCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT.

IN JANUARY, THE FORMER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF GRENADA, BERNARD COARD, HIS WIFE PHYLLIS, AND TWELVE OTHER FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND INDIVIDUALS WERE SENTENCED TO HANG FOR THE MURDER OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER BISHOP DURING A COUP IN 1983. THIS ACTION EVENTUALLY RESULTED IN A U.S. LED INVASION OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN ISLAND AND THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY TO THE ISLAND.

REPRESENTATIVES OF 12 CARIBBEAN BASIN SUGAR PRODUCERS EXPRESSED "CONSTERNATION" TO THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION OVER THE 41% CUTBACKS IN THEIR 1987 COUNTRY SUGAR QUOTAS BY THE UNITED STATES. BY FAR THE HARDEST HIT COUNTRY IN THIS U.S. MOVE IS THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO LOSE BETWEEN US\$45 AND \$60 MILLION.

LAST MONTH, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SCHULTZ ACCUSED SURINAME'S MILITARY LEADERSHIP OF "GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS" AFTER THE MILITARY WIPED OUT SEVERAL VILLAGES IN EASTERN SURINAME INHABITED BY "MAROONS", DECENDANTS OF FORMER RUNAWAY AFRICAN SLAVES. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORTS THAT 250 MAROONS HAVE BEEN KILLED BY THE SURINAME MILITARY GOVERNMENT TROOPS OVER THE PAST THREE MONTHS. U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL CHARLES REDMAN SAID, "WE HOPE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL JOIN IN CONDEMNING THESE ACTIONS IN SURINAME." RONNY BRUNSWIJK, HEADING UP THE SURINAME JUNGLE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, IS A DIRECT DESCENDANT OF THE MAROONS. AT PRESENT, THERE ARE SOME 6,000 SURINAME MAROON REFUGEES IN THE NEIGHBORING FRENCH GUIANA. THE FRENCH AND DUTCH GOVERNMENTS ARE PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT TO THE REFUGEES; THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN FLYING IN SPECIAL SUPPORT SERVICE TENTS AND FOOD SUPPLIES. THIS MONTH, ALL OF THE ALUMINUM CO. OF AMERICA'S OPERATIONS IN SURINAME, VALUED AT U.S.\$500 MILLION, WHICH INCLUDE BAUXITE, ALUMINA, AND ALUMINUM FACILITIES, HAVE BEEN SHUT DOWN. FOLLOWING THE RECENT DISTURBANCES IN SURINAME, ALCOA'S PRESIDENT OF ITS SURALCO OPERATIONS STATED THAT ALCOA WOULD NOT REOPEN THE PLANTS UNLESS GUARANTEES FOR SAFETY COULD BE ASSURED. THE SURINAME FREEDOM COALITION IN THE U.S. RECENTLY REPORTED STRONG U.S. GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SUPPORT FOR BRUNSWIJK'S EFFORTS IN ENDING THE LEFTIST DICTATORSHIP AND INITIATING FREE ELECTIONS. ON THURSDAY, FEB. 12, SURINAME'S PRIME MINISTER AND FOUR CABINET MEMBERS FORCIBLY RESIGNED AS SURINAME'S ECONOMY CONTINUED DETERIORATING.



JOHN
CHAMBERLAIN

Too soon for the Marines

Pat Buchanan, though he is no longer chief of communications in the White House, is still busy prescribing strong medicine for Ronald Reagan. In a memo to the president which has been published in *Newsweek*, Pat has told Mr. Reagan that his "final option" is to turn the Sandinista account in Nicaragua over to the U.S. Southern Command - "and hold Congress accountable for the cost in American blood of using U.S. Marines to secure vital interests which Nicaraguans had volunteered by the thousands to secure themselves."

Pat is only speaking common sense when he says the Daniel Ortega regime in Nicaragua ought not to survive the Reagan presidency. But there are a number of things to consider before sending in the Marines. Congress has fidgeted and fiddled so long with providing piddling sums to the Contras that Mr. Ortega has had ample time to dig himself in.

Writing in the 1987 *Almanac of Seapower*, Trevor Armbrister, a recent visitor to Managua, has detailed what the Soviets have poured into Nicaragua to dwarf anything the Contras may have. The Sandinistas have 152 tanks, 56 armored vehicles, and 172 armored personnel carriers. For their part, the Contras have no tanks, and when they travel it is by mule or on foot.

We could, of course, move smartly into the business of providing the Marines with the armor and fire power needed to defeat Ortega's standing army of 65,000. But we are talking about acting in a time span

A lot of things can be done to pressure Mr. Ortega. If the Brezhnev Doctrine that all socialist conquests must be considered irreversible can be seriously undercut, talk about the Marines could be left to another time.

of less than two years in which the Democrats will have control of the military purse strings.

Last year, according to Mr. Armbrister, the Sandinistas received the so-called "flying truck" helicopters that can carry as many as 32 troops, which gives them a tremendous advantage in mobility.

Soviet Bear reconnaissance planes are already in Nicaragua and have begun flights that skirt the western United States.

The big question is whether the Southern Command that at Buchanan speaks about could be made ready inside the remaining 21 months of the Reagan presidency to deal with the flying trucks that would be waiting for them at the Honduran border.

Mr. Reagan has the power to send the Marines into Nicaragua for 60 days without asking Congress for a by-your-leave. But what would happen if the war were to move into a lasting jungle impasse? The president would have to fall back on a patriotic appeal to Congress not to let him down in the middle of a fight. But the patriotic appeal would be running into a term end, with the White House up for grabs and the next Congress entirely uncertain.

The better part of valor is not to talk about the Marines just yet.

As long as the Contras can be kept in the field the Sandinistas can be confined to Nicaragua. Meanwhile, a lot of things can be done to bring pressure to bear on Mr. Ortega. Mr. Reagan could break relations with the Sandinista regime. He could let enough arms go to the anti-Castro guerrillas in Suriname (the former Dutch Guiana) to close off a southern approach to the Caribbean. He could follow through in Afghanistan and Angola by providing more Stinger weapons to knock down Soviet planes. (The Stingers in Afghanistan have had a hit ratio of better than 50 percent.) Mozambique is another Reagan opportunity, if only the State Department would change its policy toward that country's Marxist government.

If the Brezhnev Doctrine that all socialist conquests must be considered to be irreversible can be seriously undercut in Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan or Suriname it would be a sufficient handwriting on the wall for the Sandinistas. Mr. Reagan could then go out of office with the satisfaction that he had left things in good shape for the next administration. And talk about the Marines could be left to another time.

John Chamberlain is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Foreign

Suriname refugee rate alarms rights activists

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Human rights groups are worried about thousands of Bush Negroes who live in Suriname or have fled across the border to escape civil war and human rights abuses in their South American homeland.

Roughly 9,000 Bush Negroes, descendants of African slaves concentrated in the eastern remote jungles of Suriname, a former Dutch colony, have sought refuge in French Guiana, an overseas department of France.

The numbers of asylum seekers have declined since their highest levels in late 1986, but a private humanitarian group estimates that 20 to 30 people cross the border daily, settling primarily in camps along the Maroni River.

"Their flight . . . constitutes a new and rapidly developing refugee situation in the Western Hemisphere," wrote Joseph Cerquone in a report for the U.S. Committee on Refugees, a private organization that seeks to help refugees around the world.

The Bush Negroes, also known as Maroons, comprise about one-eighth of Suriname's population of 400,000. State Department officials say they have been the victims of human rights violations since civil strife erupted in Suriname last year.

"The human rights situation in Suriname deteriorated seriously in mid-1986, in the areas of suspected killings, disappearance, arbitrary arrest and detention," the State Department said in its 1986 human rights report, which was released in February.

It said the Surinamese army has engaged in "brutal practices" in its effort to combat the insurgency of

Ronnie Brunswijk, 25, a Maroon whose rebels launched attacks on the military regime of Col. Desi Bouterse last summer.

Col. Bouterse, a former army sergeant, took power in a 1980 coup that overturned a parliamentary system of government five years after the nation had attained independence.

Holly Burkhalter of Americas Watch, a group that monitors human rights in Latin America, said the situation in Suriname is "scary," particularly because "nobody knows what is going on in the interior" of the country.

"Their flight . . . constitutes a new and rapidly developing refugee situation in" the West.

Mr. Cerquone visited the refugee camps in French Guiana for two months earlier this year, interviewing people who told him of killings and strafings of civilians by Surinamese government aircraft.

Mr. Cerquone said about half the refugees in French Guiana are living in tent camps or in a former leper colony, while the rest stay with friends or relatives.

"Most of the refugees are healthy, and medical care is good," he wrote in his 24-page report. France has borne the cost of caring for the refugees, which amounts to about \$500,000 a month, according to a State Department official. Additionally, the Netherlands has provided some assistance.

WORLD

INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

Libyan in the Caribbean

Venezuelan security and immigration authorities have issued an alert to their counterparts in the Caribbean region warning that a Libyan agent, Abdul Salaam Ashur, has again been spotted in the area. His precise mission is not known, but he is believed to be acting as Col. Muammar Qaddafi's personal emissary, dispensing largesse to revolutionary and militant groups. The pretext appears to be Qaddafi's plan to sponsor a major gathering of revolutionaries to celebrate the 100th anniversary in July of the birth of Marcus Garvey, the charismatic, Jamaican-born radical whose theories formed much of the basis for the U.S. black militant movement.

Under a Cuban initiative that began in 1984, many of these Caribbean and Central American Marxist groups already have been brought together in two organizations: the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America (which includes the Cuban Communist Party and parties from other countries) and the Caribbean National Movement, led by leftist groups in Dominica, Antigua and St. Lucia. Representatives of a number of these groups have been going to Libya via Cuba for several years.

Ashur was expelled from Suriname in January, after pressures on dictator Desi Bouterse persuaded him to end Ashur's operation involving a terrorist training camp along the border with French Guiana. The Libyans were training revolutionaries from French Guiana in sabotage and assassination.

But expulsion from Suriname did not end Ashur's mission in the region. In early February, he arrived in Caracas, Venezuela, on a transit visa headed for Trinidad and Tobago. The Venezuelan Foreign Ministry, which had issued the visa inadvertently,

revoked it and deported Ashur, who left on a flight for Madrid and Rome. During his brief stay in Venezuela, Ashur met with two other Libyans, who quickly left the country. Their whereabouts is unknown.

Intelligence sources are convinced that Ashur's real purpose is not to honor the memory of Garvey but to nurture and promote Caribbean revolutionary and terrorist movements and, with offers of money, training and arms, bring them under the influence of Libya. In return, these Caribbean militants would owe Qaddafi favors, such as terrorist attacks on U.S. tourists, airlines and businesses.

DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL, A NEW BI-MONTHLY PUBLICATION DESIGNED AND WRITTEN FOR DEVELOPMENT PROFESSIONALS, IS RECEIVING LAUDATORY COMMENTS FROM MANY OF ITS FIRST TIME READERS. THE MAR./APR. ISSUE'S SPECIAL FOCUS ON PRIVATIZATION CONTAINS INSIGHTS OF THE REAGAN-THATCHER DOCTRINE ON PRIVATIZATION AS APPLIED TO AFRICA. SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL: 1111 N. 19TH ST., SUITE 400, ARLINGTON VA 22209, USA.

THE NEW YORK-BASED "TRICKLE UP PROGRAM" (TUP), FOUNDED IN 1979, BY GLEN AND MILDRED LEET, HAS EXPANDED STEADILY. TUP IS AN INDEPENDENT, NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION WHICH CREATES NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SELF EMPLOYMENT AMONG THE LOW INCOME POPULATIONS OF THE WORLD. BY THE END OF 1986, 2,958 BUSINESS ENTERPRISES HAD BEEN STARTED OR EXPANDED BY THE TUP PROCESS IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, WITH GRANTS TALLING SOME US\$300,000. FOR MORE INFO. WRITE: TRICKLE-UP PROGRAM, 54 RIVERSIDE DR., PHE, NY, NY 10024, USA.

SOURCE: RESEARCH/PRESS

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY:



SUBSCRIPTION INFO: US\$24.00 ANNUALLY
PAYABLE TO: TRABART INT'L. INC.

CARINEWS

P.O. BOX 527643
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33152-7643 USA

Judy C. Bashore
Bashore Intl. Ltd.
6510 Lakeview Dr.
Falls Church, VA 22041

CARINEWS

THE BUSINESS NEWSLETTER FOR A DEVELOPING WORLD

VOLUME V, NO. 3

APRIL 1987

THE U.S. AND MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS APPLAUDED HAITI'S MAR. 30 REFERENDUM ON A NEW CONSTITUTION. HAITIAN MINISTRY OF INFORMATION FIGURES SHOWED 99.8% OF VOTERS APPROVING THE NEW CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH TAKES EFFECT THIS MONTH, REMOVES THE ELECTORAL CONTROL FROM THE PROVISIONAL NATIONAL COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT HEADED BY GEN. HENRI NAMPHY. LOCAL ELECTIONS ARE SET FOR JULY, AND LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS FOR NOV. THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS WILL BE COMPLETE FEB. 7, 1988, WITH THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW PRESIDENT.

THE TRADE UNION COUNCIL, THE MOST POWERFUL AND LARGEST TRADE UNION IN THE BAHAMAS, IS REPORTEDLY GOING TO SUPPORT THE OPPOSITION FREE NATIONAL PARTY IN THE AUGUST NATIONAL ELECTIONS. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF SIR LYNDEN PINDLING HAS COME UNDER INCREASED CRITICISM, AND A MAJOR UPSET IN THE ELECTIONS IS PREDICTED.

ORGANIZERS OF THE PAN AMERICAN GAMES, TO BE HELD AUG.7-23, IN INDIANAPOLIS, ARE IN A DILEMMA OVER THE POSSIBLE PRESENCE OF CUBA'S PRESIDENT CASTRO. HAVANA WILL HOST THE NEXT GAMES, AND CUSTOMARILY ITS HIGHEST OFFICIAL WOULD CLOSE THIS YEAR'S GAMES. THE U.S. STATE DEPT. HAS NOT YET SANCTIONED SUCH A VISIT AND IS REVIEWING SECURITY AND LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS. THE VISIT COULD, HOWEVER, PRESENT A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO HAVE UNOFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CUBAN LEADER ON A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS, INCLUDING NICARAGUA.

MEXICO SIGNED A RECORD US\$60 BILLION FINANCIAL RESTRUCTURING PACKAGE MAR.20, WITH SOME 434 BANKS INCLUDING CITICORP. THE PACKAGE IS THE LARGEST EVER PUT TOGETHER IN INTERNATIONAL CREDIT MARKETS AND THE FIRST UNDER THE "BAKER PLAN" FOR THIRD WORLD LENDING, WHICH INCLUDES NEW LENDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMICALLY-TROUBLED THIRD WORLD DEBTORS SHOWING POLICIES AIMED AT ECONOMIC GROWTH. MEXICO'S US\$100 BILLION FOREIGN DEBT IS SECOND ONLY TO BRAZIL'S \$108 BILLION AMONG THIRD WORLD DEBTORS, WHOSE TOTAL DEBT IS NOW REPORTED AT ABOUT \$1 TRILLION. DEBTS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT EXCLUSIVE TO THE THIRD WORLD: IN THE U.S. ALONE BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEBT IS NOW \$7.1 TRILLION-ABOUT \$1 TRILLION ACCUMULATED IN THE LAST YEAR ALONE-REPORTS RAYMOND LACOMBE OF PROFESSIONAL BANCORP IN MIAMI. HE ALSO NOTED THAT CORPORATE DEBT IN THE U.S. EXCEEDS CORPORATE NET WORTH AND THAT BUSINESS FAILURES AVERAGE A LOSS OF \$3 BILLION A MONTH.

BRAZIL'S LARGEST U.S. CREDITOR BANKS HAVE DECIDED TO COMPLY WITH ITS REQUEST TO RENEW ITS 60-DAY ROLLOVER SHORT-TERM CREDIT, CLOSE TO US\$15 BILLION. THE CREDIT IS ESSENTIAL TO FINANCE BRAZIL'S FOREIGN TRADE.

Suriname

SURINAME CONTINUES IN THE NEWS. ON MAR.27, THE "MAROON RESISTANCE MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF SURINAME" SPONSORED A NEWS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON. THE CONFERENCE FEATURED DR. HENK CHIN A SEN. HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE LIBERATION OF SURINAME (CLS); DR. EDDIE JOZEEZOON, A MAROON AND PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF MAROON RESISTANCE LEADER RONNY BRUNSWIJK; AND EDGAR WIJNGAARDE, FORMER SURINAME MINISTER OF FINANCE. THEY REPORTED THAT THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT NOW CONTROLS ALMOST 80% OF SURINAME; THAT A U.S. SUPPORT GROUP FOR THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT WAS BEING SET UP; AND THAT MAJOR FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES HAD BEEN INITIATED FOR THE LIBERATION FRONT IN EUROPE, THE U.S. AND CARIBBEAN. THEY ALSO PRESENTED THE ILLUSTRATED BOOK JUST A MOMENT, WHICH REVIEWS THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED IN SURINAME. MEANWHILE, FRANCE ANNOUNCED THAT BRIGADIER GEN. JEAN MOUSCARDES HAD BEEN APPOINTED AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN FRENCH GUIANA. IN SURINAME, BRUNSWIJK MET LAST WEEK WITH LEADERS OF THE CLS AND DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR UNITY AMONG THE RESISTANCE GROUPS. THE BOUTERSE REGIME ANNOUNCED THAT THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY HAD APPROVED A NEW CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD LATE THIS YEAR. THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT CALLED THE ANNOUNCEMENT "NOTHING NEW" AND WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS PRESENT POSITION ON SURINAME. U.S. TV NETWORK NBC ANNOUNCED APR.7, THAT THE RECENT ARREST OF A MAJOR LIBYAN TERRORIST IN VENEZUELA HAD REVEALED DOCUMENTS CONTAINING LIBYAN PLANS FOR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN FRENCH GUIANA, SURINAME, AND MANY CARIBBEAN ISLANDS, WITH WEAPONS PURCHASED FROM BRAZIL.

THE COMPUTER FOR THE DEVELOPING WORLD HAS ARRIVED...FROM PERU. NOVOTEC-A SUBSIDIARY OF NOVOA INGENIEROS-IS PRODUCING AND EXPORTING A COMPUTER, WITH IMPORTED MICROCHIPS, BUILT TO WITHSTAND FREQUENT UPS AND DOWN IN CURRENT EXPERIENCED IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. UNDER AN AGREEMENT WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, NOVOTEC IS NOW SHIPPING 500 COMPUTERS WORTH US\$2.5 MILLION IN REPAYMENT OF AN OUTSTANDING DEBT. AFTER THAT, NOVOTEC WILL BEGIN EXPORTING AN ADDITIONAL 1,500 COMPUTERS AS PART OF A BARTER AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. PERU WILL RECEIVE A THIRD OF THE PAYMENT IN HARD CURRENCY, A THIRD IN CZECH PRODUCTS, AND A THIRD IN CREDITS TOWARD CANCELLING PERU'S \$100 MILLION DEBT. AS PART OF AN EXPORT PUSH, NOVOTEC ALSO PLANS TO OPEN A EUROPEAN DISTRIBUTION CENTER IN WEST GERMANY. THE NOVOTEC CP1000 COMPUTER IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE IBM PC.

THE U.S.COMMERCE DEPT. WILL BE EXTENDING THE CURRENT EXPORT LICENSES TO COVER MORE ITEMS NOT CONSIDERED MILITARILY CRITICAL. A RECENT REPORT BY THE NATL. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES CONCLUDED THAT EXPORT POLICIES HAVE COST THE U.S. MORE THAN US\$9 BILLION A YEAR IN LOST EXPORT SALES AND THAT EASING CONTROLS WOULD RELIEVE EXPORTERS OF MUCH ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN.

THE U.S. HOTEL INDUSTRY IS MOVING INTO THE CARIBBEAN RESORT MARKET. THE CARIBBEAN AS A WHOLE HAS ABOUT 100,000 ROOMS, BUT PLANS ARE IN THE MAKING TO INCREASE THAT BY 5,000 ROOMS OVER THE COMING THREE YEARS. MAJOR COMPANIES TO EXPAND ARE THE HYATT DEVELOPMENT CORP., CONRAD INTERNATIONAL HOTELS, AND OMNI HOTELS. THE POTENTIALLY LUCRATIVE AREA PRESENTS MANY DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS, HOWEVER. ON AVERAGE IT COSTS BETWEEN 20-30% MORE TO BUILD A HOTEL IN THE CARIBBEAN THAN IN THE U.S.

THE UNITED NATIONS IS PRESENTLY REVIEWING TWO DRAFT TREATIES PERTAINING TO TRANS-BOUNDARY TOXIC CHEMICAL ACCIDENTS. ONE WOULD REQUIRE COUNTRIES TO NOTIFY EACH OTHER IN CASES OF CHEMICAL ACCIDENTS THAT COULD AFFECT OTHER COUNTRIES. THE OTHER PROPOSES EARLY GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE AFTER AN ACCIDENT, TO CONTAIN DAMAGE AND INJURY TO PEOPLE, PROPERTY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT. THE U.S. CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS' ASSOC. HAS OFFERED TO HELP THE U.N. IN TRAINING PLANT AND COMMUNITY SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO PREPARE EMERGENCY RESPONSE PLANS.

PANAMA'S MARITIME ADMINISTRATION HAS RECENTLY REDUCED ITS REGISTRATION COSTS ON SOME SHIPS AND TAXES ON SHORT-TERM REGISTRATIONS. THE PANAMANIAN SHIP REGISTRY BUSINESS, SECOND ONLY TO LIBERIA, HAS PRODUCED MORE DIRECT INCOME TO PANAMA THAN THE US\$70 MILLION IT RECEIVES FROM THE U.S. FOR USE OF THE CANAL. INDUSTRY ANALYSTS SEE THE NEW REGISTRATION INCENTIVES AS PART OF A GROWING BATTLE BETWEEN LIBERIA AND PANAMA, WHICH WILL BENEFIT SHIPPING COMPANIES WORLDWIDE.

Mittendorf

A SPECIAL U.S. PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE, "PROJECT ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN", HEADED BY FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE O.A.S., WILLIAM MITTENDORF, ISSUED ITS REPORT EARLIER THIS YEAR. IT CONTAINS SEVERAL SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR DEVELOPING A PRODUCTIVE, COMPETITIVE, FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM IN THE REGION INCLUDING: FOCUSING U.S. AND MULTINATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE ON PROGRAMS THAT ENLARGE THE CAPITAL OWNERSHIP BASE AND PROMOTE EMPLOYEE OWNED ENTERPRISES; PROMOTING DEBT-TO-EQUITY TRADES TO PRIVATIZE GOVERNMENT-OWNED ENTERPRISES BY CONVERTING U.S. BANK LOANS TO EQUITY, THEN SELLING THE EQUITY TO EMPLOYEES THROUGH EMPLOYEE STOCK OWNERSHIP PLANS; OPENING U.S. MARKETS TO PRODUCTS OF EMPLOYEE-OWNED ENTERPRISES REGARDLESS OF U.S. QUOTA RESTRICTIONS; AND SUPPORTING LAND REFORMS GIVING PEASANTS A GENUINE SHARE IN LARGE-SCALE FARMS.

PROSPECTIVE AGRIBUSINESS INVESTORS FROM EIGHT DEVELOPING NATIONS WILL BE MEETING IN WASHINGTON JUNE 8-10. THE THREE-DAY CONFERENCE, "WASHINGTON ROUND FOR 1987 INTL. AGRIBUSINESS TRADE & INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES" WILL INCLUDE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE U.S. TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. FOR INFO. WRITE: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURAL CONSULTANTS, 8301 GREENSBORO DR., STE.260, MCLEAN, VA 22102, USA.

Washington Inquirer

Vol. VII, No. 15

April 3, 1987

Twenty-Five Cents

Soviet's Penetrate Labor Party

By MARK PALMER

Courtesy New York Tribune

LONDON, March 26—Britain's Labor Party has within its ranks several "agents of influence" for the Soviet Union who strive to break up the NATO alliance and portray the United States as the main enemy to world peace, a former Labor minister told a London court.

Lord Chalfont, 67, who is now an independent peer in the House of Lords and chairman of the All-Party Defense Group, said he could name members of parliament who "conceal" themselves within the Labor Party, while acting on behalf of the Kremlin.

Chalfont made his claims today in the high court as he gave evidence for the *Economist* magazine, which is being sued for libel by the Greek newspaper *Ethnos*, the largest-circulation paper in that country.

The Greek daily sued the *Economist* when the weekly magazine alleged that *Ethnos* had been launched with a \$1.8 million subsidy from the Soviets. In addition, the *Economist* is counter-suing *Ethnos* for allegations made in 1982 that the magazine's *Foreign Report* is financed and controlled by the CIA.

Both cases are being tried simultaneously in what is likely to become one of the most expensive libel actions in legal history. They are in the seventh week of hearings, with a decision expected within the next 10 days.

Testimony Traces Soviet Tactics

Chalfont's 43-page testimony was read to the 12-member jury. It traced the Soviet Union's alleged disinformation tactics over the last 20 years. He concluded that the contents of *Ethnos* "seem to be fully in line with the KGB's objectives."

Ethnos ("The Nation") insists that it has not been financed by the Soviet Union, and that its pro-Soviet editorial slant is the result of its own free choice and reflects anti-Western sentiments in Greece.

The paper sees the *Economist's* claims as examples of a CIA conspiracy to undermine the newspaper and, through it, the socialist government of Premier Andreas Papandreu.

Some observers of the case have noted that the result will add new fuel to the argument as to whether or not the KGB has

See AGENTS, page 7

Nicaraguan War Spreads To Cities

By JACK SKELLY

Five northern Nicaraguan towns were left without electricity over the weekend because of sabotage by anti-Sandinista forces, wire services reported. The sabotage is the work of emerging "urban cells" sympathetic with the freedom fighters, their military commander claimed.

At the same time, Nicaraguan freedom fighters announced they had killed 311 and wounded 232 Sandinista soldiers in 69 skirmishes during the week of March 16-22.

The fighting took place in the provinces of Jinotega, Zelaya, Rio San Juan, Matagalpa, Nueva Segovia, Chontales, and Esteli.

The democratic resistance also reported that during the same week, at Santa Rosa in Zelaya Province, its forces shot down an Mi-17 helicopter. The

chopper was shot down by a SAM-7 anti-aircraft missile, and brought to five the number of Soviet-made helicopters shot down in Nicaragua in the last month. In just 19 days, a spokesman for the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) said, the Soviets have lost \$24 million worth of equipment provided to the Sandinistas.

The helicopter was shot down by Commando HAROLD of the Regional Command Santiago Meza, the same commander who brought down an Mi-24 "Flying Fortress" helicopter gunship two weeks before.

The forces of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) warned the Sandinista command that all persons dressed in "olive green" are considered military targets. [The Washington Post reported March 28 that "the Sandinista strategy for fighting the rebels in rural areas has blurred the definition of who is a civilian

and who is not." It reported that in a recent attack by resistance forces in Nueva Guinea, labelled "an atrocious act" by the government, the supposed civilian victims were armed and un-informed.]

Two weeks ago, urban commandos almost blew up an electric power tower in Managua's suburbs. The freedom fighter leadership, fresh from an injection of \$40 million from the United States, said it is beginning to call on its "fifth columns," which have been waiting for the right moment to act in Managua and other Nicaraguan towns and cities.

Close to 200,000 residents of Esteli, Ocotao, Condega, Jalaya, and El Jicaro were enduring great hardships without electricity, according to the head of the Regional Institute of Electric Energy, David Valdivia.

See WAR, page 7

Suriname: Victory Near

By PETER LaBARBERA

WASHINGTON—Surinamese freedom fighters battling the pro-Soviet dictatorship of Desi Bouterse may be only several weeks away from victory if they can obtain the necessary help from the West, a prominent exile said here last week.

Dr. Eddie Jozefzoon, 49, just back from a visit with Suriname National Liberation Army (SNLA) leader Ronny Brunswijk, said at a Capitol Hill press conference that only the severe arms shortage of Brunswijk's underdog forces has kept them from toppling Bouterse.

Dr. Jozefzoon nevertheless asserted that the morale of Brunswijk and his forces—who call themselves the Jungle Commando—is "very good," and said "the situation is very positive" for a quick victory. Jozefzoon, like Brunswijk, is an ethnic Maroon, a group which makes up ten percent of the population of Suriname.

Maroons, descendants of African slaves, have been the targets of a genocidal campaign by the Libya-backed Bouterse regime, whose repression of the Maroons has increased commensurately with the success of the Jungle Commando forces. Those forces are reported to be moving ever closer to Suriname's



Victims of Bouterse: Maroons killed by regime are piled in back of pickup truck. Note back of child's head revealing government brutality.

capital city, Paramaribo, in their battle to oust Bouterse.

Despite the Maroon dominance, Jozefzoon emphasized that Brunswijk's liberation war "is not ethnic nor regional. . . It is a national rebellion . . . containing all ethnic groups in Sur-

iname."

The Maroon exile said that the SNLA controls about 85 percent of Suriname territory—basically everywhere outside the northern coastal areas controlled by the government. "It is hard to believe,

See SURINAME, page 2

PRESERVATION COPY

The Eye

Hollywood Goes Volga: Mikhail Gorbachev's latest p.r. triumph is a U.S.-Soviet exchange billed as the "Entertainment Summit." Soviet film director Elem Klimov and a delegation of comrades in art breezed through Hollywood and New York



last week, vowing to rid the world of Cold War stereotypes and promote better superpower relations via the silver screen. Director Elem praised Mikhail for the "radical change" that

permits "talented and honest people more and better access to movie cameras." Because "people are now writing the truth," said Elem, magazines are selling out and there is a shortage of paper on which to print them.

American film producer, Mark Gerson, the Entertainment Summit's creator, says that the brash movie stereotypes both here and in the USSR prompted him to plan this confab. Soviet film honchos were accompanied by the peripatetic "commentator" Vladimir Posner. Upcoming projects discussed by the summiteers include an MGM remake of "Anna Karenina," featuring Meryl Streep, overseen by a top-notch Soviet director and a CBS-TV flick, "Allies," in which a Russian and American pilot, shot down during W.W. II, become pals while fighting in the Italian underground. CBS is also gearing up for a miniseries on leftie Life mag photographer Margaret Bourke-White's jaunts through the Soviet Union during the 1930s. Yet another CBS venture, still in the hush-hush stage, may focus on the Chernobyl disaster.

P.S.: The tab for the Entertainment Summit, which includes a U.S. film foray to the Kremlin, is being picked up by the Carnegie Corp. of N.Y., the Rockefeller Family Fund, the New York-based Fund for Peace and the Ploughshares Fund.

Who's Side Are They On? Last November, British TV scribe Philip Day-Pinchen ventured to Marxist Zimbabwe, seeking sponsors for a docu-flick on black-white relations. He emerged with a far more shocking story. According to the Afrikaans daily paper "Die Beeld" (March 3, 1987) Philip was arrested by some with alleged connections to Zimbabwe intelligence then repeatedly tortured until he "admitted" he was a spy. Before release, Philip was reportedly raped by a man, who claimed to be an ANC murderer. Philip's captors let him go, but kept his car and his money.

And how did this outrageous treatment of a fellow journalist play on the evening news? "De Beeld" reports that "not a single overseas news service or TV network showed any interest in his story."

Now Philip reportedly plans to make a documentary of his own gruesome experience, including the reaction from top-flight news-gatherers at ABC, NBC and the BBC, whose comment was, in effect: "Tell us that this happened to you in South Africa and we'll buy your story. But not Zimbabwe." ***

Red Loves White: Tough-talking dictator Fidel Castro may send his Cuban comrades into orbit when they find he's flipped over American "Wheel of Fortune" TV megastar, Vanna White. Ex-Fidel confidante Jorge Suarez, now exiled in Mexico, whispered to the Weekly World News that Fidel's gone bananas over Vanna's program, "stamping his feet, screaming out the answers and roaring with laughter when he figures out the puzzle before the contestants do." The Havana hotshot, while spinning through late-night "Wheel" re-runs, has reportedly suggested that Vanna's his primero choice for first lady. Of this puppy love, Fidel's ex-pal Jorge says: "If she (Vanna) wanted to, she could conquer Cuba without firing a shot." ***

No Free Lunch? Know where you can latch onto some free office space in a prime midtown Manhattan location? At the United Nations, eyelets. The U.N. cheerfully doles out desk space to more than 100 news organs, including the N.Y. Times, Business Week, Le Monde, CBS, NBC, the AP and Connecticut's Greenwich Time. All you need is proof that you'll report those mega U.N. events plus a letter from the editor. Trouble, is, the U.N. has slipped from its high-profile newsmaker status of years ago, according to Manhattan, Inc. mag. Desk toilers call the U.N. a good roost for scoping out the New York-Hollywood scene, but admit the last grabby story was about the Falklands. "There are lots of hangers-on," explains a Voice of America staffer. "Where else can they go?" ***

Inspiration: Word has it that ex-NSC head Robert McFarlane's recovery from depression took a giant step forward when a close chum sent him a tape of Frank Capra's movie classic, "It's a Wonderful Life." Now comes news that Ron's gloom over the Iran imbroglio lifted after he saw "Hoosiers," the blockbuster flick about an ex-basketball coach in a small Indiana town who gets a second chance. The N.Y. Post reports that Ron, who saw parallels with his own situation, was "so incredibly inspired" by the "coach on the comeback trail" that White Houser Mitch Daniels arranged for the Prez to meet "Hoosier" star Gene Hackman. ***

Suriname

Continued from page 1
but Bouterse only controls the coast," said Jozefzoon.

The goal of the liberation forces, as outlined by Jozefzoon, is to ignite a popular uprising in the capital which will bring the demise of the Bouterse dictatorship. He said Brunswijk seeks to "avoid the battle of Paramaribo. We are convinced that battle will cost a lot of blood, and that we don't want."

"We don't want a military victory," said Jozefzoon. "What we... want is to get the people in Paramaribo protection so they can move in the streets." The objective, he asserted, is a Phillipines-style overthrow of Bouterse—a "joint victory... the Commando together with the civilians."

Jozefzoon said the Jungle Commando forces "hoped to get help from the western democracies," but have been largely disappointed. He said western countries such as the Netherlands, the United States and France condemned Bouterse for his massive human rights violations, but Brunswijk never received the "necessary help to realize liberation."

The prominent Maroon sounded like other disappointed anti-communist resistance leaders when he lamented: "I wonder how many times we shall have to wait before the western world shall realize what is going on in Suriname." He added that "maybe they want to see more blood."

In addition to arms, Jozefzoon appealed to the West for help in obtaining a radio transmitter, so that Brunswijk's forces "can communicate with the people in the city," who he said are being fed daily by the regime with the "lie" that the Commando kills civilians. If that were the case, he said, the resistance would not be growing at such a rapid pace.

Another prominent Surinamese exile, Dr. Henk Chin A Sen, 53, said at the press conference that "for more than five years now, Suriname has been a totalitarian state—a dictatorship that keeps the people in line by intimidation, by violence and by terrorism."

Dr. Chin A Sen, who once served under Bouterse as prime minister before fleeing when the regime tilted leftward, said that "morally and financially and economically, our country Suriname is ruined." He said the demands of his countrymen are "freedom now" and the restoration of "democratic, judicial state."

Correction

In last week's issue of the Washington Inquirer there was an omission in Cliff Kincaid's column, "Agit-Hunger In The Media," describing the media's treatment of anti-nuclear faster Charles Hyder. In the description of Hyder and some groups supporting him, the following paragraphs should have been inserted:

Hyder, who wants to be known as Doctor, has issued press releases about his quest for peace. They are regularly distributed at the National Press Club.

He also has a fan club.

A group called the Peace Park Anti-Nuclear Vigil, which protests "the threat of worldwide nuclear holocaust" in Lafayette Park across from the White House, has issued a release hailing Hyder as someone prepared to die so others will live.

This group, incidentally, says that it "offers speakers for various peace events, churches, schools, and radio talk shows; distributes literature for other peace groups; welcomes help in leafletting, maintenance of the watch (in the park), artwork, printing, and other forms of communication."

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The Washington Inquirer is published weekly by the Council for the Defense of Freedom, 1275 K St. NW, Suite 1160, Washington, D.C. 20005; Marx Lewis, Chairman.

Editor-in-Chief: _____ Wilson C. Lucom
Managing Editor: _____ Peter La Barbera
Assistant Editor: _____ Timothy Phares
Business and Editorial Offices: _____ (202) 789-4294

Subscriptions: within USA \$20 per year mailed third class, \$30 per year mailed first class, overseas
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Soviets Test Battle Lasers

By PETER SAMUEL

The Soviets have been testing out new tactical battle laser weapons and have temporarily blinded people and caused burns, according to a senior U.S. defense official. He was answering questions at a background briefing at the Pentagon today on the 1987 edition of the publication "Soviet Military Power."

Soviet Military Power

The 1987 book shows a picture of a laser device photographed on the deck of a Sovremennyy class destroyer and says in a caption that this has been used to "irradiate western patrol aircraft." The senior official, who cannot be identified under press groundrules, said that there had been incidents at sea involving the use of battlefield lasers against western patrol aircraft and reports from other areas of the world of the use of lasers against personnel on the ground. This had occurred in the "Middle East and elsewhere." He confirmed one other place was Afghanistan.

Early this year, one U.S. intelligence source, who spoke on condition that he not be identified, said that the U.S. had reports of the Soviets field testing a laser weapon against the Afghan Mujahedeen. He described the laser as being incorporated in a tracked vehicle about the size of a 152 mm self-propelled gun. It had been used to "zap" the Mujahedeen on several occasions, causing severe burns and death.

The incidents described at the Pentagon briefing on "Soviet Military Power" involved what the defense official called "lasering" of aircraft, spacecraft and ground equipment.

"These reports would suggest the Soviets are either exploring or on the verge of deploying battlefield lasers to blind personnel or burn rangefinders and the like. It would not be much of a jump at all for them to go to a battlefield capability."

The 1987 edition of Soviet Military Power says the Soviets have built high energy laser weapons with up to 10 megawatts of power and are ahead of the U.S. in applying them to weapons.

"The tactical laser program has progressed to where battlefield laser weapons could pretty soon be deployed with Soviet



The electro-optic sensor/laser device (at lower right) on the SOREMNENY-Class destroyer has been used by the Soviets to irradiate Western patrol aircraft. Such laser irradiation, depending upon the distance, could permanently blind.

forces. The Soviets have the technological capability to deploy low power laser weapons—at least for anti-personnel use and against soft targets such as sensors, canopies and light material."

"Serious eye damage" can now be done by the kinds of lasers the Soviets are using to irradiate western surveillance aircraft, the Pentagon book says. It also says that the Soviets are making major progress in other exotic weapons.

A radio frequency (RF) weapon has been demonstrated by the Soviets that generates single pulses of a billion watts of peak power and repetitive pulses of over 100 million watts. There are "no significant technological obstacles" to the Soviets building a short range tactical RF weapon, which could degrade electronics at a distance and "be used in an anti-personnel role."

The Pentagon book reports a wide range of Soviet advances in developing chemical and biological weapons. Anthrax, plague, botulism and tularemia are germ weapons the Soviets have, apparently, stocked on a large scale. The book says the Soviets have vaccines and antidotes as well as protective equipment for their personnel to move safely into contaminated areas immediately after an attack.

The Soviets have bulk quantities of anthrax in dry and pressurized liquid form. An April 1979 accident in the Sverdlovsk area, in which hundreds of local people died, was the result of an explosion with pressurized liquid anthrax spores, according to the 1987 book. An estimated 10 kilograms of anthrax were released and the bacterial aerosol spread to an area of 3 to 5 km radius from the Microbiology and Virology Institute, a military facility on the southwestern outskirts of the city.

Total military control of the cleanup and the use of aerial spraying of large areas of the township were clear indications of the presence of an infectious aerosol, the book says. The Soviet Ministry of Defense is using modern biotechnology to make naturally occurring micro-organisms "more virulent, antibiotic resistant and manipulated to render current U.S. vaccine ineffective," according to the Pentagon. "New genetically engineered agents could be so impervious to treatment that only scientists with the knowledge of how the original mutation was developed could produce an effective prevention or cure."

In an introduction, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger says the Soviets are making a much larger commitment to military power than the U.S., considerably outproducing the U.S. numerically and increasingly challenging its technological lead.

In the past decade, the USSR outbuilt 3,000 ICBMs and SLBMs to America's 850; surface to air missiles 140,000 to 14,000; tanks 24,400 to 7,100; submarines 90 to the 43; artillery pieces 28,200 to 2,750.

The 1987 edition of Soviet Military Power says that the Soviets are spending an estimated \$20 billion annually on strategic offensive weapons and about the same on strategic defensive weaponry (U.S. spending by comparison is about \$12 billion on offensive systems and \$4 billion on defenses.) "Soviet Military Power" identifies for the first time over-the-horizon radars being built by the Soviets directed at U.S. ICBM fields, the construction of a definite three (and a possible five) new large phased array tracking and targeting radars of the Krasnoyarsk kind, which the U.S. has identified as a breach of the ABM Treaty. It says that Moscow's anti-ballistic missile defenses, being deployed in conformity with the treaty, include a nuclear warheaded layer. Called "Gazelles," these high acceleration silo-based interceptor missiles would destroy incoming U.S. missile warheads by exploding nuclear weapons high in the atmosphere over Moscow, the 1987 book suggests.

The Pentagon expects the Soviets to have a prototype of a ground-based anti-ballistic missile laser by the end of the decade and largescale deployment of these possible in the late 1990s. Air defense and naval lasers could lead ABM lasers by several years.

The senior defense official briefing journalists at the Pentagon today said that the most worrisome matter to U.S. defense was the rapid advance in Soviet offensive missiles. The mobility and silo hardening make it difficult for the U.S. to maintain a credible capacity to attack Soviet nuclear weapons. The Soviets now have over 100 SS-25 mobile ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) and are about to begin deployment of a large rail mobile SS-24 ICBM. The 1987 book specifies for the first time the radical improvement in missile accuracy being attained by the Soviets. The SS-25 missiles now being introduced have an accuracy "five times" that of the SS-13s they replace.

The Soviets' major worry about the American SDI program, the Pentagon book says, is that they see it as having the potential to prevent Soviet strategic dominance. Without U.S. SDI, the Soviets think they could fight and win a nuclear war by destroying the large proportion of western retaliatory systems first and then use defenses to minimize the damage from See MILITARY, page 5

Soviet Poet Doubts Glasnost

By OLEG VOLKONSKY

Ever since the days of early 19th century poet Alexander Pushkin, the author of "Boris Godunov," "Eugene Onegin" and some of the world's greatest lyrical poetry, Russian rulers have been afraid of Russian poets. An old folksaying goes:

"Swing an axe as you will
You can't hack out
The words of a quill."

The same applies today to Irina Ratushinskaya, a boyish-looking woman of 33, released last October from a Soviet labor camp.

Last week, Miss Ratushinskaya made her American debut in Washington at a ceremony organized by The Institute on Religion and Democracy, during which she was presented with the organization's 1987 Religious Freedom Award. Previous recipients have been Nicaraguan Catholic leader Cardinal Obando y Bravo, and Armando Valladares, a Cuban dissident who spent 22 years in Fidel Castro's jails. In his remarks, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz commended Ratushinskaya with the words: "She stands here this evening as a symbol of hope."

Irina Ratushinskaya was arrested in 1982 at the age of 28 under Statute 70 of the Soviet Criminal Code (for "anti-Soviet propaganda") and received one of the longest sentences for a woman in recent memory—seven years prison and five years exile. The main evidence at her trial consisted of five poems. She served four years and one month, during which she was tortured by violent beatings and by cold—138 days in isolation cells where the temperature plunged to 10 degrees Celsius below freezing.

Miss Ratushinskaya does not attribute her release to Soviet Secretary-General



Irina Ratushinskaya

Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of "Glasnost," but to pressure on her behalf from the West. During her remarks at the press conference in the Mayflower Hotel, Ratushinskaya said only two percent of Soviet political prisoners have been released so far. "We felt this 'humanism' during Gorbachev's times," she said sarcastically. "We were tortured too." She spelled out three conditions for true "Glasnost" to take effect:

1. Release of all political prisoners, 4,000 of whom are still behind bars.
2. Open Soviet borders to emigration and travel.
3. Allow freedom of speech and publication.

She pointed out there are two forms of publication in the Soviet Union today: the official one and "Samizdat," the clandestine one.

"It ('Samizdat' literature) is very prestigious and very expensive," she said. "Samizdat" authors do not get any money, but they do get seven or ten years

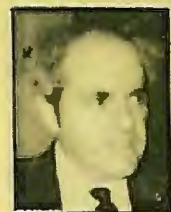
See POET, page 7

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Where Is Left's Compassion Now?

Allan C. Brownfeld

During the Vietnam War, critics of U.S. involvement repeatedly said that we were on the "wrong" side—that the governments we were supporting were brutal and corrupt while the Viet Cong were simply virtuous nationalists who wanted nothing more than a better life for the people of Vietnam.



After the Viet Cong came to power, they and their North Vietnamese sponsors transformed Vietnam into a totalitarian Marxist-Leninist state. Still, their American admirers defended them. An advertisement appeared in 1977, for example, signed by such prominent anti-war spokesmen as Richard Barnett, David Dellinger, Richard Falk and Cora Weiss stated that, "The present suffering of the Vietnamese people is largely a consequence of the war itself for which the U.S. bears the continuing responsibility." They declared that, "We have examined these charges (of human rights abuses) and find them to be based on distortion and exaggeration."

Even during the war, many American

liberals took guided tours of North Vietnam and proclaimed the virtues of that squalid tyranny. Ramsay Clark, former U.S. attorney general, observed in 1972: "My experience tells me that, as has been told by Aristotle, the chief and universal cause of the revolutionary impulse is the desire for equality. You see no internal conflict in this country. I've seen none. You feel a unity in spirit. I doubt very seriously that I could walk in safety in Saigon or the cities and villages of South Vietnam, as I have here, because of the division and the confusion and the lack of faith and belief there."

Jane Fonda traveled to Hanoi and told the world that American prisoners of war were being well treated and that reports of torture were false. Now, in the movie "Platoon," Oliver Stone portrays a savage war—but no enemy, no mention of the Viet Cong, no concern for the suffering which has been inflicted upon the people of Vietnam since the Communist victory.

Since there are no elections in Communist Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have voted in the only way available to them—with their feet—and have fled by the hundreds of thousands, many dying at sea in a desperate effort to be free. If today's Vietnam is the virtuous society so admired by the American left, someone has, it seems, forgotten to tell the Viet-

namese people.

The American left has not only ignored violations of human rights in Vietnam but has denied that they are taking place. The Rev. Paul McCleary of the National Council of Churches, for example, traveled to Vietnam after the Communist victory as executive director of the NCC's World Church Service. He returned to report that on a tour of one of the infamous "re-education camps"—where political prisoners were being worked and starved to death—he found the food "delicious."

Communist Vietnam remains a traditional Stalinist police state in many ways. Since April 1975, well over one million Vietnamese have been incarcerated in a network of more than 150 "re-education" camps and prisons. Currently it is estimated that at least 60,000 Vietnamese remain in detention throughout the country. Nguyen Van Canh, deputy dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Saigon until 1975, writes in his book, *Vietnam Under Communism*, that, "The re-education program is vital to the regime's system of internal security. The more totalitarian a regime, the more extensive a camp system it needs in order to stamp out opposition. That is why so many concentration camps are being built in Vietnam today and why they will continue to be built as long as Vietnam is com-

munist."

Some "undesirable elements" are forced to move to New Economic Zones (NEZs), undeveloped regions of the country which have been described as "camps without guards, located in malaria-infested jungles." Canh explains: "Each NEZ is in effect an agricultural cooperative, with the difference that its members are usually not seasoned peasants but urban dwellers who have been selected for anything but their experience in agriculture." Canh notes that while the NEZs have helped the Communist regime control potential opposition, "they are not merely falling short of expectations, they are disastrous failures."

The NEZs, however, are only the beginning of Vietnam's largely ignored record of political persecution and terror. Two University of California researchers have discovered that between 1975 and 1983 at least 65,000 politically motivated murders and executions have taken place in Vietnam.

Three years of exhaustive research, conducted in seven cities and two countries by Professors Jacqueline Desbarats and Karl Jackson, with more than 800 refugees interviewed, have provided persuasive evidence of this bloodbath. "We shouldn't have been surprised knowing what history tells us of regimes such as Hanoi's," says Jackson, now Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia and Pacific Affairs. "A lot of reasonable people doubted the reports from escapees of Nazi concentration camps."

The media, sadly, has largely ignored the accumulating evidence. Desbarats and Jackson lament that, "Governments, the media and the public often treat the absence of reports from closed societies as proof that something—like widespread killing—has not happened. It is not prudent to apply to any totalitarian society the same standards of proof we would apply in a free society, with a searching press and groups dedicated to disclosing the truth."

Discussing this research, Ralph Kinney Bennett of *The Reader's Digest* points out that, "In a perverse way, the torture, hunger and degrading conditions of Vietnam's infamous re-education camps had actually drawn attention away from its 'secret blood bath.' The fear and cultural reticence of the Vietnamese refugees had also helped keep this slaughter in the shadows. But, the research of these two scholars has directed a shaft of light into the darker recesses of this repressive and vengeful regime."

Economically, the Communists have led Vietnam to disaster. Its per capita income is only \$245—while neighboring Thailand's is nearly three times as great. Vietnam is unable to produce enough food to feed its own people; Thailand, on the other hand, is the world's biggest rice exporter. Things have gotten so bad in Vietnam, that the Communist government has admitted its own failure. It is estimated that the inflation rate ran to at least 700 percent in 1986.

Why is it that our human rights activists—who demonstrate and picket against abuses in South Africa and South Korea and Taiwan, say not a word of criticism of Vietnam? Are Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark and the others feeling guilt over their role in helping to inflict tyranny upon the Vietnamese? Or do they simply not care if reality contradicts their own ideological myths? Clearly, they seem to feel no responsibility for the results of their deeds.

A Scandal Deserving Coverage

Cliff Kincaid

Conservative Christians and their leaders have never been on the media's list of favorite people. When they began to enter politics, they were denounced for violating the separation between church and state and threatening the constitution.



Never mind the fact that the constitution makes no reference to such a separation. Never mind that the Christian left had been heavily involved in politics for

years.

Similarly, while the media continue their preoccupation with what the New York Times calls "Gospelgate," involving conservative Christian evangelists, the Christian left is working overtime to protect the communist forces in Central America that are destroying the Christian church. This scandalous behavior is most apparent within the Catholic Church in the U.S. But it is not defined as a scandal by the media.

Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit is joining the Reverend Jesse Jackson as a speaker at an April 25 rally in Washington called the "Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa." One objective of the demonstration is to pressure the Congress into not continuing aid to the freedom fighters in Nicaragua. On March 29, Gumbleton was scheduled to speak at a similar rally in Detroit, where he was to be joined on the platform by an official representative of the Communist

Cliff Kincaid is Director of Media Analysis at Accuracy in Media.

Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

As documented by James L. Tyson in his book, *Prophets or Useful Idiots*, the Catholic Church in America has over the years exhibited a "softening towards communism," as reflected in the activities of Gumbleton and others. He says, "While under Pope John Paul II the Vatican has made an effort to reverse this appeasement policy, the American church central office has remained more consistently radical, and is now probably one of the most ultra-liberal of any of the churches in the world."

Tyson points out that Father J. Bran Heir, an official of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), once delivered a series of lectures titled, "Matthew, Marx, Luke, and John." The lectures were given at a Washington think tank, the Institute for Policy Studies, which opposes American efforts to contain or roll back communism.

Gumbleton and the USCC have consistently opposed U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters, even though their ranks are comprised of many victims of religious persecution in Sandinista Nicaragua. According to Tyson, the Nicaraguan Catholic Church has been increasingly persecuted over the years, but their appeals for help have been "ignored or contradicted" by the USCC in Washington.

"Finally," Tyson writes, "after the most recent Sandinista attacks on the church, the expulsion of Nicaragua bishop Pablo Antonio Vega and the refusal to permit the Rev. Bismarck Carballo to return to Nicaragua after a trip abroad, the U.S. (Catholic) hierarchy began to show more sympathy for their Nicaraguan brethren. On July 15, 1986, they permitted the Rev. Carballo, who directed the Nicaraguan Catholic radio closed down by the regime, to give a press conference at

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the USCC headquarters describing the Sandinistas' persecution of the church."

Despite the fact that Pope John Paul II was himself heckled by a pro-Sandinista mob during a visit to the country in 1983, U.S. Catholic Bishops such as Gumbleton continue to associate themselves with organizations that apologize for Sandinista repression. Gumbleton, for instance, still serves on the board of Witness for Peace, a See APOLOGISTS, page 7

PRESERVATION COPY

Will General Electric Reform NBC?

Reed Irvine

Shareholders of General Electric Company are being asked to vote on a resolution that asks management to consider employing what might be called a "quality control" officer for a subsidiary. This is a



concept that executives at General Electric are very familiar with in their business. They know the importance of getting things done right and insuring that the product is one that will measure

up to the company's high standards.

During the past year, GE has become the owner of a new and very different kind of business—NBC. For years, businessmen have complained about television network news. What a lot of their complaints add up to is that the network news lacks quality control. It is said to be inaccurate often times. It is hard to get errors corrected, and, worst of all, from the point of view of the businessmen, it is said to display an anti-business bias.

GE promptly put one of its own executives, Robert C. Wright, in charge of NBC. Since Mr. Wright had a con-

ventional business background, it seemed reasonable to assume that he might share the feeling of many businessmen that something ought to be done about improving quality control at NBC News. Perhaps he does, but it is not evident from the GE reaction to the shareholder resolution that urges GE to appoint an officer who would

It says they give careful attention to complaints lodged by Accuracy in Media, which proposed the resolution, and to other critics. It says they respond promptly and thoroughly to complaints and that they correct significant errors. It says they broadcast over 25 corrections in the past three years.

Accuracy In Media

have responsibility for investigating complaints about inaccurate and unfair NBC broadcasts. This official would have the power to see that steps were taken promptly to correct incorrect statements or cases of unfairness. He could also preview documentary-type programs and inform top officials of the company if they failed to measure up to the standards of accuracy and balance established by the company.

GE has recommended that its shareholders vote against this resolution, saying that there is no need for a special officer to carry out these responsibilities. It argues that the present NBC management is doing a fine job of quality control.

Accuracy in Media, which I head, has found that NBC does indeed respond reasonably promptly to its complaints, but it hasn't had much success in getting the network to acknowledge that it has done anything wrong. To support its resolution, which is included in the proxy material sent out to all GE shareholders, AIM cited two examples of very serious complaints that NBC brushed aside. Both involved reports by Jon Alpert, a left-wing free lance journalist whose work has been aired frequently by NBC since 1979. Complaints about serious errors and political bias in Alpert's reports seemed to have no effect whatsoever.

We don't know to this day what happened to Maj. Kang, a former South Vietnamese army officer whose life was endangered by an interview Jon Alpert did with him in a Vietnamese prison two years ago. Alpert insisted on asking Maj. Kang questions about his treatment that he was obviously reluctant to answer, unwilling to lie and fearing retribution at the hands of his jailers if he told the truth. Alpert continued to press him, and finally the major responded to Alpert's suggestion that he give him a message for President Reagan. The major asked the Free World to act to save him and the other prisoners.

When AIM and others pointed out that Alpert's insensitive interview may have resulted in Maj. Kang's being tortured or even killed, NBC replied saying that Alpert did not think his questions placed the prisoner in any jeopardy and expressed complete satisfaction with the interview. Two months later, an NBC correspondent visiting Vietnam asked to see Maj. Kang again, saying it was a high priority request. The request was denied, and Maj. Kang's fate remains unknown.

However, Jon Alpert went on to greater glory with NBC, doing a sympathetic series on the communist guerrillas in the Philippines that was featured on the NBC Nightly News.

Jackson Blasts Pentagon—At West Point!

Lester Kinsolving

To the hundreds of thousands of visitors each year, one of the most popular of all the statues or memories at the United States Military Academy at West Point is a larger-than-life-sized bronze figure, in



helmet and battle jacket, who is wearing two pearl-handled pistols. He is shown holding binoculars and scowling into the distance. At the base of the statue is his admonition:

"PURSUE THE ENEMY WITH THE MOST AUDACITY."

On February 19, 1987, General George S. Patton, West Point Class of 1914, whose loathing of communism is well known, had good cause to climb off that pedestal and march over to the Superintendent's office. The ghost of George Patton could have asked, in the purple language for which he was well known:

"We're supposed to pursue the enemy—not invite him to West Point and pay him to lecture!"

The Reverend Jesse Jackson is not actually an enemy of this country. But he has publicly saluted communist dictators such as Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega who are, unquestionably, enemies of the United States.

Jackson's lecture date at West Point is as scandalous as if Lutheran Minister Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Rearmament, had been invited to preach at West Point only months after he returned

Les Kinsolving is a syndicated columnist and talk show host on WBFR-Radio, in Baltimore, Maryland

from the 1936 Olympics and told a reporter: "I thank God for a man like Adolf Hitler."

As should have been expected, Jackson, who was on hand for "Black History Month," violated his hospitality. As a guest of this facility of the Department of Defense, Jackson proceeded to attack the Pentagon in front of 2,000 of the 4,500 cadets, who are employed and are being educated by it. He said:

"When the American people learn that the Pentagon is building more and more permanent facilities in Honduras, in the midst of a national crisis about unguided operations in Central America, what happens to our confidence in military leadership?"

A more appropriate question might be: "When the Secretary of the Army, the Army's Chief of Staff and the lieutenant general who is Superintendent of West Point allow the paying of a concealed sum to this race-hustler and demagogic dictator-lover to have him harangue 2,000 future officers, where is public confidence in their good judgement?"

At West Point they also invited another strongly pro-Soviet clergyman, the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, senior minister of New York's Riverside Church—which is now known by some of its own members as "The Communist Cathedral."

Neither the Coffin nor the Jackson appearances were designated: "KNOW OUR ENEMIES"—and West Point alumni across the nation were outraged when Coffin was asked to address the cadets.

Who is next at the Point? Jane Fonda? Is it possible they may arrange "Benedict Arnold Week" at West Point?

At the Military Academy, two congenial and ingenious public affairs officers wrestled with this question. Major David

Compton explained that this was part of the "Distinguished Lecture Series," which "meets our need to educate cadets in all areas, so they can hear from and form their own opinions. Col. John Yeagley added: "You might say this is academic openmindedness. Besides, I'm told that the lecture was rather bland, in view of what might have been expected."

Will this "academic openmindedness" result in an invitation to Louis Farrakhan to West Point?

"Probably not," replied Col. Yeagley. "We might invite Jane Fonda—if she reforms and joins the Daughters of the American Revolution."

In Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania, one listener to my talk show sent me The New York Times clipping about Jackson at West Point, with the following question: "It is my understanding that no politician or other person can attack the commander in chief while addressing our military . . . why did not the Superintendent or any patriotic officer disrupt this man and tell him what he was doing was illegal and un-American?"

Major Compton replied: "I don't believe



Rev. Jesse Jackson

it's illegal, under the First Amendment." And Col. Yeagley added: "If Mikhail Gorbachev visited the United States and wanted to address the Corps (of Cadets), I don't imagine we would turn him down, since he's a foreign dignitary, and because we believe the cadets are intelligent."

Military

Continued from page 3

the few U.S. nuclear weapons that escaped.

There have been some increases in Soviet deployments in the Pacific theatre, where they now have 57 divisions of army troops, up four from last year. (Soviet divisions consist of about 12,000 men.) Tank numbers in the Pacific theatre are 15,000 up only 100 but consisting of more modern armored vehicles. In the Soviet Pacific navy, principal surface combatants are up one to 84 and other combatants (frigates) and others up one to 121. Submarine numbers have grown 5 to 95 in the

Pacific and naval aviation planes have gone from 510 to 560.

The Pentagon briefer says that the latest series of Soviet submarines show "dramatic advances" in technology, making a western anti-submarine warfare considerably more difficult. The Pentagon expects an initial run of four full-sized aircraft carriers to be built of which two are now fitting out.

In an introduction, the book claims the Soviets are prepared to wage a world war for an extended period without use of nuclear weapons, although they are prepared to escalate to the use of nuclear weapons and think they have a strategy to survive and prevail in nuclear conflict.

PRESERVATION COPY

Argentina: Drifting Away From U.S.

Robert Morris

BUENOS AIRES, March 13—This country has been one of Moscow's prize targets in South America. Argentina has a long, 1,700 mile South Atlantic coastline that tapers down to the Magellan Strait, the



Beagle Channel and the Drake Passage, which together dominate Cape Horn, at the southern tip of the continent. It has a long, porous border with Chile and after the latter it is the closest country

Robert Morris is chairman of the Committee to Restore Internal Security.

in the world to Antarctica, with its untapped minerals and other resources which will be opening in the next few years. Argentina's capital, Buenos Aires, is also directly opposite the Cape of Good Hope in Africa and if the ongoing campaign against South Africa being waged by the USSR and the West succeeds, it will be (after Montevideo, Uruguay, which can intercept its shipping passage) the first Latin American checkpoint on the routes from the Indian Ocean.

For the present, at least, the Soviets are establishing a firm foothold in this country. They have been delivering turbines and heavy machinery for power plants and have made the civilian government of President Raul Alfonsín dependent on them. In return, Buenos Aires has granted "fishing" and "scientific research"

rights to the East Bloc so that about 150 Soviet and Polish and Bulgarian ships, some permanently stationed in South Atlantic waters, move freely about the southern region. They also have been given fishing and ship repair rights to Puerto Madryn, half way up the Argentinian coast, and at Bahia Blanca.

But what I find most distressing is the political trend. Recently in Geneva, Argentina voted with Venezuela and Colombia against the United States and for Cuba on the issue of human rights. The dominant political issue here is the Alfonsín government's prosecution of high Argentinian military leaders for excessive acts of repression against the Montoneros' acts of terror, carried out in the 1970s. These prosecutions are putting the military on the defensive and giving Alfonsín and

his foreign minister, Dante Caputo, a free hand to carry on their conciliatory gestures with Moscow. And with the Argentine policy shift toward Moscow, the Montoneros have cooperatively reduced their acts of terrorism. I find this use by Moscow of terrorist cadres as diplomatic pawns to be very effective not only here but in Uruguay, where the terrorist Tupamaros are shifting to political activity instead of acts of violence.

The fact that Argentina has extended its pacts for fishing and scientific rights to Bulgaria, Moscow's most sinister surrogate, gives greater emphasis to the drift eastward. These agreements permit the Soviets and their allies to move without interference, not only in coastal waters but even with access to certain ports.

But even more interesting is the Argentinian and Chilean domination of Cape Horn, the alternate passage to the Panama Canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. (The Panama Canal is most vulnerable—to a mine, a terrorist bomb or a single missile.)

There are three passages between the oceans there—the Magellan Strait, the Beagle Channel and the Drake Passage, the dangerous area between Cape Horn itself and Antarctica. Both Argentina and Chile have tried to control these passages by way of giving to each, access to its opposite ocean.

The Falkland Islands War has moved Argentina closer to Moscow and the former has given the USSR fishing rights in a 200-mile area that coextends with the area claimed by the British, by virtue of their control over the Falklands.

The Antarctica base closest to any of the continents is the one shared by Argentina and Chile, but portions of that are claimed by the USSR and by Poland, which has established a base (Arctovskiy). The Soviets have six permanent bases and several temporary stations in Antarctica, some of which are near Cape Horn. There is extensive Aeroflot activity between these bases and Buenos Aires, Lima, Peru and La Paz, Bolivia, where the Soviet airline has offices. Of course, no one knows the contents of the shipments to and from Antarctica, but there is a broad suspicion that military activity is being carried on.

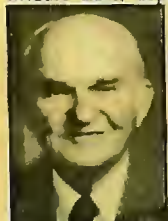
These specifics, however, are only a reflexion of a dangerous trend that I am finding here in the Cone of South America. The trend is away from the United States. We have tolerated Castro's insurrection from the time of the Bay of Pigs disaster and the Cuban Missile Crisis. He has carried on his terrorist activities without effective opposition from the U.S. The sundry guerrilla forces around Latin America are now joining forces and pose a serious threat to every country. This threat and the seeming indifference of the United States toward these developments are causing these countries to make their adjustments.

A senior editor of one of the great journals here told us that the Monroes Doctrine and the OAS and Rio Treaties are all, for practical purposes, dead. He expressed the opinion that in view of the changing trends, Washington should forthrightly implement it. Otherwise, there will be no coordinated defensive action against the political penetration which is rampant and for all practical purposes, unopposed.

Jimmy Carter Strikes Again

G. Russell Evans

Could it be that Jimmy Carter is still depending on daughter Amy for advice on key foreign policy issues? Former President Carter, during his recent tour of the Middle East, deplored the "missing leadership" in Washington and denounced President Reagan's emphasis on "military strength" instead of "negotiated solutions" in dealing with the communists. Once again, Mr. Carter was proving his utter naivete. He told a Cairo audience about the joy of being able "to say what I please."



Well, Amy has also been saying what she pleases—and doing it—on the campus of ultra-liberal Brown University, famous at one time for abolishing specific course requirements for graduation, i.e., do your own thing and you get our diploma. Amy's foreign policy expertise first came to light in 1980 when Daddy, in his debate with Ronald Reagan, cited 13-year old Amy's solution for nuclear defense: fear.

At Brown, Amy has proven herself a true daughter of the revolution: picketing against apartheid in South Africa with never a whimper against communist atrocities in the Soviet Union, Afghanistan or Ethiopia; blocking CIA recruiters on campus but never mind the constitutional rights of the recruiters and her fellow students; and getting herself arrested in the bargain—all for the cause and the glory.

Frankly, we believe, most folks are fed up to here with Jimmy's mountainous toothy grins pervading our media, and repulsed by Amy's irresponsible antics and holier-than-thou glares at us from the morning paper. To tell the truth, Carter's election to the presidency was a fluke in the first place, and his administration an embarrassing farce, start to finish. Except for the leftist bent of Big Media, he and Amy would not get the time of day now.

Capt. G. Russell Evans is author of *The Panama Canal Treaties Swindle*, Signal Books, 201 E. Main St., Carrboro NC 27510, \$19.95 + \$2.00 shipping.



Carter's criticism of American policy on foreign soil, and his attempts to influence it, are in poor taste at best. They are also in violation of the Logan Act (18 U.S.C. 953), which specifically prohibits American citizens from attempting to influence foreign governments without authority. But, don't worry, the Justice Department will not prosecute, says Assistant Attorney General Stephen S. Trott, because "we have no judicial precedents" (letter July 16, 1984). That's right: He said, yes we have a law, but we can't use it because we've never used it to get a "judicial precedent."

In Cairo, Mr. Carter piously told reporters, "I am not here to criticize any particular administration," then zeroed in on President Reagan for alleged neglect of the Middle East, adding that Reagan's place in history "has not yet been assured."

No, not yet. But, Reagan has stood up, for the most part, against communist aggression, liberating Grenada from communist rule and supporting (some) freedom fighters around the world. Not so for Carter, who first discovered he "couldn't trust the communists" in 1979 when they began savaging Afghanistan.

Former President Carter in Cairo denounced the "Iran arms scandal." What scandal (meaning "shame and dishonor") has been proven? If Carter wishes to moralize on shame and dishonor, let us turn back the clock to the Carter years of 1977-81 and reflect: How about Carter's part in replacing America's staunch ally,

the Shah of Iran, with the despotic Ayatollah Khomeini, taker of American hostages and destroyer of once-prosperous Iran, which was faithful buffer against the USSR? What about surrendering the strategic Panama Canal, against the wishes of 80 percent of the American people and contrary to the advice of almost 99 percent of our national military strategists, by means of a secret reservation that voided U.S. defense rights, the only way he and Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos could ever get the Treaties ratified?

What about aiding the communist Sandinistas in overthrowing America's faithful ally, Anastasio Somoza, in Nicaragua and then funding them with American tax money? Although U.S. aid was stopped, the Soviets have moved in to make Nicaragua in 1987 a massively-armed second Cuba on the North American mainland, threatening the United States and all Central America. And what about Carter's sudden and secret termination of our mutual defense treaty with Taiwan in 1978, an unprecedented and illegal assumption of presidential authority?

Carter's gaffes on the international scene—with the exception of the so-called Camp David Accords settling the Israel-Egypt dispute—have been legion. On the domestic scene, he won all prizes with his triple "double-digit" record all in one year: double-digit interest rates, double-digit inflation, and double-digit unemployment. All in all, it was a "misery index" of unforgettable proportions.

1 RESEARCH COPY

War

Continued from page 1

The military chief of the Nicaraguan resistance, Col. Enrique Bermudez, said over the FDN's "Radio Liberacion" that the sabotage in those areas and in Managua had been carried out by "urban cells" of the FDN. Bermudez said it was part of the freedom fighters' new strategy to defeat the totalitarian regime in Managua.

Meanwhile, the Sandinista Ministry of Education announced that it was "alarmed" by the wholesale destruction by students of school property in Managua. The Spanish-language Miami daily *Diario Las Americas* reported this week that at the Institute of Rigoberto Lopez-Perez, students destroyed 100 windows, 15 toilets, 100 desks, and stole numerous chairs and tables, which they took home.

In addition, most of the bathrooms and toilets at the Salvador Medita Institute have been destroyed, the Ministry of Education said.

Some Managua psychiatrists blame the sudden vandalism on the "instability" of the lives of Nicaragua's students, who are regularly plucked out of their classrooms and forced into the Sandinista army, whereupon after a brief training period they are sent to fight the freedom fighters, known as "Contras."

Helms Questions Nominee

By TIMOTHY PHARES

The nomination of Melissa Wells to be U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique, reported by the Inquirer last week, has met with strong opposition from Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC). Sen. Helms, who is described by a Senate staffer as "very concerned about the course the State Department is charting" in this matter, has submitted a new set of about 200 questions for Wells to answer.

Wells, who has previously called the anti-communist Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) "bandits" and compared them to Italy's terrorist Red Brigades, answered a previous set of questions submitted by Helms in a way that was unsatisfactory to the senator. RENAMO is fighting a civil war against the Marxist-Leninist FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) Dictatorship. She is a firm advocate of the State Department position encouraging closer U.S. ties with the FRELIMO.

According to a staff member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Wells, in answering previous written questions from Helms, compared RENAMO unfavorably with the Communist-dominated African National

Congress (ANC), the South African organization known for its policy of "necklacing" or putting tires filled with diesel fuel around the necks of political opponents and setting them on fire. Calling the ANC "an important factor in the South African political equation," Wells added that "it began as a peaceful mass political organization unlike RENAMO." She reportedly added that "RENAMO's commitment to peaceful solutions is uncertain and it has no record of concern for relief of the suffering in Mozambique."

RENAMO operates hospitals and schools in the areas of Mozambique it controls, which experts estimate is about 80 percent of the country, and there is prosperous agricultural economy in those areas. Wells, like the FRELIMO regime with which she hopes to build closer U.S. ties, holds that RENAMO is essentially an unrepresentative terrorist movement.

"Her line," says the staffer, "is the flawed logic the State Department continues to use, and that is that by throwing tax dollars at these governments we're going to wean them away from Marxism-Leninism—when indeed all we are doing



Melissa Wells

is bearing the brunt of a failed economic system while people continue to be crushed under the repressive political system which created the economic problems in the first place."

On Tuesday, Wells' nomination cleared the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 13-2. After the vote, Sen. Paul Trible (R-Va.), who voted against the nomination, called Wells "a staunch supporter of the Marxist-Leninist regime." A floor fight over the nomination is expected.

Agents

Continued from page 1

managed to infiltrate Western government opinion in a way desirable to Moscow.

Much of the testimony has revolved around that point. On Tuesday, a KGB defector and a former Greek employee of Radio Moscow told the court that they had participated in high-level meetings in the Soviet Union on means of spreading Soviet "disinformation" by infiltrating non-communist publications in the West and the Third World.

Defector Plants Propaganda

The Soviet defector, Ilya Dzirkvelov, 60, said he personally used several journalists and newspapers in the West as

channels for "planting propaganda," often without the publications being "consciously" aware of it. The purpose was, he said, to "form and mould public opinion."

Dzirkvelov, who defected to the West in 1980, cited *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* as being "actively used" by the Soviets, and in France he named *Le Monde* and *Liberation*. He said he also participated in financing and launching the *Patriot* newspaper in India.

A former Radio Moscow employee, Kostas Mavropoulos, 50, said he had participated in meetings where it was decided to use non-communist media to develop Soviet interests in Greece.

He said the aim was to "foster a dislike to NATO and the United States, and to convince the public that the West, partic-

ularly the United States, was responsible for Greece's foreign policy problems; and to loosen ties between Greece and the Western alliance."

Mavropoulos worked with the Greek section of Radio Moscow from 1961 to 1976, but became outspoken against the Soviet regime when he returned to work as a journalist in Greece. He defected to Britain in 1980, after working as a KGB officer specializing in disinformation in East Africa, the Middle East and Western Europe.

During their tenure with the KGB, both Dzirkvelov and Mavropoulos worked with Vasili Sitnikov, whom they have identified as deputy director of the KGB's disinformation department.

The *Economist* alleges it was Sitnikov who negotiated a publishing agreement

with Bobolas, the publisher of *Ethnos*. Bobolas told the court that he was not aware of Sitnikov's identity.

Ethnos, which has a daily circulation of 180,000, repeatedly referred in its editorials to the "model societies" of the Soviet bloc. It has asserted that the AIDS virus was developed by the Pentagon in experiments on death-row homosexual convicts, as part of American preparations for biological warfare.

The paper also alleged that the Chernobyl nuclear accident may have been the result of American sabotage, and that the CIA murdered Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Consequently, the *Economist* has sought to prove in court that *Ethnos* "is not a part of the free press, but rather a mouthpiece of the Soviet propaganda machine."

Apologists

Continued from page 4

group that actually sends volunteers into Nicaragua to physically obstruct the activities of the freedom fighters and protect the regime.

A Witness for Peace activist by the name of Jim Mullens, during a 1986 debate with Robert Heckman of the Fund for a Conservative Majority, referred to anti-Sandinista Cardinal Miguel Obando of Nicaragua as an obscenity. When Heckman protested, Mullens said, "Of course he's an (obscenity) and everyone down there knows that." Mullens, reached by Tyson, said he didn't recall using the word.

Gumbleton, Jackson and the others won't be so reckless in their language when they speak at the April 25 Washington rally for "peace" in Central America, to be followed by an "Interfaith Worship Service." But they can be counted on to leave the question unanswered of why, in the name of God, they defend a regime that oppresses their brothers and sisters in Christ. It is doubtful reporters will ask the question. The head of their union, Charles Perlik of the Newspaper Guild, is also an official sponsor of the rally.

Poet

Continued from page 3

of hard labor camps."

While in prison, Irina Ratushinskaya wrote more than 150 poems. Most of them were written in tiny handwriting on thin strips of paper which were rolled up and smuggled out. Others were written by a burned matchstick on soap, memorized and washed away.

She has already been described as one of the world's best living poets.

Irina Ratushinskaya is of Polish descent, was raised in the Ukraine, nurtured on Russian literature, and is a devout Christian. Her parents, products of the dark age of Stalin, never spoke to her about religion. She attributes her faith to her "babushka"—her grandmother.

The power of these "babushkas" and their influence on future generations should not be underestimated. You see many thousands of these humble women in their headscarves, standing for hours in Russian churches, their deep-wrinkled faces lit up by faith and the candles before them. Silently, collectively, they have undermined all the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Only last November, Soviet leader

Mikhail Gorbachev called in Tashkent for a "pitiless" struggle against religion.

The Soviet authorities, says Ratushinskaya, wish to create a new type of people, non-believers. "I am very happy that they have not succeeded with my generation. . . I had no religious education. But when I was eight years old, our teachers explained to us during two hours that God does not exist. I wondered why grown-up people speak so much about things that don't exist—and I didn't believe them."

As a poet, Ratushinskaya belongs to the humanitarian tradition of Boris Pasternak, Osip Mandelstam and Anna Akhmatova. In style and spirit she is, perhaps, closest to Akhmatova, who survived terrible deprivations during the siege of Leningrad during World War Two, and whose first husband, a poet in the full maturity of his talent, Nikolai Gumilev, was shot by the Bolsheviks in 1921. He had been a war hero during World War I, twice winning the highest military award (the Order of St. George), a "White," and thus a natural enemy of the Reds.

Neither should one underestimate the power of poetry in Russia and the Soviet Union. It is perhaps the only country in the world where a poet, even a second-

rate one like Evgeny Yevtushenko, before he became a Party hack-writer and an alcoholic, could pack a football stadium for a recital.

The combination of religion and poetry, is potentially explosive. For this reason Irina Ratushinskaya, while still almost a girl, was regarded by the regime as a "particularly dangerous criminal."

Here are some lines written by Ratushinskaya from prison, dedicated to all those who have spiritually supported her in her own country and abroad:

Believe me, so it happened often;
In solitary confinement, on a windy night
Suddenly an embrace of warmth and
happiness.
And a note of love would sound.
And then I knew sleeplessly
Leaning against the ice cold wall—
Now, now they are remembering me,
They are begging the Lord for me.
My dear ones, thank you
All, who remembered and believed in us
In the cruelest prison hour.
We, surely, could not have
Gone through all from end to end
Not bowing our heads, not faltering
Without your lofty hearts
Illumining our way.

Washington Inquirer

Gorbachev Has Opened Pandora's Box

Marx Lewis

The media reported last week that there is now an open discussion in Moscow over the "missing pages in Soviet history." The debate seems to revolve around the "purpose" of history in Soviet society.

In a speech published in the Soviet press, Yegor Ligachev, the number two man in the Soviet Communist Party, asserted that the "ongoing reexamination of history should stress above all the period of triumph of Socialist reconstruction." Said Ligachev, now the Party's chief ideologist: "Our reconstruction (of history) is creative, not negative."

He added, as only a Communist propagandist could, that history should provide an "honest and open look back," but "not a portrait of continuous mistakes and disappointments."

The statement by Ligachev would certainly not have been made without first receiving the approval of his boss, Soviet dictator Mikhail Gorbachev. If so, there is a contradiction between the two men over the role of Soviet history. A speech Gorbachev made earlier this year to editors appears to contradict what Ligachev said. Gorbachev said there must be a more open and honest account of Soviet history and an "end to the blank pages and

forgotten names" that characterize Soviet textbooks.

There is further evidence that all of this is doubletalk in the usual practice of Soviet deception. In the preparations that are now being made for a new edition of the history of the Soviet Communist Party (the publication of which has provoked the debate), Georgi Smirnov, and editor and advisor to Gorbachev, has suggested another way Soviet history should be handled. Smirnov proposed in a major article in Pravda that the reexamination be confined to the last 20 years under the late Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev and to a reappraisal of Nikita Khrushchev, who reigned from 1958 to 1964, and who has since been relegated to official oblivion.

The selection of this period for reevaluation has in itself provoked some controversy. Yuri Afanasyev, the new rector of the Moscow State Institute of Historian-Archivists, said he would prefer reevaluating other periods. He proposed a review of the years 1917 to 1929, as well as the Khrushchev years of 1956 to 1964. This of course would exclude the period of one of the Soviet Union's major crimes: the alliance it formed with the Nazis to start World War II, which the Communists conducted jointly against the democracies until 1941, when Hitler dissolved the partnership and invaded Russia. How convenient for historian Afanasyev!

There are other blank pages the Soviet Communist Party could fill, if it truly wants an honest examination of its 70-year old history, such as: the deliberate starvation of millions of Ukrainians in the 1930s as a method of consolidating Soviet Communist power; the absorption of the

Baltic states; the Soviet rape of Hungary in 1956; the seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1968; and now, Soviet aggression against countries in Africa (Soviet power today buttresses the world's most oppressive regime, that of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia). Then the Soviets could publish some tomes on all the treaties they have violated, the blackmail they have employed, and the myths they have circulated in the West to hide their status as the most despicable government in history.

One such myth is the cherished notion that Russia under the Czar remained in the dark ages. Actually, pre-Soviet Russia was making remarkable strides in catching up with the other European countries. The people were poor, as the majority were in most nations, but the workers and peasants were productive.

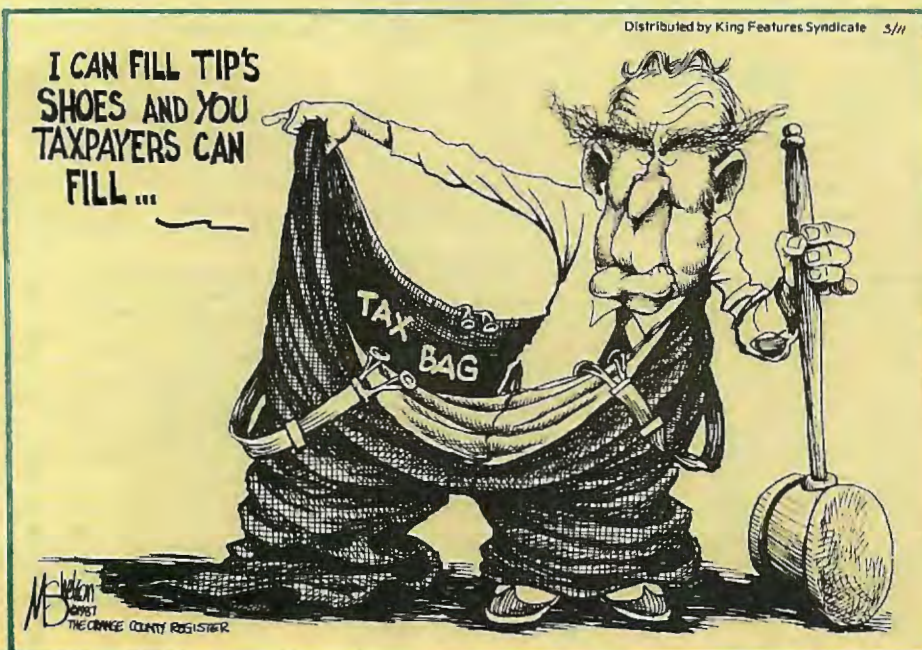
Russian rates of growth in industrial output in the period between 1907 and 1913, prior to World War I, substantially exceeded the corresponding rates of growth during the same period in the U.S., Britain and Germany. These were achieved without the threats of force and discipline which Gorbachev and his predecessors have used. Endowed more richly with natural resources than most other nations, and more self-sufficient than most others, including the U.S., Russia could have evolved peacefully into one of the world's most powerful industrial nations.

The most glaring failure of the 70-year history of Communist rule in the USSR is to be found in its agricultural sector. Through a vast consumer cooperative system, and many colleges set up to teach students how to make food production more efficient, Russia, during the last years of the Czarist regime, was able to feed not only itself, but a good part of the rest of the world. Compare that with the agricultural disaster presided over by Communist Party rule: the Soviet Union today must import food and its people must stand in line for hours at food stores to get their rations.

Yegor Ligachev says "the ongoing reexamination of history should stress above all the period of triumph of Socialist reconstruction." What triumph? Where? Perhaps he means the military buildup—truly the Soviets' most impressive feat. But even that has not been tested, and serves only as a means of blackmail and aggression. It has been achieved, for what it is worth, at the cost of the poor living standards of all those Soviet people who spend so much time standing in line.

Of course, once the Soviets start filling in their historical gaps, they will have a lot of other explaining to do—for example, why it is that while the life expectancy of peoples around the world is expanding, life expectancy in the Soviet Union is declining; and why the USSR has an infant mortality rate higher than some of the economically backward countries in the Third World. (One factor is the heavy consumption of alcohol.)

So, it looks as if Gorbachev is opening a Pandora's box. If he wants to convince the rest of the world that he is serious about his "openness" campaign—that it is not just an expedient to delude the Free World—Gorbachev could begin by withdrawing his 115,000 troops from Afghanistan, and stop dropping "toys" containing explosives on Afghan children. This would do more to reduce tensions than constructing new Soviet histories.



PHILMONT TIMES-DEPOT



