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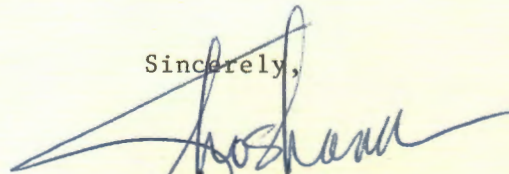
Dear Mort:

The enclosed are to keep you abreast of JINSA's activities on behalf of the President's Central America policies.

Israel Today is a national Jewish daily paper with a circulation approaching 100,000. It is relatively new, but appears to reach the opinion-makers of the Jewish community. The WSJ needs no explanation, but I would like to point out that the feedback has been excellent.

With best regards

Sincerely,



Shoshana Bryen
Executive Director

SB/mpd

Encl: Wall Street Journal
Israel Today

The Sandinistas and the Jews

By SHOSHANA BRYEN

Numbering only 50 families at its peak, the Jewish community of Nicaragua lived peacefully there for nearly a century, until the Sandinista revolution. They have now been forced into exile.

There are some who believe the actions taken against Jewish citizens were the result of severe Sandinista anti-capitalism, but the death threats, the immediate confiscation of businesses and private property, the torching of Managua's synagogue (and its later confiscation) and the arrest and harassment of Nicaragua's Jews were not examples of burgeoning socialism. The Jews were singled out because the Sandinistas have been closely linked to the Palestine Liberation Organization for the past 15 years. The Sandinistas have adopted the ideology and tactics of their PLO trainers and suppliers, and of the PLO's trainers and suppliers. The PLO is supported largely by the Soviet Union, which is currently conducting the latest in a series of intensively anti-Semitic campaigns.

When the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, they claimed their economic blueprint was a mixture of capitalism and socialism. They have, in fact, left some businesses in the hands of their owners, who vary in religion, ethnic background and country of birth. The only group whose businesses and personal property were taken en masse was the Jews. There was no economic or industrial common denominator in the confiscations.

Harassment began before the success of the revolution. In 1978, the front doors to the Managua synagogue were set ablaze during Sabbath services by five men shouting PLO victory slogans and anti-Jewish ones. When two worshippers tried to leave by the side door, they were forced back by men with automatic weapons. (The fire was extinguished and no one injured.)

A Cynical Gesture

The Sandinistas' clandestine radio announced that it would execute Max Najman, a Nicaraguan who served as honorary consul of Israel. Freddy Luft, owner of a textile factory, was warned by an employee (a member of the Sandinistas) that he would be jailed after the revolution. Messrs. Najman and Luft got out of the country. Abraham Gorn's factory was burned and the Sandinistas collected the insurance money. Mr. Gorn left the country during the heavy fighting, and returned after the Sandinistas came to power. He was then accused of stealing land and jailed. At age 70, he spent his sentence sweeping streets.

Mr. Gorn figured prominently in the confiscation of the Managua synagogue by the Sandinistas. The building was taken for use by the Sandinistas on the grounds that it was the private property of Abraham Gorn, and it is now covered with anti-Zionist posters. The Jewish community produced the notarized deed recording the purchase of land to build a "Jewish Temple" by the "Congregacion Israelita Del

Nicaragua." The document lists the officers of the congregation and describes it as a legal entity with religious, cultural and social purposes. Prompted by numerous demands for information by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Sandinistas now say they didn't know it was a synagogue, and will consider reopening it as a house of worship. In the absence of the Jewish community, this is a cynical gesture.

Isaac Stavisky, and his brother-in-law, both Nicaragua-born, owned a complex of factories. In the 18 months prior to the revolution, they were subject to death threats by telephone and dry runs of abduction attempts. "In one instance, I was stopped with my son inside the car, and at gunpoint my life was threatened. I was warned that my businesses were to be taken over.

"One favorite tactic was to call around three in the morning and tell my brother-in-law that I had been shot and killed. At the same time, I would get a call claiming that my brother-in-law was shot and killed.

"In addition, there were writings on the walls inside and outside the factories: 'Death to the Jews; Isaac will be killed. Beware Sandinista justice.'"

By his own account, Mr. Stavisky never participated directly or indirectly in politics, and rejects any assertion that Nicaragua's Jews had acted as a conduit for relations between Anastasio Somoza's Nicara-

On the first anniversary of the revolution, Yasser Arafat received a royal welcome in Managua. Mr. Borge told him, "We say to our brother Arafat that Nicaragua is his land."

gua and Israel. "Since when do two governments need a civilian to make a deal?" he asked rhetorically.

Support for Israel by Mr. Somoza, however, was one reason the Sandinistas turned to the PLO for assistance in their revolution in 1969. Benito Escobar of the Sandinistas met that year in Mexico City with three PLO officials, resulting in the placement of 52 Sandinistas in Tyre, Lebanon, for training. Others went to Fatah camps in Algeria.

In 1970, Sandinistas fought with the PLO against King Hussein of Jordan and joined a Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine attempt to hijack an El Al airliner. Both facts were disclosed by Sandinista leaders only after the success of their revolution.

On Feb. 5, 1978, the Sandinista-Palestinian connection was publicly confirmed. Mr. Escobar and Issam Sli of the Marxist Democratic Front for the Liberation of

Palestine issued a joint communique emphasizing "the bonds of solidarity which exist between the two revolutionary organizations" and condemning U.S. support of Israel and Nicaragua.

Cuba, Venezuela and Panama were the principal suppliers of arms to the Sandinista revolution until the final weeks. However, just before the final offensive against the Somoza government, large, vital shipments arrived from Libya and Algeria. According to at least one source, the arms which came from North Korea, were sent to Nicaragua on a Lebanese-registered vessel owned and operated by the PLO. It was not the first such shipment arranged by Tomas Borge, now interior minister of Nicaragua and previously an emissary of Fidel Castro in the Middle East.

After the revolution, the Sandinistas signed a "government-to-government agreement" with the PLO, and the PLO opened an embassy in Managua. The PLO then lent the government nearly \$12 million.

On the first anniversary of the revolution, Yasser Arafat received a royal welcome in Managua. Mr. Borge told him, "We say to our brother Arafat that Nicaragua is his land and the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas." Mr. Arafat replied, "The links between us are not new, your comrades did not come to our country just to train, but also to fight." The last was most likely a reference to the 1970 Jordanian war.

State Department Report

In January 1982, Mr. Arafat announced that the PLO had sent pilots to Nicaragua and guerrilla fighters to El Salvador. The U.S. State Department confirmed the former. In May, Managua Radio announced a PLO gift to the Sandinistas: a Boeing 707. A State Department report of May 1983 said the plane never left Tanzania, due to a lack of Nicaraguan resources to transport it to Central America. The same report said further that PLO technicians had tried, but failed, to make Nicaragua's radar system operational.

This past April, the Nicaraguan government hosted the Latin American regional meeting as one of a series in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America prior to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The purpose of the meeting was to "obtain support from international public opinion for the Palestinian people's struggle for liberty and self-determination," according to a representative of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry.

Since the war in Lebanon and the loss of its territorial base, the PLO is unable to train Sandinistas in terrorist tactics or supply arms. However, according to a Sandinista defector, PLO pilots, technicians and advisers still operate in Managua.

The Soviets have now declared that Jewish culture, nationhood and religion no longer exist—only Zionism, which is to be

strenuously opposed. Their deliberate blurring of Zionism and Judaism makes it easy for surrogates in Europe and Latin America to create turmoil in the West by attacking Jewish schools, social buildings and synagogues in Paris, Brussels, Rome, Sydney and Managua while claiming no anti-Semitism.

The demise of the Jewish community of Nicaragua should concern the U.S. for a number of reasons. The harassment into exile of an entire religious community, no matter how small, is a violation of human rights that we must deplore. Furthermore, the ties between the PLO and the Sandinistas are only one of a series of relationships between Soviet surrogates and revolutionaries in Latin America that espouse an anti-American and anti-democratic doctrine. Finally, other small, politically vulnerable communities in that area may suffer a fate similar to the Jews in Nicaragua, where the PLO is assisting the Soviet Union in the export of revolution and anti-Semitism.

Mrs. Bryen is executive director of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, an unofficial liaison between the U.S. military services and American Jews.

State Dept. Parrots Sandinistas On Anti-Semitism in Nicaragua

CLAUDIA ZORN

Israel Today Correspondent, Washington

WASHINGTON — Despite the Reagan Administration's steadfast acknowledgment of anti-Semitism in Nicaragua, the State Department continues to "parrot the line of the Sandinistas by labeling the situation 'anti-capitalism,'" Shoshana Bryen, executive director of JINSA (Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs), has charged.

Bryen, who recently completed an in-depth article on the "PLO in Central America," published in JINSA's newsletter participated in a White House outreach group in Central America of 35 representatives from Departments of State, Defense and Commerce and attended by other guests.

Bryen, critical of the State Department's refusal to formally recognize anti-Semitism in Nicaragua, discussed with *Israel Today* the meeting at which a Nicaraguan Jew, Isaac Stavisky, described the confiscation and bombing of Jewish business establishments and the harassment by the Sandanista government.

Bryen added that an ex-Sandinista, now a Contra, who was in attendance confirmed Stavisky's report.

The actions are obviously anti-Semitic when examining the situation closer, Bryen explained.

"If the name is Jewish, such as Goldberg, but the family had converted several generations ago (and are considered Christian), the Goldbergs remain in Nicaragua," Bryen relates. "But the Sandinistas used them to justify their actions under 'anti-capitalism', not anti-Semitism," Bryen said.

Furthermore, Bryen noted the Evans and Novak column published in late July which reported a cable sent by special envoy to Central America, Richard Stone to U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Anthony Quainton, requesting a study of anti-Semitism in Nicaragua. The cable was returned indicating there was no anti-Semitism.

Bryen, skeptical of the State Department's insistence on "anti-capitalism", asked rhetorically, "Who

in the State Department is perpetuating this anti-capitalist theory?"

Bryen gives credit to the Anti-Defamation League and Mort Rosenthal for being "out in front" in exposing the anti-Semitic attacks on Nicaraguan Jews.

Bryen recalls, "Under the Carter Administration, there was 'quiet diplomacy' to bring the Sandinistas to the West. Furthermore, during the Carter years, the U.S. was the largest supplier of economic aid to the Sandinistas, while neglecting the fact that the revolution was supported by the PLO."

Bryen's article on the PLO in Central America pinpoints chronologically the PLO interest in the region:

"The PLO-Cuba axis evolved in 1968; the PLO-Sandinista axis in 1969; and the PLO-El Salvador axis in 1979," writes Bryen.

"It has been a decade and a half that cross-fertilization between the Soviets, PLO and rebels in Nicaragua has germinated. In hindsight, the quiet diplomacy of the Carter Administration was wrong," Bryen stated.

Bryen, on U.S. policy in El Salvador, criticizes those legislators who "cry against sending troops and call for cutting military aid, wishing to address solely the economic problem."

"The Salvadorians never requested troops," Bryen asserted, adding that the Salvadorian government requested from the U.S. the "means" — helicopters and advisers.

What can the U.S. do? "The military aid was cut from the Administration's request of \$110 million to \$55 million," Bryen said critically. (Of the \$110 million, \$60 million was for re-programming; \$30 million was appropriated. Of the remaining \$50 million, \$25 million was appropriated.)

The Administration's request for 1984-85 is \$86.3 million. So far, the House of Foreign Affairs Committee has sent a bill for \$65 million.

"We need to reinstate the original request of \$110 million in military aid," Bryen said, adding that "economic aid has in fact been greater than military aid." In 1982, economic aid was \$208 million; military aid \$81 million; in 1983 economic aid totalled \$140 million, military aid \$55 million.

"This is a key point," Bryen stated, "and what ought to be discussed is how much military aid the Salvadorian government should be receiving."

Bryen explained that "the guerrillas continued to blow up the infrastructure. How many times can you replace an electrical power system? The guerrillas are removing the means of production," Bryen reiterated. "We need to stress that the government of El Salvador is an elected government, 95 per cent of the population voted. The government of El Salvador is willing to discuss with guerrillas their participation in elections, but the guerrillas want power. The Administration has seen the problems of power-sharing."

The solution, Bryen contends, will be to "push the indigenous guerrillas into outlying areas, making them marginal and ineffective." Bryen reaffirmed the need for helicopters and other military equipment.

Bryen noted that a large percentage of the U.S. population is uncertain and certain and/or confused about the situation in Central America.

JINSA's recent focus on Central America projects a clear message to Congress when it returns after Labor Day: "It is naive to believe we can untangle the web of the Central America left and align it with American interests . . . the Administration deserves to be supported in its effort."

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LATIN AMERICA

Chileans Demand Democracy Now

The first massive demonstrations in nearly a decade have forced President General Augusto Pinochet to supplement massive intimidation and select repression with some concessions. Faced with an inflation rate of approximately 30%, unemployment and underemployment of close to the same, and a dramatic 14% drop in GNP in 1982, thousands of Chileans protested peacefully on May 11, June 14 and July 12.

The May 11 national day of protest was called by Rodolfo Seguel, President of the Copper Workers Federation (CTC) and the National Workers Coalition (CNT) and was concentrated mainly in Santiago. Police rounded up 10,000 people, arrested 350 people, restricted the media, and banished eight labor leaders to isolated parts of the country. Concurrently, Pinochet offered some economic modifications. He removed a two-week old 20% price increase on kerosene and cooking oil. He also gave a 5% pay raise to government employees and nitrate miners.

The May 11 protest paved the way for others. As one Santiago daily reported, "a new era has begun, encouraged by the high level of public discontent and the government's loss of support that is acknowledged by practically everyone."

Support for the second national day of protest on June 14 blossomed throughout the nation. The demands voiced on May 11 for economic and labor law reforms were expanded to demands for the redemocratization of Chile. On June 19, the pro-government daily *El Mercurio* reported "Even those closest to the regime began to distance themselves and become the regime's most influential critics."

Again Pinochet attempted to quell dissent with force. On June 14, police arrested 1,351 persons, nearly half in Santiago alone. The arrest of Rodolfo Seguel and the dismissal of 23 workers in the El Salvador copper mine provoked a strike, there and at the El Teniente and Andina copper mines. Pinochet ordered thousands of workers fired and banned the media from mentioning the general strike, demonstrations or protests. The state-owned copper company, CODELCO, fired 31 union leaders and dismissed 799 copper workers. By June 27, fifteen union leaders were imprisoned. In the next week, 50 armed CNI (Chilean

secret police) agents raided the offices of the National Workers Union (CNS) and arrested five CNS directors.

With the unions impaired, the *Multipartidaria* called for the third strike and political leaders moved into the limelight. Major opposition party leaders, including Gabriel Valdes (President of the Christian Democratic Party) and Jorge Lavandero (President of the *Multipartidaria* and PRODEN), were detained. This hard-line response was accompanied by a few gestures of "apertura." Government officials agreed to finance the renegotiation of US\$120 million in debts held by members of the truckers' union, resolving that group's most urgent demand; Pinochet announced an end to the censorship of books, and new lists of exiles who would be allowed to return to Chile included several prominent opposition politicians. Copper union leaders who met with government officials to request reinstatement of the fired workers were told a response would be given after July 12.

On July 12, the third national day of protest, anti-government demonstrations abounded, in spite of harsh censorship, a curfew between 8 p.m. and midnight, the deployment of military forces, and the effective neutralization of opposition labor leaders and politicians. As of this writing, 560 arrests were reported in Santiago during the day of protest, and two people were killed. The Pinochet regime responded with the release of five opposition political leaders, including Gabriel Valdes, and U.S. State Department reports indicated that CODELCO had begun to reinstate fired workers.

As the democratic opposition gains ground and visibility in Chile, U.S. support for an immediate transition to democracy becomes more critical.

In his confirmation hearings on June 28 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Ambassador Langhorne Motley, the new Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs answered questions by Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) regarding U.S. policy towards Chile. Asked about popular elections, Motley replied that the democratic process in Chile contemplates elections later—"possibly in the next decade." (The Constitution approved in a plebiscite in 1980 grants executive authority to General Pinochet

(continued on page 2)

Power Play in Guatemala

Confronted with the most serious challenge to the government's legitimacy since coming to power in a military coup in March 1982, Guatemalan President General Efraín Ríos Montt responded to calls for his resignation on June 28 with a series of measures designed to diffuse the conflict by "opening" up the democratic process.

Opposition activities heightened on June 5 when Guatemala's most senior active Army general, Echeverría Vielman, issued an open letter calling for an end to the military's political involvement in governmental activities, for immediate constituent assembly elections, and for the temporary suspension of judicial reforms (i.e., the special military courts).

On June 6, four centrist-to-right political parties pledged support for Echeverría's letter. Three days later Echeverría was retired from the Guatemalan Army and warrants were issued for the arrest of four political leaders who had publicly criticized Ríos Montt.

Further challenges to the government came from the business community when a prominent group of business leaders publicly expressed deep concern over the economic crisis and called for steps toward a

democratic opening. They criticized the proposed new fiscal laws, which would include Guatemala's first value-added tax (part of World Bank conditions for a \$120 million balance of payments credit).

On June 28, Colonel Francisco Gordillo requested Ríos Montt's resignation, accusing him of betraying the principles of the 1982 coup and of creating religious and political antagonisms which were dividing the state. At the same time, Lionel Sisniega Otero, a former high official of the right-wing National Liberation Movement, attacked Ríos Montt for his betrayal of the civilian participants in the 1982 coup.

The crisis peaked on June 29 when heavy military maneuvers were carried out in downtown Guatemala City amid rumors of a planned coup d'état. By mid-day Ríos Montt had once again imposed a nationwide state of exception which broadly curtailed civil liberties and freedom of the press. On the morning of June 29, Ríos Montt successfully mobilized the military in Guatemala City to defend against any coup attempt and later declared a state of alarm.

Ríos Montt was nevertheless forced to make
(continued on page 8)

Chile, *continued*

until 1989 with possible elections in 1998.) Motley added that Chile is the one country which "came back from a Marxist regime," a friendly country whose redemocratization process we applaud, and that it would be incorrect for the United States to dictate a timetable for elections.

Throughout June and July, however, a number of strong statements emerged which indicated that Motley's view is not necessarily shared by other Administration officials. These statements lacked the usual references to the Chilean Constitution of 1980 and surpassed the "quiet diplomacy" generally employed by the Reagan Administration. At the June 16 State Department press briefing, Administration spokesman John Hughes stated that the detained opposition leader, Rodolfo Seguel, "speaks for an important segment of the people of that country." In another press briefing a week later, Hughes commented that the return of some exiles was "a moderate and positive step" and added the hope that a resolution could be found "through further steps such as this."

The arrest of Gabriel Valdés and other Christian Democratic leaders on July 9 prompted a critical statement by the State Department which publicly announced that their concerns on the arrests had been

communicated to "senior government officials." In that statement, they supported the transition to democracy "as defined by the Chileans themselves."

The State Department response to the July 12 protests admitted that "considerable evidence of popular discontent was manifested" and reiterated their belief that "the current political tensions in Chile can best be resolved through moderation and dialogue regarding national issues, such as the transition to democracy."

An additional statement by spokesman John Hughes on July 14 declared that the decision of the court to release Valdés "is an indication that peaceful dissent is protected by Chilean law." This statement is a bit premature in its portrayal of an independent judiciary in Chile. The Chilean government has appealed the decision and the courts will review the appeal in late July.

The role the United States will play in promoting the transition to democracy is in the process of being defined. Some of the recent statements give cause for hope. Statements such as Motley's and continued U.S. backing for loans to Chile, however, suggest that the United States may continue to back a modified strategy of repression and concession rather than the immediate redemocratization called for by the Chilean people. ■

Congress Postpones Foreign Aid Debate

After a flurry of congressional activity on foreign affairs in late Spring (see *Update*, May/June 1983), only a handful of foreign affairs issues will come to the floor before the August recess. The prohibition of covert aid against Nicaragua is scheduled for debate before the House on July 19 and 20 (see article, page 5). The trade portion of the 1982 Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), allowing most Caribbean products to be imported duty-free, was approved recently by both the House and the Senate. The CBI will go to a House-Senate Conference Committee before the President signs it, probably by late August.

Two appropriations bills which include military and economic aid for Latin America must be approved before the beginning of the new fiscal year (FY84) on October 1. In June, both chambers of Congress approved the FY83 Supplemental Appropriations Bill which now awaits consideration by a House-Senate Conference Committee. Disagreements in Congress over the level of military aid appropriated to El Salvador remain unresolved. The House deleted the President's \$50 million request for additional military aid, while the Senate approved the entire request. In

addition, the House bill prohibits any security assistance (military aid or economic support funds) to Guatemala. The Senate bill contains no such prohibition.

This summer, congressional committees may also debate foreign aid appropriations for FY84 and a proposal by Senators Jackson (D-WA) and Mathias (R-MD) and Representatives Barnes (D-MD) and Kemp (R-NY) for the President to appoint a bipartisan commission to study the problems of poverty, democratic development and human rights in Central America. This commission, to be headed by Dr. Henry Kissinger, would make recommendations for U.S. military and economic aid and counsel on trade, political and social policies.

Other congressional action may focus on the U.S. Agency for International Development's request for \$90 million in emergency assistance to help Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia recover from floods and droughts. The \$90 million emergency request is currently being stalled by the Office of Management and Budget of the White House. ■

Actions on these and other issues will be reported on in the next issue of UPDATE.

Foreign Aid Legislation Cycle

The following outlines the general steps in the foreign aid program development on a fiscal year (FY) basis (FY—from October 1-September 30). The process covers both authorizations (which set policy guidelines and expenditure ceilings) and appropriations (which allocate monies from the U.S. Treasury).

CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATION (CPD)—In February or March, after 7-10 months of preparation by the administration, the State Department presents the CPD to Congress. The CPD outlines proposed foreign assistance funding levels and programs for the upcoming fiscal year.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS—The appropriate committees and subcommittees hear testimony from government officials, experts, and interested parties on the issues relevant to the administration's requests and their foreign policy.

LEGISLATIVE MARKUP—The appropriate subcommittees then meet to review, section-by-section, the legislation which incorporates their findings and the administration's requests into one package. Subcommittees markup first. Their work is then reviewed/debated by the full committee.

FLOOR PASSAGE—The "marked up" version of the bill goes to the House/Senate floor for amendments and approval.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE—Selected members of the House and Senate meet to work out the differences in each chamber's version of the bill.

PUBLIC LAW—The final conference committee version of the bill is approved by both chambers of Congress and sent to the president for his signature.

Military Make and Execute Policies in Honduras

The U.S. training of Salvadoran troops on Honduran soil demonstrates a lack of interest in strengthening that country's incipient democracy. While the Reagan Administration voices its support for peace and democracy in Central America, U.S. policy towards Honduras has not only violated the Honduran Constitution but has reinforced the military as the most powerful institution in that country.

In late May, the military demonstrated its authority when the Chief of the Armed Forces of Honduras, General Gustavo Alvarez, approved an agreement with the Pentagon to set up a "Honduran" base to train Salvadoran troops in his country. The President of the Honduran Congress accused the military of violating the Constitution by allowing foreign forces to enter the country without congressional approval. Soon thereafter, Gen. Alvarez convinced the Congress to approve the Honduran "Regional Center for Military and Security Training" (CREMS). A semantic compromise was reached whereby the program would train "students," not soldiers, and there would be no "offensive weapons" in the CREMS. At the end of June, however, hundreds of Salvadoran "students," who had been fighting leftist guerrillas in their country, arrived for anti-guerrilla training in Puerto Castilla, Honduras.

Clearly, the Armed Forces are playing a key role in making and executing decisions in Honduras. The military's desire for more weapons, and the political power accompanying more arms, derogates the civilian government and its present policies and threatens peace and democracy.

The growing strength of the Honduran Armed Forces is apparent in contradictory statements between the military and the civilians on foreign policy issues. For example, Honduran Foreign Minister Edgardo Paz Barnica insisted that his country's foreign policy is based on neutrality and peace, yet Gen. Alvarez said, "We cannot remain neutral," and prepares for war. Paz Barnica denied any knowledge of and/or support for the *contras* operating out of Honduras to overthrow the Nicaraguan government; Gen. Alvarez told Washington that if the U.S. Congress cuts off aid to the *contras*, he would keep supporting the "freedom fighters." Paz Barnica advocated that the Honduran Congress give prior approval to treaties negotiated and signed by the executive; Gen. Alvarez presented the treaty to the Congress as a *fait accompli*, after U.S. green berets

had already arrived in Honduras. And while Paz Barnica continues to insist that Honduras is a democracy that respects human rights, one of Gen. Alvarez' subordinates, Juan Blas Salazar, acknowledged the detention of eighteen political prisoners who "disappeared." At a press conference sponsored by Salazar, six who are being tried declared that they had been tortured and illegally detained in clandestine jails by security and intelligence forces.

The growing strength of the Honduran Armed Forces is apparent in contradictory statements between the military and the civilians on foreign policy issues.

While the contradictions between the Foreign Minister and the Chief of the Armed Forces abound, President Suazo Cordova works hand-in-glove with Gen. Alvarez. "The day my orders are not obeyed, I will just go home," said Suazo Cordova. Gen. Alvarez commented, "The day the President of this republic gives me an order I do not like, I will leave my position." (*Time*, 6/13/83)

In Washington, Gen. Alvarez stated that "the Sandinistas are our enemy." He added that Honduras desires more military aid and equipment and, if needed, a U.S. commitment of troops. His increased bellicosity has been encouraged by the United States. The U.S. retiring Army Chief of Staff E.C. Meyer feels that the United States should build in Honduras military airstrips supplied with planes, helicopters, anti-aircraft weapons and radar-warning systems (*Washington Post*, 6/20/83). "My own views always have been that we have to build on whatever strength we had in the region, and I believe Honduras is a strength," Meyer stated. "I'd really try to anchor the defense of the region initially on Honduras."

Aside from exacerbating internal tensions, drawing Honduras further into the El Salvador conflict is counterproductive to U.S. interests. By insisting on the militarization of Honduras and that country's role as a source of military stability, the Reagan Administration is destroying in Honduras what it says it wants to build, through elections, in El Salvador. ■

Covert Action Vote Approaches

After three postponements, the House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) discussed the Boland-Zablocki Bill (HR 2760) on June 6 and 7. The bill prohibits U.S. support for covert operations in Nicaragua. It also authorizes payments of \$30 million in FY83 and \$50 million in FY84 for friendly Central American governments to interdict the supply of arms from Cuba and Nicaragua to any group planning the overthrow of any government in the region.

On June 7, the HFAC approved the bill by a near party-line vote of 20-14. Representatives Fascell (D-FL) and Ireland (D-FL) voted against the bill. These Democrats and others are endeavoring to modify the bill to make it acceptable to most members before it reaches the House floor on July 19.

Abstaining Democratic Committee members, Crockett (D-MI) and Dymally (D-CA), objected to the \$80 million for overt operations. Like other liberal Democrats, they felt this could be a surreptitious way of increasing military aid to El Salvador.

On the other hand, many Republicans objected to the \$80 million on the grounds that it would expand the war in Central America and would not suffice for the interdiction of arms.

Rep. Hamilton (D-IN), in an uncharacteristically passionate speech, spoke for most of the Democrats. "There is very little evidence that this covert action has been effective," he told the HFAC. "It has not prevented the flow of arms into El Salvador. It has enabled the Sandinistas to rally support in the country. It undercuts the U.S. image in the world as a nation that acts legally, fairly, decently, and makes it more difficult for the U.S. to support negotiations."

Rep. Hamilton is searching unsuccessfully for a compromise with bipartisan support. Most Democrats oppose a compromise and advocate unconditional opposition by the House to the President's plan for covert action. The Administration argues, however, that the Senate would not go along with the uncompromised provisions of HR 2760.

In May, the Contadora countries—Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama—met for the third

time in Panama City to establish an agenda for future discussion. This meeting will be remembered for successfully bringing together for the first time the Foreign Ministers of Honduras and Nicaragua.

Following an unexpected meeting in Mexico, the Presidents of the Contadora countries appealed on July 17 to President Reagan and Cuban leader Fidel Castro to join Contadora's efforts to avert a war between Honduras and Nicaragua. They called for a halt to foreign intervention and the withdrawal of all military advisers in Central America. They also declared their opposition to the establishment of foreign military bases and proposed the creation of demilitarized zones in the region.

After their Stuttgart meeting in June, the countries of the European Economic Community issued a statement supporting the Contadora initiatives. They declared that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by military means. This was echoed by the 13-nation Caribbean Community, which called for an end to foreign intervention in Central America. At a June 4 press conference, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez recommended that the Reagan Administration hold direct talks with the Nicaraguan government, and declared that Washington involvement in Central America was "fundamentally harmful."

International opinion of the covert operations against Nicaragua does not, however, seem to carry much weight with most Republican members of the House, who openly favor any compromise that might keep the covert funding in place. The most likely consequence of further covert funding is a war between Nicaragua and Honduras. Such a conflict would spread through the region and the United States would be forced to send troops.

Members of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, however, recently advised that U.S. intervention in Central America should be contemplated only if the Congress and the American people are squarely behind it. There is little support in Congress for the use of U.S. troops in Central America and 78% of the respondents to a *Washington Post/ABC* poll (5/25/83) opposed covert operations in Nicaragua. ■

Court Decision Hampers Oversight

When the Supreme Court invalidated the legislative veto on June 23, and reaffirmed its decision on July 6, it stripped Congress of the main vehicle the legislature had used for a decade to shape U.S. policy toward Latin America. The rulings affect legislation on human rights, foreign aid, arms sales, and the commitment of U.S. troops to hostile areas ("war powers").

The legislative veto enabled Congress to halt the executive's implementation of decisions made under authority granted to it. In all cases, the legislative veto took effect without approval by the president and with no more than a simple majority vote. Some legislative vetoes required an *affirmative* action by Congress allowing the president to act. Others required a *negative* vote in order to stop presidential action. Negative vetoes tended to favor presidential discretion because of the difficulty in securing congressional decisions in a limited time.

Several laws that governed U.S. relations with Latin America provided for negative legislative vetoes. Veto power accompanied legislation on: foreign aid, where Congress could terminate a foreign assistance program to any country; human rights, where Congress could override a presidential determination that a country should receive aid for national security reasons despite its record of human rights violations; and arms sales, where Congress could block sales over \$7 million of major weapons to another country, or prevent the transfer of U.S. weapons from one country to a third country.

Historically, Congress has been reluctant to assert itself so strongly in foreign affairs and to deprive presidents of discretion.

Similarly, under the 1973 War Powers Resolution, Congress could call home U.S. troops deployed in an area where hostilities were occurring or seemed imminent. Congress had sixty days to pass such a resolution. The act also specified that the troops would need to be recalled automatically after sixty days if affirmative congressional authorization for their deployment was not granted. This provision may not

have fallen under the Court's ruling, and may still be in force. The law implies that the affirmative congressional authorization for deployment would take the form of a joint resolution, and thus may not violate the Court's new standards.

There is some debate over whether the legislative veto in these laws has restrained the president in Latin America. Congress never invoked any of these vetoes, despite the presence of U.S. troops in El Salvador or human rights abuses by aid recipients such as Haiti. Several analysts contend, however, that without the potential threat of the veto, President Reagan might have approved the sale of military equipment to Guatemala sooner and made it larger, would have sold arms to Argentina, and might even have sent troops into battle in El Salvador. Now he is freer to sell arms, declare that aid to human rights violators is in the U.S. national interest, or commit troops into battle for sixty days.

The Court ruling may also undermine the informal procedure that involved Congress in executive decisions to reprogram earmarked military aid. In order to permit some flexibility in foreign policy decisions, Congress normally does not challenge presidential decisions to reprogram aid from one country to another. This year, though, President Reagan's effort to reprogram \$60 million from Morocco to El Salvador met with congressional resistance. Now, he may use the Court ruling to justify unilateral action, attempting to bypass Congress.

In turn, Congress could rewrite legislation to reduce any reprogramming authority the president might claim by requiring him to obtain a joint resolution of approval before implementing such a decision. This would resemble the *affirmative* congressional authorization included in the War Powers Resolution. Historically, though, Congress has been reluctant to assert itself so strongly in foreign affairs and to deprive presidents of discretion.

President Reagan may not challenge Congress yet; and he may continue to act as if the legislative veto were still in place by consulting with Congress on Latin American policy. Such self-restraint may disappear, however, if the President feels firmly committed to a policy that Congress opposes. Such circumstances could reveal the enormity of the Supreme Court decision. ■



WOLA Roundup



Sister Lisa Fitzgerald, a religious of the Sacred Heart, visited members of Congress in June. In meetings and discussions, Sister Fitzgerald recounted her first-hand experiences of "contra" actions in Jalapa, Nicaragua, where she has lived and taught since March 1982. She described Jalapa, situated near the border with Honduras, as a town under attack from U.S.-backed "contras," where refugees from the surrounding area swell the population, and where a climate of fear and tension permeates daily life.

On June 28, WOLA Director **Joe Eldridge** testified before the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations (Chairman Gus Yatron, D-PA) on the Reagan Administration's compliance with existing human rights laws which affect U.S. security assistance levels and condition the U.S. executive director's vote on loans from the development banks.

A day later, **Dana Martin**, former missionary to Guatemala, gave testimony before the House Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance (Chairman Jerry M. Patterson, D-CA) on the effects of multilaterally funded development projects on the indigenous population of Guatemala.

Brian Walker, Director General of OXFAM (UK), led a deputation consisting of **Hakan Landelius**, Secretary-General of Radda Barnen (the Swedish Save the Children Fund) and **Dr. Thom Kerstiens**, Director of Foreign Relations of CEBEMO, the Dutch Catholic development agency, to Washington.

The commission expressed to U.S. policymakers their grave concern for the current socio-economic situation in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador. Speaking on behalf of supporters and donors in Europe and of the people they serve in Central America, the delegation emphasized that development efforts are being severely hampered by the increasing conflict in the region.

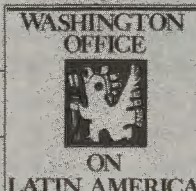
On June 23, a delegation of representatives from religious and human rights organizations from both Latin America and North America gathered at Georgetown University for a three-day conference on the search for peace in Central America. Fundalatin, a Venezuelan human rights group, joined WOLA and the Maryknoll Fathers in facilitating these joint discussions. Representatives from twelve countries, including bishops from Brazil and Chile, participated in the conference.

VISITORS

- **Dr. Ramon Custodio**, President of the Honduran Human Rights Committee.
- **Emilio Maspero**, Secretary General of the Latin American Confederation of Trade Unions.
- **Charles Moyer**, Executive Secretary of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

- **Andres Tinoca and Victor Lopez**, members of Peru's APRA Party platform committee.
- **Angela and Federico Westercamp**, human rights workers, whose son, Gustavo, was imprisoned without charges for seven years in Argentina.
- **Jaime and Alma Wright**, Presbyterians working closely with Cardinal Arns and the human rights projects of the Diocese of Sao Paulo in Brazil.
- **Andres Zaldivar**, President of the Christian Democratic World Union.
- **Ruben Zamora**, member of the FMLN-FDR Diplomatic-Political Commission of El Salvador.

NEW WOLA PUBLICATIONS



WASHINGTON OFFICE
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LATIN AMERICA

THE SOUTHERN CONE:
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THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

THE PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE:
"U.S. Policies to Accompany the Transition
to Democracy in the Southern Cone"

Co-sponsored by:
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and
The Department of Government,
Georgetown University

8 April 1983
Washington, D.C.

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- *The Proceedings of a Conference: "U.S. Policies to Accompany the Transition to Democracy in the Southern Cone"* (April 1983) \$5.00.
- *Human Rights Violations in Argentina: Reconciliation vs. Justification* (May 1983) \$1.00.
- *Witnesses to Political Violence in Guatemala* (2nd edition, 1983) \$5.00.
- *Briefing Manual on Uruguay* (June 1983) \$1.00.
- *U.S. Foreign Policy and Political Developments in El Salvador 1979-1983: a collection of reprinted UPDATE articles* (May 1983) \$2.00.

Guatemala, *continued*

concessions. He fired six young military advisers instrumental in the 1982 coup and replaced with civilians 50 Army officers in high-level government positions.

In addition, on June 30, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal was sworn in to oversee elections in July 1984 for a constituent assembly to be installed in September 1984. Whether these measures are sufficient to forestall another coup attempt is yet to be seen. No mention was made of a timetable for presidential elections.

Undoubtedly, there will be powerful lobbying this fall in Congress on behalf of Rios Montt's recent "democratic opening." Congressional debate on aid to Guatemala needs to weigh the electoral gains against the plight of the rural Indians who comprise the majority of Guatemala's population and the roots of civil strife which have driven 70,000 refugees, mostly Indian, into Mexico. The June events in Guatemala, unfortunately, suggest merely a reshuffling of political players without addressing the more fundamental questions of basic human rights and needs. ■

Contributing to this edition were: Leyda Barbieri, Ginny Bouvier, Philip Brenner, Robin Jernigan, Dana Martin, Gail Neuschwander, Reggie Norton, Patti Petesch and George Rogers.

The Washington Office on Latin America is a non-governmental human rights organization supported by religious organizations and private foundations. Contributions are tax-deductible.

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Washington, D.C.

I would appreciate being added to your mailing list for the "Central America Policy Outreach Program." Current and past reports would be useful in my classes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "JP David", written over a yellow highlight.

John P. David
Professor/Economics

Completed

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Conservative Digest

JUNE 1983

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A Winning Strategy
For Central America
PAGE 30

CENTRAL AMERICA

The Limited War Game



Also in this issue:

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Part I. Just how profitable is oil?

Try this true or false mini-quiz:

- Oil companies make a large volume of dollars.

That's true.

- Oil companies are therefore very profitable.

That's false.

To understand the apparent contradiction between making money and being profitable, consider the following:

- Mobil earned \$1.38 billion in 1982. But to do so we had to sell 11 billion gallons of gasoline.

- Plus 8 billion gallons of distillate.

- Plus over a trillion cubic feet of natural gas.

- Plus thousands of other products.

- Our profit on each dollar of sales was not 62¢, as most people questioned in a recent survey thought.

- It was not even a quarter, or a dime, or a nickel.

- It was just over 2¢ worldwide.

An even more basic measure of profitability is the rate of return on shareholders' equity. A company, after all, is in essence a legal entity that invests shareholders' money, in the hope of earning those shareholders a profit.

- In 1982 Mobil's return on shareholders' equity was 9.4%. The average return for all manufacturing industries was 11%.

- In earlier years, return on shareholders' equity in the oil industry varied: sometimes higher, sometimes lower than for other industries. But over the full period 1968 to 1981, oil's median rate was 14.3%, trailing behind all manufacturing's rate of 14.9%.

- In most years, oil companies have been less profitable than pharmaceuticals, cosmetics and soap, and even newspapers and broadcasting.

Despite the fact that oil is hardly a profitability leader, the industry is among the most highly taxed in the nation.

- In 1979, the year before the so-called "windfall profit" tax went into effect, large oil companies paid an average 31% of their U.S. income in federal, state, and local income taxes, compared with about 36% for an average of 100 leading non-oil industrial corporations. But by 1980, oil companies' taxes, including the "windfall profit" tax, were up to 43% while the non-oil companies' rate dipped to 29%; and oil company taxes went to 51% in 1981, with non-oil taxes going down to 26%.

Just as federal levies hit the oil industry harder than other industries, so do state and local governments take a bigger bite out of oil company revenues than they do out of other types of business. And oil producers pay billions of dollars in severance taxes on oil production and property taxes on oil and gas reserves.

The trouble with common wisdom—those "facts" everybody takes for granted—is that it often isn't accurate, let alone wise. And that's certainly the case with the common wisdom about the oil business. We aren't as profitable as painted. And we pay more than our share of taxes. Those happen to be the uncommon facts.

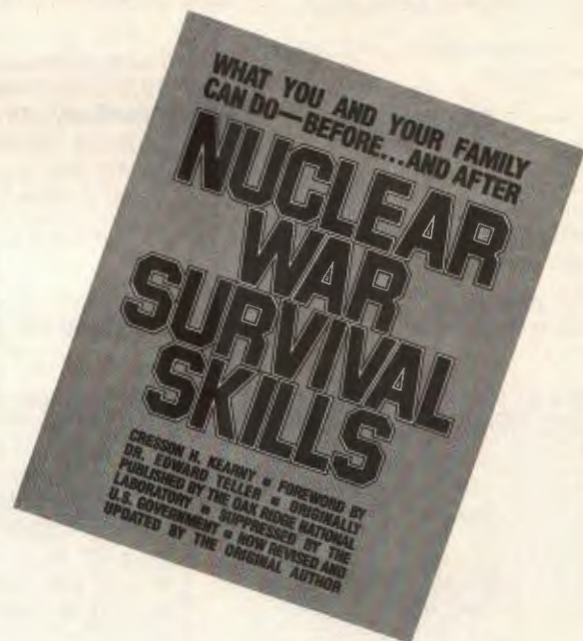
Next: Are oil's rewards worth today's risks?

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3 groups will survive if nuclear war comes to America: (1) the Soviets (2) the fortunate American 20 percent (3) those who are prepared

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"Don't tell the people" . . . this is, unfortunately, the policy of the U.S. government. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) realizes that their Crisis-Relocation-Planning (CRP) program would become a source of acute embarrassment if millions of Americans knew the facts of nuclear survival . . . facts which are available in this 239-page volume with 83 dimensional drawings, 26 sketches, 60 photos and patterns for the do-it-yourself construction of a workable fallout meter. If you only purchase one book in the 1980s, it should be NUCLEAR WAR SURVIVAL SKILLS.

The disturbing fact is that influential congressional and bureaucratic power groups do not want the American people to learn the facts about the nuclear risk in the years ahead. These people believe that the subject is "too deep" and "too risky" to let the voters know the truth. They believe that widespread nuclear survival information would create a groundswell of support for an expanded U.S. civil defense program . . . and they're right! They know that the people do not share their view that "only an exposed population is a safe population" and will do almost anything to keep the public in a state of ignorance. Thus, NUCLEAR WAR SURVIVAL SKILLS is the most unpopular book in existence for the Washington, D.C., establishment . . . a book which must not gain wide circulation. Do you agree?

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LETTERS

Conservative Digest

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JUNE 1983

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FDR MEMORIAL

On this Pearl Harbor Day one has to think of the proposed \$35 million memorial for FDR. Wouldn't the battleship *Arizona* be more befitting?

John A. Maggiore
Kenner, La.

DEFUND THE LEFT

Why don't *you* file suit in federal court to prevent the government from granting money to the National Council of Churches, based on the separation of church and state doctrine?

The lawsuit could be used to recover past grants and to prevent future ones.

R. A. Mitorn
New York, N.Y.

I wish to compliment you on the April 1983 issue of the *Conservative Digest*. I certainly think prohibiting funds for political advocacy (only) is very necessary and the *people should understand* it clearly.

John T. Lawrence
New York, N.Y.

POWER OF THE PEOPLE?

That was an inspiring article by Art Kelly in your March 1983 issue concerning the citizenry taking back political control through the power of initiative. Unfortunately it doesn't always work. Six or eight years ago the people of Washington State got tired of the insanity of racial school busing and got up Initiative 350. I was one of the signers of the initiative, and I checked carefully to be sure it prohibited only *forced or mandatory* busing. It did. It got enough signatures to get on the ballot, and the voters approved it about 2 to 1 (67 percent).

Disgruntled liberals filed a lawsuit to overturn it, and a federal judge in Seattle ruled it unconstitutional, giving as an excuse that it *did not allow vol-*

untary busing. Believe it or not that's what he said. One man in Seattle outvoted two-thirds of the citizenry, and the reason he gave was exactly opposite the truth.

So much for the power of the people.

Howard J. Hanson
Federal Way, Wash.

FIGHTING BACK

I am a recent refugee from Soviet Russia. I am very glad I made it here. My family and I work. I also go to college. We want to be productive and helpful in our new country; not be welfare-addicts. But I did not sit all these years here doing nothing. With my friends, we smuggled books into Soviet Russia, from Bibles to *1984* by Orwell, to books by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. With other refugees from communist-occupied lands, we organized a Coalition, *Californians for Strong America*. We had many demonstrations, speeches, and other activities. Today we fight against Prop. 12, the nuclear-freeze initiative, a Soviet-sponsored weakening of American defense. I often write to the newspapers, to remind people of suffering in the U.S.S.R., and Afghanistan. Today we start getting help to our Polish friends, Afghans, and other brave freedom-seeking people.

We need a movement like yours in the U.S. I have seen the giant liberal propaganda here, and it goes almost unchallenged. When you do give them facts and the truth, like I often do in newspaper letters, the liberals back off, scowling and barking like some mad dogs. Unfortunately, not too many people do fight off the liberal-leftist lies and propaganda. We should improve on that.

Again, I am glad that I found out about the *Conservative Digest*. I wish you all the luck in the world, I hope God helps people like you.

Paul Steinberg
Northridge, Calif.

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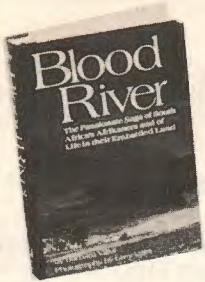
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On the Cover: Salvadoran army patrol (Bellosa battalion in Morazan Province, El Salvador, March 1983). Photo by Lou Jones/UNIPHOTO.





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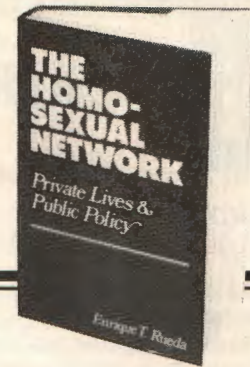
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Who Really Runs The White House?

by Howard Phillips

What is the real character of the Reagan presidency?

Is Mr. Reagan a political genius, whose measured judgement, personal charm, sense of timing, and willingness to compromise is best calculated to maximize conservative opportunities during a period of liberal cultural and political ascendancy?

Is the President very astute or very lucky? Both? Either? Neither?

Are those in the Washington Establishment correct when they conclude

and frustration over the liberalization of White House strategy and policy at the President's aides, or at the President himself?

Who is responsible for

—having proposed doubling the national debt, from \$914.3 billion in 1980 to \$1.845 trillion in 1985?

—orchestrating a \$108 billion social security tax hike, a \$227 billion income tax boost and a \$27½ billion gas tax raise?

—repudiating 1980 GOP pledges to restore U.S. military superiority and abandon arms control treaties with the Soviet Union as the center-

matters entirely within presidential discretion.

Was it George Bush? Jim Baker? Michael Deaver? Ed Meese? Bill Clark? David Gergen? Alexander Haig? David Rockefeller? George Shultz? Caspar Weinberger? Henry Kissinger? David Stockman? Peggy Heckler?

Who could it be?

One key White House adviser has an interesting theory. He says Reagan is the one.

Richard Darman, whose name is not a household word, is one of the most important employees on the White House staff. A protege of Elliot Richardson, with whom he served in five Cabinet departments during the Nixon and Ford administrations, Darman (who is deputy to White House Chief of Staff James Baker) told *Washington Times* correspondent Jeremiah O'Leary: "We were following instructions on a lot of the things that were most offensive" (to conservatives).

Darman, in an interview published on May 11, protests that conservative criticism of his appointment to a key position in which he helps shape legislative strategy and controls the flow of information to President Reagan is unjust.

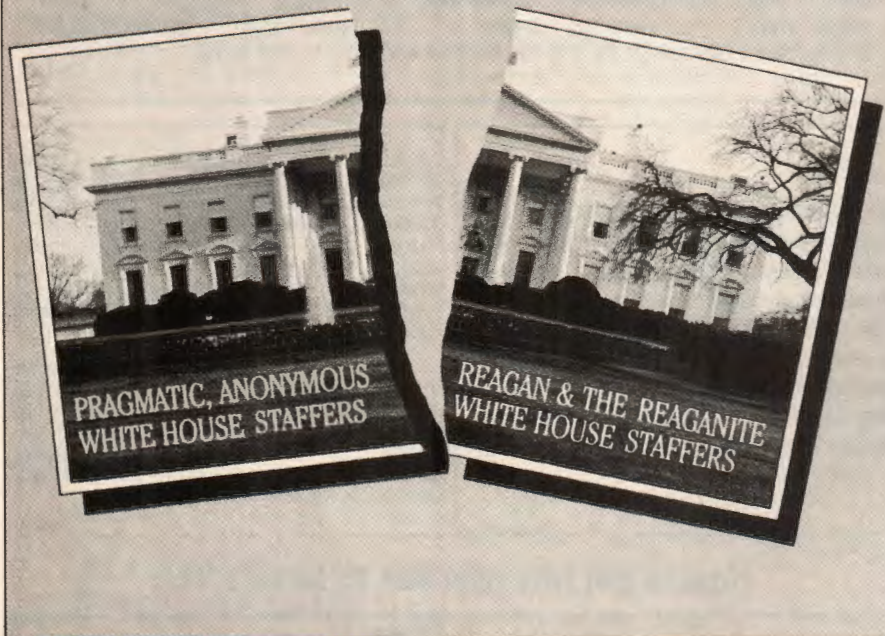
"The basic argument was: This person is in a very important position in the White House but did not serve actively in the early Reagan campaigns and only joined the Reagan entourage after the nomination in 1980 and to a limited extent at that . . . If the President shared that point of view, he wouldn't have hired me."

Of course, Darman's finger-pointing is well directed. It insults the intelligence and competence, not just of Ronald Reagan, but of conservatives as well, to conclude that the Chief Executive is ultimately "disengaged" from, oblivious to, or unsupportive of the major decisions of his tenure.

If you are unhappy with the strategy of credentials, consensus, compromise, nonconfrontation, and preemptive concession which has been implicit in virtually all the major decisions of this administration, don't demean yourself or the President by scapegoating Jim Baker, George Bush, Dick Darman, or the Trilateral Commission.

The man from California would be the last to plead "not guilty by reason of staff manipulation." Ronald Reagan is a responsible man. Ronald Reagan is responsible. □

And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand. MARK 3:25



that the President is (a) vastly uninformed on crucial issues, (b) subject to manipulation by key aides, and (c) lacking both the experience and intellect to either shape long term strategy or the will to decide immediate questions of policy?

Is the "Great Communicator" thoroughly unpersuasive when left to his own devices, unshielded by scripts, cue cards, and teleprompters?

For conservatives, the key question has been whether to direct their anger

piece of U.S. foreign policy and national security strategy?

—pursuing a "no-win" strategy of detente and appeasement in East-West trade, Central America, southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Red China, and the bailout of Big Bank loans to Marxist regimes?

—signing appropriations which authorize billions of dollars in grants and contracts to radical left wing activist groups?

Whodunnit??

Not the Congress, because these were

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CONSERVATIVE JOURNALISTS FETED

Nearly 200 conservative leaders—representing some 43 national organizations—recently honored eight conservative journalists at the “First Annual First Amendment Freedom Awards Dinner.” The Washington, D.C., banquet was the latest in a series of appreciation dinners held for conservative leaders.

Plaques were presented to *Conservative Digest* publisher **Richard Viguerie**; *Washington Times* editor and publisher **James Whelan**; syndicated columnist/author **Frank van der Linden**; *Human Events* editor **Allan Ryskind**; National Journalism Center director/author/commentator **M. Stanton Evans**; CD contributing editor/author/columnist **Pat Buchanan**; *Washing-*

ton Times national editor **Ron Cordray**; and syndicated columnist/commentator and former CD editor **John Lofton**.

President Ronald Reagan sent a special message to the attendees saying, in part, “It is a great pleasure for Nancy and me to send our warm greetings to all those gathered for the First Annual First Amendment Freedom Awards dinner. This singular occasion brings deserved attention to the outstanding accomplishments of the members of the communications media who are being honored tonight.”

Reagan went on to say, “In communicating the vitality and meaning of the conservative viewpoint, they have significantly influenced the public dia-

logue on the critical issues of our time.”

Distinguished guests included former Congressman/State Department Counselor **Ed Derwinski**; Senator and Mrs. **Jesse Helms**; Secretary of Labor **Ray Donovan**; Eagle Forum President **Phyllis Schlafly**; and Accuracy in Media Chairman **Reed Irvine**. International Policy Forum President **Peter B. Gemma, Jr.** served as Master of Ceremonies.

Organizations cooperating on this dinner included **Gun Owners of America**; **American Legislative Exchange Council**; **National Pro-Life Political Action Committee**; the **Heritage Foundation**; **Moral Majority**; and the **National Right to Work Committee**. □



First Annual First Amendment Freedom Awards



1. Secretary of Labor Ray Donovan chats with Mobile County, Alabama, School Board president **Dan Alexander**.
2. Free Congress Foundation president **Paul Weyrich** presents an award to *Washington Times* editor and publisher **James Whelan**.
3. Presidential Assistant **Morton Blackwell** presents an award to syndicated columnist/commentator **Pat Buchanan**.



4. Senator **Jesse Helms** talks with Conservative Caucus executive director **Andy Messing** and Eagle Forum president **Phyllis Schlafly**.
5. Former CD editor and syndicated columnist **John Lofton** received an award from International Policy Forum president **Peter Gemma**.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The Limited War Game

HOW TO MAKE ANOTHER VIETNAM

M. Stanton Evans

The people who keep telling us El Salvador is "another Vietnam" could turn out to be right—for all the wrong reasons.

Looking back at the bitter U.S. experience in Indochina, it is relatively clear what a "Vietnam" consists of—and all the factors operative there are present in El Salvador. Similar causes tend toward similar effects. The difference is that this time it is happening in our own back yard, rather than half-way around the globe. Among striking—and ominous parallels:

□ An insurgency inside the country billed as a purely local fight for freedom and justice, which is in fact controlled by communists, guided and abetted by outside Marxist forces, including the Soviet Union. This was true of the Viet Cong in Indochina. It is equally true of the guerrilla forces in El Salvador.

□ The use of privileged sanctuary to funnel outside arms and personnel to the insurgents. In the case of Indochina, the main such sanctuary was North Vietnam. In the case of El Salvador, it is Marxist Nicaragua, which serves as the major staging point for aid to the guerrillas from Moscow and Havana.

□ A world-wide communist support campaign, extending into the United States, depicting the target government as evil and corrupt, while painting the guerrillas as friends of freedom. At the time of Vietnam, we saw such influences in the "new mobilization" movement. Today we see them in groups such as the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

□ Vociferous outcry by liberals in the Congress and the media, focusing on the alleged evils of the target government, proclaiming the need to eliminate human rights abuses, and demanding that U.S. aid, if any, be made



Alain Keller/SYGMA



Goldberg/SYGMA

contingent on "reforms." Such was the course of liberal advocacy on Vietnam. So is it on El Salvador.

□ A resulting U.S. policy trying to remake the internal institutions of the country in the liberal image. In Vietnam, the premier example, though not the only one, was the U.S.-prompted overthrow (and subsequent murder) of Ngo Dinh Diem. In El Salvador, it is the upheaval caused by a collectivist "land reform" and the attempted destabilization of Roberto D'Aubuisson.

□ Consequent disorder in the target country and deterioration of its war effort, weakening resistance to the guerrillas. A corresponding need to increase American involvement—further feeding the leftist propaganda mills, increasing the uproar of the doves, and alarming the U.S. public. The cycle of "Americanization" that followed the toppling of Diem is now increasingly evident in El Salvador.

□ Declining support for the war effort among the American electorate, demoralization of the anticommunist forces in the target country, and ultimate bailout by U.S. politicians. Final

route of government forces deprived of our assistance, and brutal takeover by communists. It happened in Vietnam in '75. It could happen in El Salvador in the months to come.

On that analysis, the parallels between El Salvador and Vietnam are obvious—but their significance is the opposite of what the usual commentators tell us. **If Vietnam proved one point above all others, it was that the people who described the combat as an indigenous struggle for peasant freedom were criminally mistaken.** From start to finish, Vietnam was a war of communist aggression, meant to install a regime of monstrous terror. Those who told us otherwise were either fools or liars, and they bear a heavy share of the blame for Indochina's agony today.

To be "another Vietnam," in short, is to be a struggling country delivered up to communist bondage by the grotesque delusions of the liberal-left. If the people currently sounding this theme are permitted to have their way, such could be all to possibly the fate of El Salvador.

PRINT FOR FAILURE: WAR AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

gans, being committed to Keynesian and collectivist economic measures, allocated aid specifically in support of the confiscatory policies already harming the country.

The military situation deteriorated rapidly on several accounts. El Salvador's military leaders were committed to the use of inappropriate large-unit tactics—mostly designed to justify the existing command structure of the officer hierarchy. Commanders who wanted to fight guerrilla style, or rearm the local militias were restricted and reassigned to remote, non strategic areas, especially if their popularity was viewed as a threat to the existing leaders. Military operations had so many communist moles working within the system that virtually no major unit could be put into the field without advance warning to the guerrillas.

Saying One Thing and Meaning Another:

When the administration began sounding the alarm about the deteriorating situation in El Salvador, conservatives gave the predictable reaction of full support. The code words worthy of support were all there—anti-communism, democracy, and reform—but few realized that anti-communism did not mean *freedom* from socialism to the administration; that, democracy did not mean constitutional, *limited democracy* which prohibits democratic tyranny through social welfare schemes.

In short, few conservatives realized that the administration was supporting El Salvador for somewhat different reasons than they were. The administration was supporting the Duarte regime specifically because it was socialist, as well as anti-communist (half-heartedly).

In a speech before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco in 1982, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders admitted to two key elements of appeasement and duplicity in U.S. policy for Central America: (1) that the policies of the State Department have remained the *same* during both the Carter and Reagan administrations, and (2) that we have agreed to sign a non-aggression pact with the communist government of Nicaragua, thus guaranteeing them a sanctuary.

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While conservatives naively cheered, President Reagan's speech was laced with no-win strategy and State Department goals for the continued promotion of democratic socialism. Consider the following quotes:

"*Democracy* is beginning to take root in El Salvador, which, until a short time ago, knew only dictatorship." Not true. El Salvador has had several freely elected governments in the past: Presidents Campo, Osorio and Lemus.

"El Salvador has been keeping its promises, like the *land reform* program which is making thousands of farm tenants farm owners." Untrue. The peasants do not own any of the new land. They continue to be employees of the new government owned and controlled cooperatives.

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After lambasting the former Somoza regime as a dictator, even though he was duly elected in two elections prior to his Carter-engineered overthrow, Reagan spoke glowingly about our \$118 million "relief" boondoggle to the new Nicaraguan communist regime. He further implied that a small clique took advantage of the revolution and took power after Somoza's fall. This is false, and has become the standard establishment answer to cover for the premeditated collusion of the Carter administration with the pro-revolutionary left.

Then Reagan says that "the Sandinista revolution . . . turned out to be just an exchange of one set of autocratic rulers for another." It was much worse, thousands of times worse. In fact, there is virtually no comparison in the deaths, torture, confiscation, and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

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BLUEPRINT FOR FAILURE: LIMITED WAR AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

By Joel M. Skousen

Wading through the rhetoric on any issue of a national controversy has never been easy. Presently, the rhetoric is highly sophisticated and capable of engendering patriotic support for a position totally alien to the real beliefs of Americans. The current issues and crises in Central America are a classic case of such rhetorical manipulation of public ignorance, and deserve an in-depth analysis.

Background to the Current Crisis:

The State Department under President Carter, through the selective use of diplomatic coercion and internal meddling, engineered a military coup in El Salvador in 1979. The resulting junta leaders were Marxist and socialist in allegiance, and included Guillermo Ungo, who later quit and assumed his present position as political leader of the communist guerrillas. With the direction of AFL-CIO specialists in collectivist "land reform" schemes, sent from the United States, the new junta performed radical surgery on the heretofore free-enterprise economic sectors of agriculture, banking, and the export-import associations. As President Reagan took over, the State Department continued to push toward the further collectivization of the Salvadoran economy.

As the present administration entered the escalating conflict, several changes had occurred. The U.S. mandated junta had been broken up due to intense opposition to its pro-revolutionary left activities. But rather than get a real change, Jose Napoleon Duarte, another committed Marxist-socialist, and former political partner to Ungo, was installed in the ruling junta. With full State Department encouragement, he continued to implement the so-called "reforms" which in turn continued to have a devastating effect on the economic viability of the country. El Salvador quickly turned from being a self-sustaining nation into an economic basket case necessitating heavy subsidies from international aid organizations. These international or-

Joel Skousen is the editor of the *Intelligence Newsletter*, *World Affairs Brief*. Mr. Skousen has lived in Central and South America and is a specialist in Latin American politics and economics.

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

suppression of freedoms perpetrated by the Sandinista communists.

Under the Somoza presidency Nicaraguans experienced about the same amount of socialism and regulation as we do in the United States—which is considerable. The so-called “political prisoners”, numbering less than 100, were all convicted or under trial proceedings for specific, identifiable crimes of terrorism or collusion with terrorists. There was a strong opposition press, complete freedom of religion, and an autonomous university system, which was the central point of communist subversive activities, as is common in Latin America. Also typical of Latin American governments, there were justifiable complaints about government corruption. There is some indication that the Somozas may have gained a minor portion of their wealth through government related contacts—but certainly nothing to compare with the fortunes amassed in the U.S. by international bankers, Federal Reserve owners, and companies working through the Export-Import Bank to garner larger foreign contracts paid for by tax-supported international loans.

“There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America—they are not needed.” Ridiculous. **If Central America is truly critical to American security, then why is it not a worthy cause for our own direct involvement?** In any event, why tell the enemy that we guarantee no troops?

“By a margin of 2 to 1, our aid is economic now, not military.” This is only because our State Department’s land reform was totally responsible for destroying the agriculture of El Salvador—much more so than the guerrilla’s sabotage. Reagan’s so-called economic aid is pouring millions into collective government farms, confiscated in the land reform, to give them the appearance of success that they cannot derive from working the land.

“We do not view security assistance as an end in itself, but as a shield for democratization.” This is an admission of a no-win strategy, and the preference for democratic socialism-type reforms over free enterprise.

“We will support dialogue and negotiations both among the countries of the region and within each country.” What is there, frankly, to negotiate? I suggest that there is absolutely nothing that the revolutionary left could want that would be for the good of the country. Who would desire for El Salvador what Nicaragua now has with the same revolutionary outfit? And if there is *nothing* of benefit that they have to offer, there is *nothing* to negotiate, that

will not be better served by a rapid and forthright victory over the enemy forces.

The Bitter Legacy of Negotiations:

As to the general concept of limited war, it would do us well to remember the lessons of the Johnson and Nixon years. As long as the Soviets are aware of U.S. intentions to wage a limited war, they will always escalate the conflict until our national resolve weakens and falters under the coordinated media-political attack. In other words, no amount of military aid to the small forces of El Salvador will succeed as long as the Soviet-backed Cuban and Nicaraguan forces have the will to up the ante. They will never settle for less than victory unless they are convinced, by our actions as well as our words, that we intend to win, unconditionally.

It is true that the present Salvadoran forces, with counter-guerrilla training and tactics, could beat the guerrillas at their own game—as long as there were no enemy escalation of personnel or material. But Vietnam should have taught us well that there will always be escalation when our lack of resolve is evident. Only the formidable bombing of North Vietnam brought them to their knees. Ironically just as we had won the war, and Vietnam was prepared for unconditional surrender, Nixon gave it all away at the Paris Peace talks—with “honor,” of course.

A brief look at the results of past limited conflict strategies leaves a grim legacy:

- In 1946, Dean Rusk and Gen. Marshall were prime culprits in cutting off aid to Chiang Kai-shek, which resulted in the loss of all of mainland China.

- In the same time period Roosevelt negotiated away several Eastern European nations and millions of refugees to Stalin.

- In 1956 Eisenhower denied Hungary’s plea for help in its revolt from the Soviet invasion and turned the case over to the UN.

- In 1957 John Foster Dulles negotiated the split in Vietnam which eventually led to the Vietnam War.

- In 1960 Averell Harriman conceived the fratricidal policy on Laos which forced Prince Boun Oum into taking the communists into his government. Laos has never been free of communist domination since.

- The Nixon-Kissinger team negotiated the infamous “peace with honor” that resulted in the complete collapse of South Vietnam, and the capture of billions of U.S. arms which have fueled revolutions worldwide, including Central America.

- More recently, President Carter undercut the Shah of Iran and paved

the way for Khomeini and the entire hostage debacle. He undercut Somoza and we lost Nicaragua.

- In 1982 President Reagan saved the PLO from Israeli annihilation. It doesn’t take a prophet to predict that Israel will have to fight that battle all over again.

While, technically, President Reagan is not responsible for the aid cuts to El Salvador and the Nicaragua exiles, he is at least responsible for denying his constituency the proper agenda—victory is not being offered—only limited war and negotiations.

A Warning to the West

In the final analysis, given the present course of rhetorical proposals, we are headed for another Vietnam—a limited war that will end in another disaster—either in the eventual sacrifice of many American soldiers when the token aid escalations prove to be insufficient, or in the lives and loss of freedom of millions of our Latin American friends if the present paralysis over using our own military forces continues. \$60 million or \$600 million per year will never overcome the enemy unless we have the will to drive the entire threat out of this hemisphere.

I am also convinced, that the more firm our resolve, and the more dramatic our offensive posture, the less costly the final outcome will be. The ultimate consequence of limited war and appeasement, not to mention the subsidization of communism is that subsequent wars are inevitable, but their prosecution will be more costly, and the chance of victory less secure. The loss of Eastern Europe, Korea, Vietnam is a closet of skeletons whose memories will forever haunt us every time we opt for the temporary peace of negotiation sans victory.

But in the longer analysis, opting for socialism as a pacifier only prolongs the death struggle of a nation—it offers no solution. Socialism, because of its coercive repression of the natural incentives of the entrepreneur to produce, and due to its distortion of the market place, only causes misery and further oppression by bureaucratic regulation. It guarantees the poverty and ultimate class struggle between those whose true worth is being artificially suppressed and those who are corrupted by the benefit of artificial rewards in excess of their true worth. When incentive dies, men must be forced to perform, and thus the final end of all socialism is tyranny—or communism, if you will—whether by the sword or by the law, the result is the same—destruction of freedom and eventual armed conflict. □

WILL THE AMERICANS FIGHT?

By Patrick J. Buchanan

... Does anyone think El Salvador is the last territorial demand the Castroites and communists have in the Western Hemisphere? What does it require to wake up the American people? ...

Think it over. Since the American paralysis in the face of Hanoi's final offensive, Soviet empire proxies have fought in South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Ethiopia and Angola and supported movements to take over Zimbabwe and Nicaragua. All succeeded. In the same seven years, the United States has conducted three minuscule military operations: the recapture of the Mayaguez, the Iranian rescue mission aborted in the desert, the 60-second dog fight over the Gulf of Sidra. Each of the U.S. actions was denounced by the American elite as either stupid and ill-considered, or bullying and provocative.

At the very moment the Soviet troops are massing on the Polish and Iranian frontiers and fighting in Afghanistan, the Reagan administration admonishes one of its officers for carrying his M-16 rifle in El Salvador.

It is time to cut through the clichés and cant and face the stark reality.

"The situation does not lend itself

to a military solution," say the returning politicians. Nonsense. Every civil war or communist insurrection since '45 has "lent itself to a military solution"—Malaya, the Philippines, Greece, China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Nicaragua.

"I don't want a communist government there, but I don't want arms supplies going there either," pleads Archbishop James Hickey of Washington. Sorry, but that is a cop-out. If weapons to El Salvador are cut off, as they were to Nicaragua, the outcome in El Salvador will be the same as in Nicaragua. Who say A must say B.

As for the opposition: "I would be much tougher on the Duarte regime there and condition our aid on their bringing in more civilians reasserting control over the military and removing the people responsible for oppression."

That aimless irrelevance is the Mondale Solution. Substitute Somoza for Duarte and you have the Carter Policy which brought us the Sandinistas. But, then, we didn't re-elect Carter.

Now, tell us, Mr. President. What precisely will the United States do to stop revolutionary communism in El Salvador? Because, as El Salvador goes, so goes Central America, and after that, the next stop is the Rio Grande. □

probability of a communist victory in Central America—and all that means to the United States. Absent America, there is no force in the region that can fight and win a decade-long war of attrition against armed guerrillas, equipped, supported and sustained by Cuba and the Soviet Union from a giant base camp ruled inviolate, off-limits, by the Congress of the United States.

After his depiction of the internal repression of the Ortega gang, and its control of the war of aggression against El Salvador, the president hurried to add: "But let us be clear as to the American attitude toward the government of Nicaragua. We do not seek its overthrow."

Why not?

If the United States will not remove the metastasizing cancer on our own continent, who will? Well, the president declared, "We should not—and we will not—protect the Nicaraguan government from the anger of its own people." But what can the unarmed anger of the Nicaraguan people accomplish against a police state propped up by Cubans, Russians and East Germans?

Have we forgotten the lesson of Vietnam, the no-win war?

Seven thousand guerrillas in El Salvador are not an insurmountable problem, but they are a military problem, not a political one. They will not be defeated by human rights commissions, land reform and free elections any more than were the North Vietnamese. If the communist headquarters and base camp in Nicaragua is guaranteed by the Americans, if the guerrillas' mountaintop positions remain invulnerable to attack by the small, ill-trained Salvadoran army, the communists will win. The bravery and endurance of the Salvadoran people are not inexhaustible commodities. . . .

The tragedy here is that, strategically, it is the Soviets and Cubans who are vulnerable, exposed, overextended. Decisive U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, and coordinated naval, air and ground assault on the Nicaraguan base camp could inflict on the Soviet empire the first major military defeat in almost 30 years, sweep a Kremlin rook from the board, and hearten the remnants of anti-Communists and democrats everywhere. The longer we wait, the higher the cost. Wait too much longer and Central America is lost. □

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TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE

... While Reagan's Churchillian exorciation of the Managua junta was as powerful as his calculation of the stakes was precise, the policy pursued cannot but lead to an American defeat. Once again, it is too little, too late.

"In summation, I say to you that tonight there can be no question: The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail anywhere." . . .

That being true, why did the president—to the thunderous applause of the pacifist Democrats—rule out American troops?

"Now before I go any further," the President assured Congress, "let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam: There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America."

No thought? But if our national security is at stake, how, conceivably, can we rule out intervention? . . .

These are *our* enemies consolidating in Central America; this is war going on. When I put the question to two of

the president's most conservative counselors, they cautioned that, given the unfortunate history of Yankee intervention, the reflective Latin recoil, American combat troops are out of the question.

But why? What would the Latins do if we responded to pleas from San Salvador for advisers, trainers and pilots to give the guerrillas on their volcanos nightly the same hell they visit daily upon the villages and towns—kick us out of the OAS? Refuse our aid and bailout billions? Publicly, Caracas and Bogota and Mexico City would erupt with blustery protests; privately, they would go down on their knees and give thanks the United States remains the United States. . . .

When a great power's vital interests are mortally threatened, it does not wait upon some committee of neutral or inconsequential states to determine whether or not it has the right to act to eliminate that threat.

If Reagan has ruled out American military force, we must rule in the

THE KEY PLAYERS:

The Anti-Communists: El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica

Although each of these nations is actively opposed to externally imposed communism, they are not necessarily disposed to the full set of freedoms which their people would like to enjoy.

Both Guatemala and El Salvador have had brushes with Marxist leaders in the past, and thus have the highest anti-communist instincts. Guatemala had a Marxist president (Arbenz) in the '50s. El Salvador's previous two ruling juntas under Ungo and Duarte were clearly Marxist in economic and social policy. Guillermo Ungo is still the political head of the guerrilla movement.

Each country also experienced the heavy handed diplomatic pressure of the Carter administration during the communist attacks on President Somoza's Nicaraguan government. President Carter threatened suspension of further aid and assistance to all of these countries should they give in to Somoza's pleas for help. Special pressure was applied to President Carazo of Costa Rica and President Paz Garcia of Honduras as their countries were needed as staging bases for supplies which were coming from Cuba, through Panama, Mexico and Venezuela. Both Honduras and Costa Rica have new governments in power and have switched back to the anti-communist side, but the historical memory of the part that U.S. State Department intervention played in the destruction of Nicaragua still rests heavily upon these nations.

Presently, El Salvador has a provisional president, Alvaro Magana, installed by last year's newly elected constituent assembly. The Christian Democrats, under the former junta leader Duarte were repudiated in the March election of 1982, but the State Department quickly entered with threats of aid termination should anti-communist ex-Major D'Aubuisson gain power, or Christian Democrats be deigned controlling power. Under heavy pressure the majority of assemblymen reluctantly agreed to allow Alvaro Magana to serve as interim president, even though he was known to be in previous collusion with the Christian Democrats and Gen. Garcia, the leftist military strongman. As head of the recently nationalized banking system, Magana was responsible for the disappearance of millions in foreign reserves as well as special payoffs to

military heads. During the junta years since 1979, vast fortunes in economic U.S. aid have gone into the coffers of corrupt accomplices of the revolutionary left.

The Communists: Cuba, Nicaragua, Guyana, Grenada and Suriname

Cuba is presently in the process of developing a choke hold on all major shipping routes entering or leaving the Caribbean basin. Cuba itself holds the northern strategic position over the major shipping lanes directly to the north and south. Her newly acquired allies in Grenada, Guyana and Suriname constitute the second choke point effectively blocking the lanes directly north of the South American hump.

However effective these strategic points are in both offensive and defensive roles, in order to complete her total offensive strategy, Cuba must have a mainland base of operations. Nicaragua was selected as the first to conquer, indeed, because she was the strongest and most pro-western of all the anti-communist countries. Cuba knew that her efforts in other neighboring countries would easily be defeated unless Somoza was eliminated.

Pro-Revolutionary Leftist Nations: Mexico, Panama, Belize, Venezuela, Colombia

Each of these governments is ideologically committed to the advancement of democratic socialism, if the people are willing, and coercive socialism, if they are not. Each of their governments is committed to maintaining power and has acquired the dubious habit of playing up to both the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc in order to extract the greatest benefits.

Mexico has long been burdened by a one-party system. In each election the candidates' faces change, by appointment, but the policies are identical. The Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) is avowedly pro-revolutionary leftist and its leaders have openly embraced the mission of Fidel Castro as the de facto leader of the American revolution for "social justice." Ex-President Lopez Portillo was particularly involved in assisting Castro in both the Nicaraguan campaign and in the present campaign against El Salvador. Mexico is currently harboring guerrillas in Mexican territory and assisting them, partly under the guise of "refugee assistance" in their assaults on Guatemala. The new president, de la Madrid, is more cautious than Portillo in his open allegiance to



Castro, but is likewise committed to furthering the revolution. Part of de la Madrid's caution is due to the collapse of the PRI socialist economy in Mexico and his need to court more American assistance.

Panama, under the late Omar Torrijos, was the most notorious of the Cuban collaborators. Openly hostile to Somoza, he actively planned and executed, with Castro, the arms deliveries and the training of the Sandinista guerrillas. While Torrijos technically ran Panama through the military, his political front man was President Royo, who after the sudden plane-crash death of Torrijos, continued to court the Castro regime. After the heavy handed threats of the State Department had subsided somewhat, in the wake of Carter's defeat, the military decided the way was paved for a little more moderation in Panama's rapid drift to the left. Royo was suddenly replaced by a moderate, President de la Espriella. Now, Panama is actively playing both sides of the fence, but senses that the U.S. will never manifest the will to ultimately stop Cuban subversion.

Venezuela under President Perez, also played an active role in bankrolling and supplying Cuban subversive endeavors. Venezuela harbored Marxists from Nicaragua and El Salvador when they had to flee from prosecution, and actively supported the Sandinistas with cash. Presently, Venezuela has a more moderate president, Herrera Champins, though his government is still heavily supportive of socialist regimes.

Colombia has been closely tied to the Cuban narco trade, helping to build up a multi-million dollar war chest for the left.

Belize is a sleeper. While struggling hard to maintain the appearance of neutrality, Prime Minister Price has consistently shown a heavy bias toward socialism and the revolutionary left. His long involvement in Belize, going back to the People's United Party of 1950, is laced with a history of leftist activism, preaching the well-worn phrases of "exploitation," "proletariat" and "solidarity" with the "working people" and other code words of the left. His honored invited guest at the independence celebration was to be Fidel Castro. □

GOING NORTH TOWARD HOME—

U.S. is where they want to live, and they keep trying

By Thomas Curwen

There are approximately 1,200 of them a day, and Nicolas Fuentes has been one twice in as many months. Detected, apprehended, detained and deported, he is an illegal alien who will never stop trying to return.

He has every reason not to. He is married, has a child, a job and a place to live here. He rises each day before the sun and is at work before six. He pulls weeds, clears dead branches and picks the fruit in one of the many avocado and citrus groves that fill north San Diego County. It is a life far better than any back home.

Of all the immigrants in America without papers or permission, more than 60 percent are from Mexico. Government reports cite that country's unemployment, low wages, poor living conditions and "a skewed income distribution" as the reasons. They recommend "tightening enforcement techniques" and "imposing sanctions on employers."

But Nicolas has lived and worked in this country for eight years. He has a good job, contributes to federal Social Security and the state Unemployment and Disability Fund. He has a drivers license, and a trailer for a home, hidden in the hollows of citrus grove. But still he is not safe.

"Alto! Alto!" the man in the light green pickup truck shouted to the Mexicans in the road. He opened his door and stepped out. He wore dark glasses, a stiff flatbrimmed hat and the badge of the Border Patrol.

The Mexicans themselves appeared far less imposing. They wore obvious discards—green plaid shirts, maroon trousers, dark jackets, and everything fit poorly, was aged and threadbare.

Nicolas was with them. It was Sunday, mid-morning. There was no work today, so he and his *compadres* had driven to church. They planned to spend the afternoon with each others fami-

lies. The service had just ended when the Border Patrol officer stopped them.

Some of the men had papers, but Nicolas didn't. So he was taken away, and in 24 hours found himself on the other side of the border and still not free.

Two Mexican officials now detained him. They asked him a few questions, and they were not very pleasant.

Because Nicolas had been working on the other side of the border, his wallet, they said, was undoubtedly filled with money; he denied it. They thought

later, he was back in the grove. He stopped going to church for a while.

Only two blocks away from a friend's house, he noticed a police car. He gunned the engine nervously. He wanted just to remain unseen and unchallenged, but again he wasn't.

This time he was taken to jail in Escondido and held until the INS came the next day. The trip to Tijuana followed, as did another attempt to cross the border. But instead of trying the ocean, he stayed on land and was immediately caught. The Border Patrol rode horses here and covered territory that normal vehicles couldn't touch.

In a van filled with other men who had tried the same, he was transported to Nogales on the Arizona border, more than 500 miles away.

This time Nicolas enlisted the help of a smuggler, commonly known as a *coyote*. It cost him \$200, but it was better than being caught a second time. The *coyote* drove him back to the California border, just outside of Tecate. The patrols can be evaded, and

for anyone with strong legs, America is an easy distance away. . . .

But for the 1,200 who are turned back each day, America is their only real hope. Some are alone, others have friends and family here who have been granted permission to stay. Some would send their money home; others would spend it here.

In every case they break our laws to try to stay because life in Mexico is just not improving for them. The price of oil, once that country's dream of salvation, has fallen; the government is badly in debt. By 1990 the population will be 95 million, twice what it was in 1970, and, all the while, there is still no work, still no food, still no opportunity.

Little wonder then that Mexico itself does nothing to stop this flow. The money sent home strengthens its economy, and the very opportunity of crossing the border relieves the social and political pressures that might otherwise brew within.

America is a safety valve. Block that valve, as has been suggested, and President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado's government could face a crisis of severe proportions. . . . □



he was lying and hit him in the face. Nicolas still shook his head, and the officers searched him. What little he had, they eventually took.

A few hours later, Nicolas found himself standing in the streets of Tijuana. It was late at night, and he was very tired. His wife had family in the town, so he stayed with them a day, and planned his route home.

Between the United States and Mexico, there is a wide strip of land patrolled only by the Americans. The border itself is a chainlink fence, topped with barbed wire. It is impossible to climb, and it extends into the Pacific, beyond the surf line.

This is where Nicolas went the following night. A light rain obscured his steps as he ran across the beach. He walked into the surf unseen and swam out beyond the breakers. Here a hole had been cut in the fence, and through this he swam. Darkness followed his steps into America, and he soon lost himself in the suburb of Chula Vista.

Less than four days after being picked up, Nicolas made it back to his family and his trailer. He had a cold from the night's swim and a split lip where the officials had struck him. But two days

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BUT WHO GETS THE LAND?

Tom Bethell

President Reagan said many good things in his address to Congress in April, and said them with his usual flair. But his comments about land reform in El Salvador were seriously misleading.

"The government of El Salvador has been keeping its promises," he said, "like the land reform program which is making thousands of farm tenants farm owners. In a little over three years, 20 percent of the arable land in El Salvador has been redistributed to more than 450,000 people."

"Land reform" is an Orwellian phrase meaning, in plain language, the government seizure of property from some people, with the promise that it will one day be given to other people. In fact, however, the second part—giving rather than taking—has not been carried out in El Salvador. (Neither was it in Nicaragua, nor in the Soviet Union before that. Governments that are powerful enough to abrogate property rights rarely relinquish this power to their subjects.)

What does it mean to say that you *own* something? It means that you can do with it what you will. The most important decision that an individual can make with regard to something he owns is the decision to sell it—or not to sell it. However, the new property "owners" in El Salvador, the alleged beneficiaries of land reform, are not free to make this decision.

The reason is that they do not own clear title to the land—not in the same way that you or I or President Reagan may own the title to a piece of property in the United States.

If you cannot sell something whose value you have enhanced by mixing your labor with it, then your incentive for providing the labor is greatly reduced. But this thought is cast aside by those who support land reform, because they are ideologically predisposed to believe that people are willing to work hard simply to attain a collective goal, as though people were ants. (And let us not forget that this land reform scheme was cooked up in the United States.)

Tom Bethell is the Washington editor of *The American Spectator*.



Alain Keiser/SYOMA

Land reform has, as one might expect, undermined morale in El Salvador and, sad to say, given local insurgents good reason to rebel against any government that buckles under to such externally imposed folly.

Phase 1 of the plan involved seizure of 329 properties over 1,230 acres. The 34,000 peasant families who used to work on this land were then divided up into "cooperatives" and led to believe that they were now proud owners. But they weren't. The land was owned by the government, dressed up as the Institute for Agrarian Transformation.

When I last checked with the U.S. Agency for International Development, only four titles had been transferred to these cooperatives. Even in these cases the members of the cooperatives do not really own the land. In the first place, an individual within the cooperative cannot sell his "share" to someone else. Secondly, the cooperative as a whole cannot sell its title to anyone who wants to buy it. (This right, of course, is fundamental to the notion of ownership in the United States.)

The reason is that the title might be bought back by the person or people

from whom the land was seized in the first place. Let us bear this in mind: **Revenge, not compassion, was the true motive underlying land reform in El Salvador.**

It is the same with Phase 3, the "land-to-the-tiller" program. The idea was to give individual families small plots of a few acres. That would be fine if the recipients owned the plots outright. But they don't. The titles are "entailed." This means that there are restrictions as to who may subsequently buy the plots. (For example, in the event of death, the plot can be passed on to family members only, and then only once every 30 years.)

Would Reagan really feel that he owned his ranch in California if the state told him he could only sell it to his children, and that they could only resell it 30 years later?

Countries that impose political schemes camouflaged as economic progress but in fact based on vengeance are doomed to fail. Land reform has, as one might expect, undermined morale in El Salvador and, sad to say, given local insurgents good reason to rebel against any government that buckles under to such externally imposed folly. Is it any surprise that the United States is sometimes unpopular in the world, when these are the kinds of ideas we export?

When Robert D'Aubuisson was elected in 1982, he took steps to suspend Phase 2 of the overall plan, a proposal to increase state ownership of El Salvador even further. But now, by endorsing land reform so forth-rightly and unequivocally, Reagan has given its supporters and the opponents of the elected governments (in El Salvador) just the ammunition they need to revive it.

A few more steps down the path of land reform, and El Salvador's economy will decline even more, because people will not work to attain collective or state-proclaimed goals, as the recent history of the Soviet Union attests. And if that happens, additional shipments of U.S. arms will prove to be no match for the anti-U.S. sentiment that American land reformers will themselves have been largely responsible for stirring up. □

AGUA FRIA FARM: STOLEN MONUMENT OF FREEDOM

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The following letter was written April 30, 1981 to Congressman Clarence Long (D-Md.) after the congressman's return from El Salvador with glowing reports about the "successes" of the land reform that he had witnessed. The farm he was shown was the famous "Agua Fria" farm—a monument to free enterprise—not the land reform, as the letter aptly points out.

Luis Escalante is one of El Salvador's leading citizens, noted for his kindness, generosity, and honor. He founded a bank, a university and served in numerous civic and government posts—always championing the principles of Abraham Lincoln and free enterprise. He was one of El Salvador's first kidnap victims by terrorism, and was seriously wounded as he attempted to defend himself. While still recovering, he continues to take an active role in fighting verbally for his country's survival. We are honored to present excerpts of his letter to Congressman Long.

Dear Congressman Long:

I learned from news items that, on your recent trip to El Salvador, you visited Agua Fria Farm. What you saw there was not an overnight creation of the "land reform" imposed in recent months on my native country, but a far slower miracle of transformation. The toil, care and thought that went into Agua Fria's transformation were those of my father-in-law, fondly remembered in El Salvador. He was don Benjamin Sol-Millet, who began building up Agua Fria for the cultivation of coffee some 65 years ago. . . .

At that time, the land where Agua Fria now flourishes was not as you see it today. Benjamin's father had been unable to sell the tract, since it was so unpromising for farming. The surface was what Salvadorans call *talpetate* [tuff]—a slagheap of semi-concreted rubble several feet deep composed almost entirely of barren volcanic ash, on which hardly anything will grow.

But the climate and elevation were ideal for coffee, for which the porous *talpetate* offered the potential of good drainage. Eager to grow coffee there, the youthful Sol-Millet first had to make the *talpetate* fruitful by crumbling it and mixing it with the proper nutrients.

No machines in El Salvador, however, were designed to break up the rocklike volcanic fallout covering Agua



Alain Keller/SYGMA

Fria. This led young Benjamin to buy, in San Francisco, the first agricultural tractor of its kind destined for El Salvador.

The shipment of the huge machine was an epic in itself. No ship could be found that was large enough to carry it as deck cargo. So my father-in-law had a special barge built. On this barge, the tractor was to be towed—gales permitting—behind a ship from San Francisco bound for the Salvadoran port of Acajutla. . . .

Now came the test of Benjamin Sol-Millet's pioneering ideas. The tractor was equipped with an array of massive groundbreaking tools revolutionary for El Salvador. If these could bite through the rocklike *talpetate* to the proper depth, young Benjamin's idea should work. If so, he could bring topsoil rich in nutrients from nearby areas, and mix this with the crumbled, gritty volcanic surface.

But the paved roads on which you traveled, Congressman Long, were not there back in those days. The fertile soil to clothe Agua Fria's slopes and flats came, cubic meter by cubic meter, by ox-drawn cart, snaking up the winding tracks.

Having learned in California the value of fertilizers, young Sol-Millet imported considerable quantities of them each year from the United States. He added this to the soil he and his tractor were winning meter by meter from the *talpetate*, building up his beloved land with the humus arriving by oxcart from

adjacent areas. Season after season, he also added organic mulch, painstakingly increasing Agua Fria's fertility.

. . . In the course of the years, don Benjamin traded for adjacent land which he similarly improved, gradually adding to Agua Fria. And in those days, there were no credit facilities to speak of in El Salvador. Farming's financial risks and problems were increased as the country's currency fluctuated frequently, complicating the importation of fertilizers and other needed supplies.

Because coffee was always cultivated under shade in those days, two crops were required—the coffee bushes themselves, and the accompanying shade grove. But as time went on, helped by his son Roberto Servando Sol, the elder Sol-Millet built Agua Fria up to 1,660 *manzanas* [2,820 acres]—a model coffee plantation on which extraordinarily high yields were achieved. . . .

Few workers lived at Agua Fria, which is close enough to towns for most workers to come to the plantation daily from homes nearby. But long before "agrarian reform", the farm-owners provided up-to-date medical services without cost to workers and their families through a clinic staffed by a regularly visiting doctor, and a nurse. Generations of Agua Fria employees have learned the three R's at the plantation's own school. Since the beginning of the 1950s, when minimum wage laws were first passed, payscales at Agua Fria have consistently and frequently run ahead of the minimums, raised from time to time by successive national administrations. . . .

As if causing *talpetate* to burgeon were not challenge enough, Benjamin Sol-Millet chose the most inhospitable and uninhabitable island in El Salvador's Jiquilisco Bay—the island of Espíritu Santo—on which to found the nation's coconut products industry. Working with his son Roberto, the elder Sol-Millet cleared and drained the malarial deserted island and turned it into a model coconut plantation.

Don Benjamin lived to see an up-to-date coconut oil plant on Espíritu Santo, side by side with a plant for processing copra, or shredded coconut. Eventually, Roberto Sol extended coconut cultivation on a commercial scale to two more islands in Jiquilisco Bay. . . .

. . . I have submitted to you, most respectfully, the foregoing fill-in on the

history of Agua Fría because on your visit there, I note, your guide was D. Morales Ehrlich. It would be hard to find a Salvadoran with faultier grasp of the facts of my country's agriculture. Oblivious to the work it takes to make a farm, your guide is firmly of the opinion that productive farms fall from Heaven like the dew, effortlessly enriching some indolent "oligarch" who changes to possess the property.

Dr. Morales Ehrlich comes naturally by this conviction. A refugee from an unsuccessful law career, he embraced as a *modus vivendi* the brand of socialist (for which read Marxist) politics that has done such harm to El Salvador.

In the mid-1960s, long before El Salvador's present "agrarian reform", Benjamin Sol-Millet proposed to the national government after much thought a carefully conceived program akin to land reform. His scheme would indeed have contributed to the country's progress, and to better lives for marginal rural landworkers. His plan was to use for truck-gardening—cultivation of vegetables, flowers and the like—the small plots high on the peaks of volcanoes and mountains, too isolated for efficient mechanized farming on a large scale, and unsuitable for coffee.

His project called for distributing such land (mostly held by the national government) to landworkers, giving them the needed housing aid, and such other aid as would be needed for the success of truck-garden cultivation and marketing.

In this project, small plots isolated by Nature rather than by politics would be put to good use without impairing the high-yield efficiency of existing agribusinesses. Here was an opportunity to utilize also the industrious spirit of the hard-working Salvadoran *campesino*, for his own benefit, while reducing the need to import several domestic foodstuffs and products.

Perhaps because the proposed project was so modest, and thus had little potential for demagogic political exploitation, it was not considered.

Don Benjamin Sol-Millet, although first among equals as an innovator in getting the optimum agricultural yield from the smallest arable area, is an archetype—typical of tens of thousands of Salvadoran entrepreneurs. There are far too many don Benjamins to be called "oligarchs" (a powerful, ruling few), much less for all to belong to "Fourteen Families," as is the myth. What is difficult for North Americans to grasp is that these Salvadoran free-enterprisers are beset from *all* sides. . . .

. . . While the leftist guerrilla FDR

makes war on Duarte's equally leftist Government Junta (and on El Salvador's free-market system), the Governing Junta is stripping El Salvador's free-enterprising don Benjamin's of their property—thus making war, like the FDR, on El Salvador's free-market system.

The Governing Junta's seizure of the nation's private banking system, and its takeover of the remainder of the nation's export activity, bring the ironies full circle.

Notwithstanding insistent reports, there have still been no reparations paid for the farming properties confiscated by armed troops in March 1980. **Their dispossessed proprietors so far have not even received scraps of paper acknowledging the seizures. But while the government has taken their lands, it insists that the despoiled rather than the despoilers are liable for the properties' outstanding debts and encumbrances.** With Alice-in-Wonderland logic, the Governing Junta is now obliging the victims to pay taxes on the confiscated lands as if these lands were still in their rightful owners' possession.

And what has the landworker gained out of the bloody upheaval which El Salvador is suffering? Nothing. The landworkers' outlook for the future, thanks to the present government, is escalating poverty.

The Salvadoran landworkers—once proud of their own role in building showpiece farms like Aguas Frías—today are wracked by insecurity and fear, and without refuge or recourse. The national sense of confidence, once the mainspring of our prosperity, has disappeared. Unemployment rises daily.

Incidentally, this is needless. For years, the state has been accumulating rural properties in one way and another, so the government of El Salvador is in fact the country's largest landholder. All that this has accomplished is to show that the government is the worst of all possible farmers and farm administrators. All the misnamed agrarian "reform" has done is to hand over the best-run and most productive farms to the managers long since shown to be the most inept of Salvadoran farmers, the national government. Aside from philosophical objections, state capitalism in El Salvador has proven to be woefully incompetent.

Pre-Junta El Salvador, despite acute overpopulation and limited area, had succeeded in becoming self-sufficient in staple foods. Thanks to the industriousness of its people, its credit was first rate. But as its state capitalism now goes grinding on, it is destroying one of the most remarkable national work-ethics of modern times, and breeding deeper poverty. . . .

Yours respectfully,
Luis Escalante Arce

. . . BUT, EL SALVADOR DOESN'T MAKE IT

Virginia Prewett

As Congress engages in its semi-annual debate over military aid for El Salvador, a leftist-manipulated nationwide network is once more flooding Capitol Hill with letters. This time, they demand that military aid be voted only if El Salvador's government "negotiates" with the Castrolining terrorist guerrillas now devastating the country.

One of these guerrillas now intensively lobbying in Washington revealed March 22 on the CBS-TV *Morning Break* show what they demand of such negotiations, or else the war goes on. FDR-FMLN spokesman Alberto Arrete said they must result in a new provisional government to include the guerrillas and give them partial control over El Salvador's military. Elections

Virginia Prewett has covered Latin America for more than two decades.

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can "come later," he said.

If the U.S. even contemplates forcing negotiations on El Salvador in this direction, their military defenses may disintegrate. The Soviet and Cuba-backed guerrillas could then rule at gunpoint.

How does the U.S. arrive at these semiannual crossroads where yet another highly organized leftist minority propaganda network threatens to extort from Congress the sacrifice of yet another Free World country? One reason may be that our society has had its reason-based "immune system" destroyed; too many American minds are stripped of antibodies against the Big Lies of totalitarian socialism. Such lies have been totalitarianism's weapon for cheap conquest ever since Stalin sanctified this Lenin stratagem.

Americans deluded by the leftist network—whose lobby of letters-on-cue favor the Soviet-Cuban-supported

THE HOT ISSUES: LAND REFORM

CENTRAL AMERICA: THE LIMITED WAR GAME

guerrillas—obviously accept a series of Big Lies about El Salvador. The taproot lie is that “14 families” owned all the good land before the Carter administration plunged the little nation into “land reform.”

Carter apologists insist he pushed these and other radical state-control measures to “steal Castro’s thunder.” But it merely whetted Salvadoran terrorist appetites and got them Soviet-camp aid for full-scale guerrilla war. Meanwhile, Washington goes on financing El Salvador’s land “reforms” to appease the U.S. left. The Agency for International Development (AID) argues to Congress that the “reforms” are alive and well, and that their alleged success buttresses the country against guerrilla aggression.

Now AID has issued a 260-page report by its Washington consultants, Checchi & Co. A few opening pages of the report, circulated by AID as a press release, do claim success. But the Inter-American Development Bank’s (IDB) annual reports say that from an average annual growth in gross national product (GNP) of above 5 percent in the 1970s before El Salvador’s destabilization began, the country’s GNP has fallen vertiginously.

El Salvador’s GNP dropped by 1.5 percent in 1979, by 9.6 percent in 1980 (the first “reforms” year), by 9.5 percent in 1981, and continued downward in 1982. This is total disaster, a crash of at least 25 percent in three years. Even if the body of the Checchi report substantiated its own cheery first pages, IDB figures would prove the land reform sector is a false-front “Potemkin Village” within a wrecked Salvadoran economy.

But significant facts burn through in the Checchi report. Its authors start by reminding us the reforms are only meant to improve the “relative position” of the peasants. [An intention widely stated at the time was to “destroy the oligarchy.”] Checchi says that “some 10 years from now” the “eventual success of the reforms may be measured (p. 38).” Ten years?

Checchi says: “Agricultural production data . . . show an absolute decline for all crops in the two-year period following the reform” (p. 44). Next, that in these same two years, the only ones reportable since the reforms began,

agricultural production per capita fell “about 14 percent” (p. 48). Checchi insists the “reforms” did not cause all of this.

Presenting unemployment figures for the Phase I sector—and the big farms seized militarily and turned into state-controlled peasant cooperatives—Checchi says “. . . for each successive year, the reform sector appears to be losing about 6 percent of its employment potential” (p. 59). So in two years, at least 12 percent of the big farms; workers were thrown out of work by the “reforms,” right?

Checchi says: “In the 1980-81 crop year, the Phase I reform sector [the ‘oligarchy’s’ former big farms] represented 14 percent of the agricultural land in use” (p. 50). But the left tells

work, and many others.

Checchi learned through field work that the peasant cooperatives’ debt to the government for the land thrust upon them “seems so huge to most members that few believe they will ever be able to pay it off” (p. 87). Debts for land purchase, for production costs and for interest are mounting. The co-ops are not permitted to go bankrupt; some simply collapse, repudiate debts, and reappear with the same name (p. 88). It is alleged that “many” co-ops in 1980-81 did not receive loans recorded against them, and corruption and inefficiency are blamed (p. 88). Note that some days ago San Salvador newspapers reported \$25 million missing from the agrarian reform agency accounts of 1980-81, then controlled by Christian Democrats.

On page 89, Checchi says that though “most of the new cooperatives have a string of growing debts,” the system has “a built-in collection mechanism favoring the lenders;” that is, the government banks and agencies. The cooperatives must market their crops through the agencies.

“Basically, the marketing agency retains payments due when it buys crops from the cooperative and pays the money to the cooperative’s creditors. In practice, what it does is remit all the money to the [government] bank, which helps itself and credits the balance” to the peasants. In short, the co-op peasants owe their soul to the government banks now, as they did decades ago to the “company store.”

On profitability, Checchi says that of 60 coffee co-ops monitored in one zone, 29 percent showed a dead loss and the rest could claim a profit only by not paying debts (p. 120).

On page 99, Checchi lets drop that “. . . the money wage reported is not much greater than before the reform. . . .” Inflation is much greater, which Checchi doesn’t mention.

This article affords only a glimpse of the Salvadoran state-control experiment. Even the Checchi report reveals enough to expose the land “reform” fiction, though Checchi does not tell the full story by a long, unreformed country mile. If this is the most favorable report the AID can buy, imagine what an independent study would find. □



Alain Keeler/SYGMA

Carter apologists insist he pushed these and other radical state-control measures to “steal Castro’s thunder.” But it merely whetted Salvadoran terrorist appetites and got them Soviet-camp aid for full-scale guerrilla war.

its letter-writing lobby network the big landowners “monopolized” the land.

On page 60, Checchi says that although the Salvadoran violence is “related to and affected by the confrontation between the government and the insurgents [guerrillas], the Agrarian Reform is not at the heart of the controversy” (p. 60). If the concentration of land ownership is not the heart of the “social injustice” causing the guerrilla violence, then somebody has cruelly deceived the letterwriting net-

SOLARZ' HYPOCRISY ON HUMAN RIGHTS

M. Stanton Evans

Congress is justly famous for its hypocrisy, but few of its members can top the record on this front compiled by Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.).

The thought is prompted by the conjunction of a couple of recent news events with my personal recollection of this New York congressman. The first news item tells us that Solarz is pushing for a super hard-line policy on "human rights" abuses in El Salvador. Unless the anti-communist government shapes up down there, Solarz wants to cut off all military aid.

In short, Solarz went out of his way to destroy the anti-communist Muzorewa, while joyfully helping usher the Marxist Mugabe to the seat of power. That tells us something about where his sympathies lie and the sincerity of his devotion to "human rights."

The second item concerns the course of events in Zimbabwe, the former British colony of Rhodesia. It tells us the Catholic bishops of that nation have decried the "reign of terror" being conducted by the government of Robert Mugabe, the Marxist leader who came to power in 1980. Mugabe's troops in recent months have been on a lethal rampage—killing at least 1,000 civilians, and possibly a much larger number.

Other dispatches from Zimbabwe make it plain that Mugabe is busy constructing a police state there. His major rival, Joshua Nkomo, has been forced to flee the country; Nkomo's family has been arrested; opposition members of Parliament have been locked up; there have been credible reports of torture; Mugabe has seized

control of the press—in short, as ample a list of "human rights" abuses as one could possibly imagine.

A few other details might be added to flesh the story out: Mugabe is a self-declared Marxist, who openly avows his goal of achieving a one-party state. During his years as a guerrilla-terrorist leader, he was supplied with arms from Peking, Moscow and the Eastern Bloc. The brigade he now is using to enforce his tyranny on Zimbabwe was trained for him by the North Koreans.

What does all this have to do with Rep. Solarz? The answer is that he, as much as any single American, is responsible for Mugabe's being in power in Zimbabwe. And while Solarz has a lot to say about "human rights" abuses by anti-communists in El Salvador, he has for some peculiar reason nothing whatever to say about the current abuses occurring in Zimbabwe.

I personally encountered this Solarz mind-set a few years back when I returned from a jaunt as an election observer in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. In 1979, trying to work its way to peaceful independence, the country overwhelmingly elected a moderate black leader, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Every credible observer of this election agreed that it was free and fair, and that the turnout—despite guerrilla violence—was overwhelming.

Testifying about these matters before a subcommittee chaired by Solarz, I found him unremittingly hostile to Muzorewa. He did everything he could to cast doubt on the '79 election, including dragging in as a witness a British election observer who claimed to know of voting abuses that scores of other observers combing the country from one end to the other had never heard of.

The object of this performance concerted with the Jimmy Carter State Department was to avoid extending recognition to the Muzorewa regime, and to maintain the crushing economic sanctions that would bring his anti-communist government toppling down. This strategy succeeded, and another election was therefore held in 1980—won by the Marxist Mugabe.

In the Mugabe election, there were numerous reports of terrorism, murder and "herding" of voters to the polls. In some election districts, it was alleged, candidates opposed to Mugabe could not even make an appearance. Charges about such matters were lev-

eled by Freedom House, the British Election Commission and British election observers quoted in the London *Times*.

Despite all this, when it came time to certify the Mugabe election, Solarz did not ask a single question about intimidation, herding or other abuses by Mugabe's forces. He simply declared that Mugabe had been "democratically elected," acclaimed "the successful and peaceful transition to majority rule," and accepted in uncritical fashion the concurring statements of a Carter diplomat.

In short, Solarz went out of his way to destroy the anti-communist Muzorewa, while joyfully helping usher the Marxist Mugabe to the seat of power. That tells us something about where his sympathies lie and the sincerity of his devotion to "human rights." Those who think it is a good idea for Zimbabwe to be ruled by a Marxist despot engaging in a "reign of terror" can thank Solarz for his efforts to make it possible—and will no doubt welcome his current attentions to El Salvador. □



HUMAN RIGHTS IN NICARAGUA

By Patrick J. Buchanan

The triumph of the Revolution in Nicaragua, three summers ago, was almost universally hailed by human rights advocates and the Roman Catholic Church. Jimmy Carter's government, which had shut down the arms pipeline to Gen. Somoza, shouldered its way into the front of the line to share the limelight for the Sandinista victory.

Where are they now? Where are those loud "human rights" champions who used to hog the microphones to denounce Somoza, those radical priests expounding the "liberation theology," wherein Catholics and communists in Latin America would hand in hand build the new society? Where are they now that the Christian churches in general and the Catholic Church in particular are being put up on a cross in Nicaragua?

Last August, Pope John Paul II wrote to the clergy and Catholic faithful of

Nicaragua a papal letter denouncing as fraudulent the "Popular Church"—that heretical little rump outfit set up by the Sandinistas to parrot the party line from the pulpit. While the Pope's letter was read at mass in every parish, the Sandinistas shut down the nation's only independent paper, *La Prensa*, for days rather than tolerate its publication.

Repeatedly, the bishop of Nicaragua's eastern province, where the Miskito Indians are suffering constant persecution and occasional martyrdom, has been seized by the central authorities and denied permission to return.

When the auxiliary bishop of the capital went to one parish to re-establish church authority, he was set upon and beaten by a mob, all of whom were given a general excommunication by Archbishop Obando y Bravo, whose personal heroism is making him the *Mindzenty* of Managua.

Last summer, 20 non-Catholic churches were seized by the Sandinistas, including Mormon, Baptist and Seventh Day Adventist. The last seems particularly high on the regime's enemies list. Interior Minister Tomas Borge is quoted in the *National Catholic Register* as warning that the "future of religious sects in Nicaragua will depend on their attitudes henceforth toward the revolution." As for the Seventh Day Adventist whom Borge accused of being behind the attempted bombing of a high-tension tower in the city of Las Maderas, he warned, "Its days in Nicaragua are coming to an end."

In the most recent and outrageous incident, Rev. Bismarck Carballo, spokesman for the archdiocese, was set upon while lunching with a woman friend; both were stripped naked and paraded through the streets to jail where he was held six hours. The government-controlled newspapers *Barricuda* and *El Nuevo Diario* played up the photographs and story, as did the state-run television. Outraged Catholic students seized high schools around the country in protest, and in Monimbo, an impoverished Catholic and Indian neighborhood, barricades were thrown up against Sandinista mobs and troops, three people were killed and six wounded.

"There is a silent persecution of the Christians going on in Nicaragua," says Humberto Belli, until April the editorial editor of *La Prensa*. "The rank and file of the Church are siding with the archbishop of Managua . . . He is by

far the most popular man in Nicaragua."

The archbishop whose car has been twice attacked by regime supporters is being publicly disparaged by the Maryknoll collaborator and foreign minister Rev. Miguel D'Escoto, the Roman collar of the regime.

The inevitable question arises: Is this new communist regime in Managua a worse offender of human rights than the corrupt, right-wing authoritarian regime it replaced? Here is the testimony of Jose Estaban Gonzales, who organized the Nicaraguan Permanent Commission for Human Rights under Somoza:

"During the first few days of the revolution we refused to make compari-

Last summer, 20 non-Catholic churches were seized by the Sandinistas, including Mormon, Baptist and Seventh Day Adventist. The last seems particularly high on the regime's enemies list.

sons (between the new government and Somoza) because there was a different situation. Now I would say clearly the situation is much worse. During the Somoza regime the repression didn't affect the whole community but only those who were in conflict with the government. But now everybody in Nicaragua is affected—not just those who are directly political."

And Senor Belli: "There is a paranoid kind of attitude. It is not enough that you are not against them (the Sandinistas)—you've got to be for them."

Precisely as Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick described it would ever be, in her brilliant work, *Dictatorships and Double Standards*. The totalitarian left is far the greater menace to human rights than the authoritarian right. And in Nicaragua, the communists are behaving like communists. Who was so foolish as to expect otherwise? □

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Claude Urraca /SYGMA



POLITICS: MACHISMO AND PORK

There are some unique differences between American politics and those of underdeveloped countries. The two most important things to remember about Latin American politics are first, that a nation's government very rarely represents the actual feelings of the people, and secondly, that there is very little real understanding of philosophy, economics, and politics among the vast majority of the citizenry. While these characteristics are certainly not unique to Latin America, they are much more pronounced due to certain cultural factors such as "machismo,"—the dominance of man and the charismatic military leader—and the high percentage of poorly educated native peoples.

The lack of political sophistication means that the people of Latin America, with some notable exceptions, are very subject to simplistic and emotional leadership—that which comes not in the form of arguments, principles and issues as much as in charisma and socialist promises of benefits to buy the vote of the masses. There are many idle slogans, and emotional arguments, but very little substantive reasoning in the typical election campaign. The problem of government irresponsiveness helps to explain the relative sense of resignation in the people as to their power to influence government. It also accounts for the fact that most Latin American governments and leaders are much farther to the left on the political spectrum than the general populace.

Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras currently have duly elected governments. Guatemala had a recent election, but the outcome was heavily influenced by the military government, which gave its full weight of support to an incompetent candidate. This, in turn, led to the recent coup installing Gen. Rios Montt in power. Rios Montt just had a "born again" experience in free-market economics, but only time will tell if he can overcome the inertia of state socialism which has so long dominated the Guatemalan government.

In reality, all of these countries are burdened by the economic weight of socialism—the result of years of pork barrel electioneering—each party trying to outbid the other in benefits promised. Only in El Salvador and Guatemala did we see

the emergence of significant free-market economic and political ideas in the past elections. El Salvador's Alianza Republicana Nacional (ARENA) party had an excellent free-market base, which unfortunately was heavily undermined by Roberto D'Aubuisson's last minute attempt to buy votes with benefit-promises.

Guatemala's Central Autentica Nacionalista (CAN) party, under the direction of Gustavo Anzueto, had the most comprehensive free-market program, modeled after the Austrian economic policies of Manuel Ayau and his

Rulers choose communism only because it is the most effective form of tyranny

associates. While both D'Aubuisson and Gustavo Anzueto had excellent charismatic appeal in their respective countries, D'Aubuisson's opposition was the despised Napoleon Duarte and the socialist Christian Democratic Party, while Gustavo Anzueto faced a split of conservative votes with another candidate of heroic reputation.

POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS:

Under the guise of "making the world safe for democracy," the U.S. State Department has gained a well deserved reputation for interference in the internal affairs of Latin American nations. The most flagrant examples, however, involve circumstances where certain governments were *resistant* to implementing coercive socialist policies, such as the Romero government in El Salvador prior to the U.S.-promoted coup of 1979. Most Americans have forgotten that it is no virtue to believe in unbridled democracy. Most of the Founding Fathers, as well as the premier philosophers of freedom have warned of the dangers of unlimited powers of majority rule. It's no problem as long as the majority is unpredatory and benign, but democracy combined with its ever-present companion, socialism, is a formidable and dangerous weapon of tyranny—tyranny of law by a majority bound to demand a never ending supply of benefits from the "other guy"—a diminishing class of productive workers and

entrepreneurs.

It is no wonder that the framers of the U.S. Constitution went to great lengths to put limits upon the powers of majority rule as were reflected in the limits upon the people's representatives. We are now living in the age of benefit-corruption where the politicians and jurists have successfully stripped the Constitution of its original restrictions, leaving them free to buy votes with tax purchased benefits.

When a man pleads for democracy, most Americans think he is referring to the limited forms of democracy that are characteristic of American constitutional law. Modern-day politicians are talking *real* democracy—whatever the people want, the people get. Even that, however, is not completely true. Present and past administrations have demonstrated that they will only tolerate a narrow range of democratic choice—and that doesn't include either communism or true freedom. Many years ago, the State Department decided that the best way to combat communism was to give the poor nations of the world socialism—Keynesian economic intervention, heavy handed regulations, and lots of social programs to pacify the needy. But nations don't fall to communism because poor people support communism. Its rulers choose communism only because it is the most effective form of tyranny. It isn't capitalism that sets up a people for communism's siren call, but socialism and the politics of envy—the constant buying of votes with promised benefits—paid for by coercive taxation on the productive portion of society. So, in reality, when the politicians call for democracy, they mean democratic socialism. Any democratic election that results in an agenda for free enterprise is to be denounced as "oligarchial" business intervention and "fascist" oppression. Salvador had a bonafide election with full supervision by not a few notable liberals. Sixty percent voted against the ruling Christian Democrats and their tenure of socialist economic collapse. Did the State Department honor the democratic will of the people? Hardly. There was constant interference, culminating in a threat to the new Salvadoran Assembly of aid termination should the anti-communist majority be allowed to exercise any real degree of power. And so it goes . . . democracy, yes, but only if it is democratic socialism. □

THREE LITTLE WORDS: COMMUNISM IS EVIL



Alain Keler/SYGMA

By Joseph Sobran

Do the guerrillas in El Salvador represent the will of the people? To listen to some Central American "experts" for the last few years, you would have thought so, and the news media have—with honorable exceptions—echoed the line that the communist forces represent what Penny Lernoux calls the "cry of the people."

It is one of the terrible facts about human nature that the more successful an evil becomes, the more it destroys even our power to perceive it as evil.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the latest liberated people's democratic socialist republic: There was an election. And confounding all predictions, the voters braved death threats to turn out in huge numbers and give their support largely to the right-wing candidates.

Two possible explanations come to mind. One is that El Salvador has the most broad-based landed oligarchy in Latin America. The other is that communism doesn't enjoy the wild pop-

Translation: Your Vote: The Solution ularity ascribed to it by some fearful— or wishful—Americans.

Even the Reagan administration is embarrassed: It hints that if Roberto D'Aubuisson leads a right-wing coalition in undoing the putative land reforms launched by the Duarte regime, it will consider cutting off American aid.

What ironies! Instead of leaning left, Salvadoran democracy is turning out too right-wing even for the Reagan administration. And by registering their will, the Salvadoran people are in danger of losing their democratic ally.

They must find Americanos hard to figure. First we threaten to punish them for being undemocratic. Now we threaten to punish them for the way they voted. It's only reasonable for Salvadorans to wonder just what we mean by "self-determination."

Whether or not they understand us, we have made it clear that we don't understand them. The right-wing victory was a stunning surprise to most people here—just as Reagan's landslide was in 1980.

With all due diffidence, we can advance the hypothesis that the myth of communism's popularity flourishes best where there is no election to verify it. For some reason, American liberals presume, where no elections are held, that communist insurgents must embody the frustrated "legitimate aspirations" of the populace. Such liberals are always taken by surprise when actual popular sentiment turns out to be anti-communist.

But very few people anywhere really want to live under communism. The

reason for this is terribly embarrassing to sophisticated people, who often can't bring themselves to say it: Communism is evil. Enormous energies go into evading this obvious truth, and Susan Sontag recently caused an uproar among American intellectuals by merely acknowledging it.

"Communism is evil": A George McGovern or an Edward Kennedy would rather turn blue in the face than utter these three little words, though they do explain things like the Berlin Wall, the Cambodian holocaust, the Vietnamese boat people, and the preferences of the voters of El Salvador. Simplistic! Cold War rhetoric! McCarthyism! But true.

It is one of the terrible facts about human nature that the more successful an evil becomes, the more it destroys even our power to perceive it as evil. Everyone denounces Nazism and Fascism: They lost the war, and it costs nothing to recognize them as the horrors they were.

But communism has been winning, and renewing its assaults, so people

The more the evil of communism has spread, the more reluctant we are to tell the truth about it. The voters in El Salvador have given us a badly needed lesson in courage.

make excuses for it and grant it diplomatic status and steer clear of conflict with it. To hide their fear, they pretend it isn't so bad, like little boys toadying up to a bully and pretending he's a nice guy. George Orwell observed that even leftist intellectuals toned down their denunciations of Nazism while it looked as if the Germans were winning the war.

The more the evil of communism has spread, the more reluctant we are to tell the truth about it. The voters in El Salvador have given us a badly needed lesson in courage. □

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VIOLENCE STILL EL S

THE VICTORY IN EL SALVADOR

By Patrick J. Buchanan

The guerrillas in El Salvador have suffered a defeat worse than any inflicted on them with the American weapons provided by President Reagan—a defeat taped and televised worldwide in prime time.

Wherever you switched the channel, there they were—in the tens, hundreds, thousands: peasants, villagers, city folk, workers and their wives, waiting patiently in line, having braved warnings, threats and gunfire to exercise the right to vote.

Surely, here were “the people” of El Salvador in whose name everyone claims to speak.

And who was defending and protecting these people? None other than the disparaged “security forces” whom, we have been instructed *ad nauseam*, are irredeemable gangsters and thugs. And who was harassing and attacking the people? None other than those scruffy romantic heroes and idealists from the hills who we’re told were motivated by a burning hatred of injustice and an unsleeping social conscience.

The pictures said it all.

How in the name of God can these guerrilla snipers and back-shooters ever again posture to the Maid Marians of the press as Robin Hoods, as defenders of the people whom they crippled and murdered by the dozen for the crime of having walked ten miles to cast a ballot?

What a splendid display of courage by the people of El Salvador; what a pristine example of the moral rot that lies at the root of every communist revolution. Sunday (March 28), in that embattled country we saw an inkling of what was lost when Castro’s crowd and the Sandinistas succeeded—something called the unalienable right of a people to determine its own destiny. □

Roberto D'Aubuisson is president of El Salvador's constituent assembly and the leader of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), a new political party that won 29 percent of the popular vote in the March 1982 elections.

ARENA came in second in the voting, behind the Christian Democrats, and won 19 delegates to the 60-delegate constituent assembly. During the campaign, D'Aubuisson was shot and wounded.

D'Aubuisson was interviewed in his office in San Salvador by Roger Reed for the Washington Times, who translated from Spanish the following excerpts:

Q: What is El Salvador's biggest problem?

A: The biggest problem we have is the violence.

Q: Could El Salvador survive if the U.S. washed its hands and walked away?

A: We have survived without U.S. aid for many years. U.S. aid came to us when the U.S. government got us into this problem—that is, two or three years ago. El Salvador had always bought arms in other countries. For this reason, we used the G-3 rifle, which is German, and we have very few U.S.

“What they can't win on the battlefield, they want to win at a negotiating table. But, in the end, they wind up taking power.”

arms. We had some things from the United States because they gave us some aid several years ago through the Military Assistance Program. But, to answer your question, El Salvador can survive and move forward with or without the help of the United States.

Q: But isn't the United States giving aid that is indispensable as far as the war is concerned?

A: They are giving us magnificent aid, and we are very grateful to the Reagan administration, especially the president. But unfortunately within the State Department there are still persons with a Carterite mentality. There are also congressmen and senators who do not know, in depth, our situation, and they continue to put conditions

on the aid. They continue threatening to cut off aid for any circumstances without seeing the global focus, the importance of this war in El Salvador.

Q: What would you do if there were no more U.S. aid?

A: Well, up to now, El Salvador has fought only through its armed forces. The people have not fought. We would all fight.

Q: Is this a civil war?

A: There has never been civil war here. We are subject to a Castro-terrorist aggression, with the logistical support of Nicaragua. But this has not been a civil war. Civil war is when a people divide, when there are two governments within one state, like in the case of Spain. That was a typical civil war.

Q: But aren't Salvadorans fighting?

A: Salvadorans are fighting, incited by foreign ideologies, and with the support and collaboration of foreigners.

Q: Are the Salvadoran guerrillas receiving military aid through Nicaragua at this time?

A: Yes, but it is diminishing. They have lost the military war.

Q: Can the guerrillas win militarily?

A: No. We have been two years with this aggression, and they haven't accomplished anything. Because subversion can be successful only when the people support it. If the people do not support a guerrilla war, it will not triumph. And the Salvadoran people repudiate the guerrillas.

Q: Are you referring to the elections?

A: Not only to the elections, but to all the attitudes that the Salvadoran people have taken. They have not submitted to the calls of the guerrillas, they do not collaborate with them, they do not support them. To the contrary, they repudiate them.

Q: Can the armed forces win militarily?

A: Yes, they can win militarily, and they are going to do it shortly. Your first question was: What is the principle problem. Logically, I said the violence, although another great problem is the economic destruction. You can't generate productivity while there are groups of bandits destroying. It is all a vicious circle. So I believe that we have to try everything until we pacify this country. In other words, to win rapidly. To defeat definitively the armed subversive bands, in order to carry out a process of economic recuperation.

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L SALVADOR'S BIGGEST PROBLEM



El Salvador's Roberto D'Aubuisson

I don't say we will destroy all the subversion, because a subversion can be a man wearing a tie outside the country. But principally it is necessary to eliminate the armed apparatus, that doesn't amount to more than one or two thousand men, scattered out, in the entire country. Then conduct a huge ideological campaign to avoid urban terrorism, which is what they will do soon. The subversives will leave the country and return to urban terrorism.

Q: There was a report in the other Washington newspaper saying that if your party, ARENA, had control of the government, you would try to solve the problem of the guerrillas through an indiscriminate slaughter, killing thousands of people, and that in the end the guerrillas would win anyway.

A: That is absolutely false, and I don't know who could be so idiotic as to write that.

Q: Can you win the war without killing a lot of innocent civilians?

A: If one works with good intelligence and good information, there is no reason that any innocent person has to die. What we need here is a good intelligence service in order to

be able to locate the guerrilla *focos*.

Q: At this point, what is the guerrillas' game, what are they trying to do?

A: Destroy the country economically. That is one of the ways they will be able to advance most in the military aspect.

Q: Do the guerrillas want negotiations?

A: The guerrillas, no. They want power.

Q: But don't they say they want a dialogue?

A: Just like they wanted it in Vietnam. What they can't win on the battlefield, they want to win at a negotiating table. But, in the end, they wind up taking power. Look at the example of Vietnam. Did they want a dialogue? Did they want peace? No, they wanted power. In North Korea, they wanted power. In Cuba, they won power. In Nicaragua, power.

Q: But what harm would there be in simply talking to them? After all, it seems so reasonable to talk.

A: I agree. For that reason, we are working to pass an amnesty law.

Q: Would you and your party be disposed to talk to the guerrillas about participating in elections?

A: Of course. If they want to participate democratically, let them run candidates under any party they want. But they don't believe in the democratic system. They believe in a totalitarian system. What are we going to talk about with a man who has a machine gun in his hands? They shot at the people who were going to vote. When the people were voting, they ran around shooting. They have seriously damaged the economy of this country. Towns have gone for months without lights, without electricity. Now, tell me, what are we going to talk about? How many people have they killed? How many people have they raped, kidnapped, robbed? What are we going to talk about?

Q: Who are members of the ARENA? The rich, the landowners, the bourgeois . . . ?

A: ARENA won nearly half a million votes. Do you believe there are half a million rich oligarchs in this country? I wish there were! I wish we had half a million wealthy entrepreneurs, working and creating jobs! The fact is that 90 percent of ARENA's support is from *la gente humilde* (people who earn little or nothing).

Q: I would like to pass to that famous accusation by former Ambassador Robert White, who said

that you are a "psychopathic killer."

A: Well, that's his way of getting even with me for the failure that he experienced. I attacked him rather a lot, publicly, as an interventionist. He had lots of connections with the guerrillas. He sympathizes with the guerrillas. Once he said that if he were Salvadoran, he would be a guerrilla. So, ideologically, we are on opposite sides. Later he lost his diplomatic post. So Mr. White lashed out at me.

Q: What do you say to the accusations that you were a leader of the death squads, that you were involved in the assassination of Archbishop Romero?

A: The person who invented that was none other than Mr. White. I don't understand why he has never pre-

"There has never been civil war here. We are subject to a Castro-terrorist aggression, with the logistical support of Nicaragua."

sented any evidence. It astounds me that a responsible North American, after having made such accusations, never presented evidence. If I were what he says, I would never have organized a political party. If I were all he pretends, I would be in the mountains with armed men instead of organizing politically, openly and publicly.

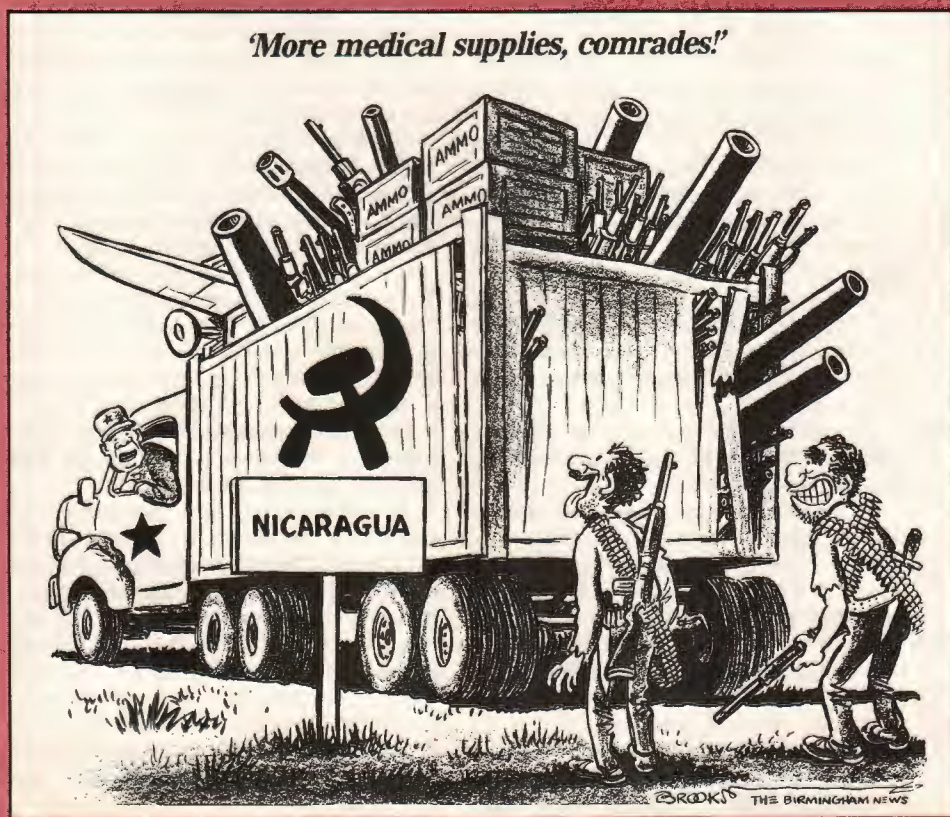
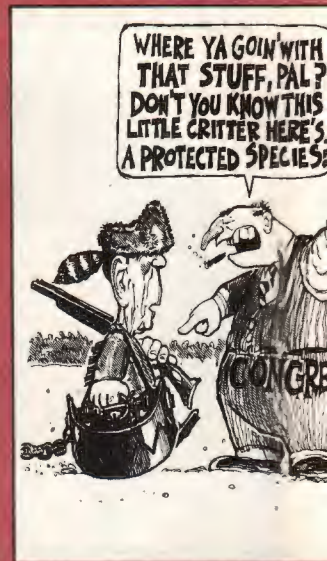
Q: What can you say about the older Human Rights Commission (as distinguished from the Human Rights Commission named this month by President Magana)?

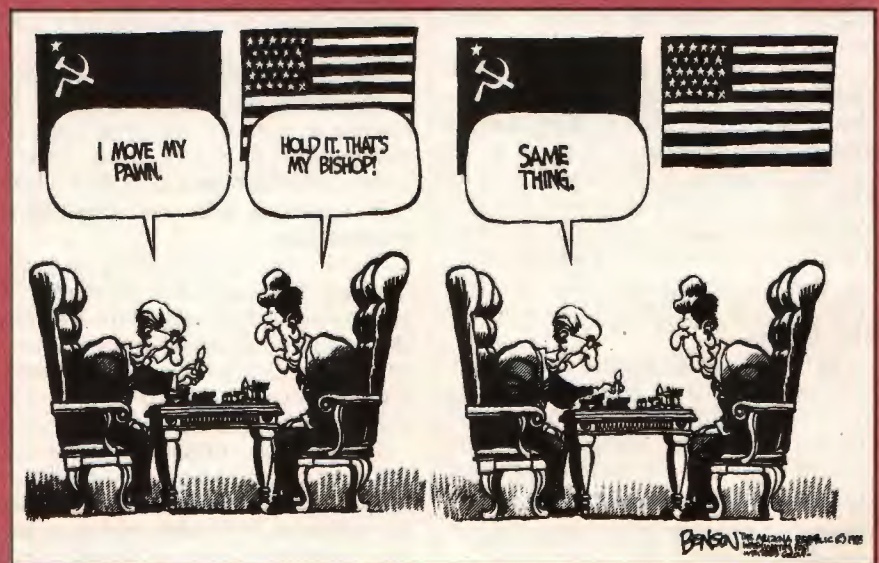
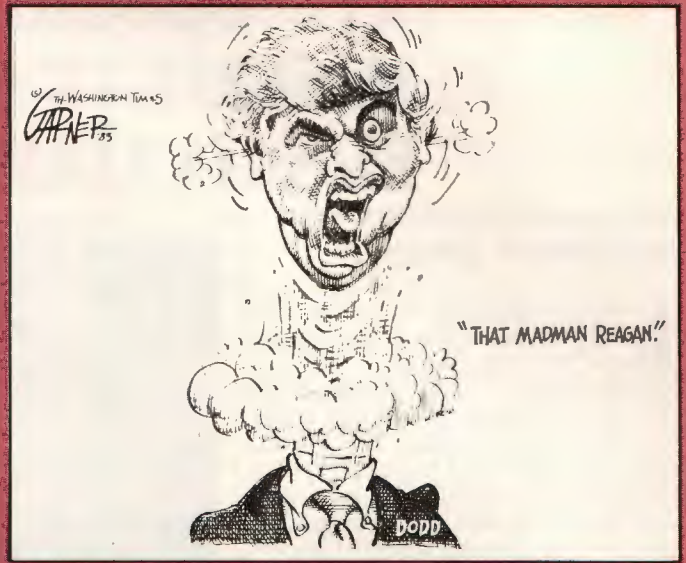
A: It is a self-named commission. They called themselves a human rights commission, but it included elements of the FDR, the Farabundo Marti, and some Marxist priests. So it served only to defend the subversives.

Q: The president of the commission is Marianela Garcia Villas. Do you know her?

A: Of course I know Marianela Garcia Villas, high-ranking leader of the Christian Democrats, later leader of the RN/FARN (National Resistance/National Revolutionary Armed Forces) and now commissioner of the FDR. Would you believe a human rights commission if the president of that commission was Fidel Castro? Well, I would believe more in Fidel Castro than in Marianela Garcia Villas and her commission. □

CARTOONS





Special Report: AMERICAN ADVISERS IN EL SALVADOR SPEAK OUT

By Robert K. Brown

It was enlightening to get an estimate of the situation in El Salvador from "the professionals"—the Special Forces troops who are part of the U.S. Military Group (Mil Group) advising the El Salvadorans. The knowledge, dedication and experience of the Mil Group personnel I met was most impressive. The field grade officers and senior Non Commissioned Officers (NCOs) are Vietnam veterans with plenty of combat experience. The junior officers and NCOs all know their subjects. Most have participated in a number of mobile-training team exercises in other countries. All speak Spanish fluently; all are dedicated to preventing another communist insurgency from succeeding. The *Soldier of Fortune* team spent a week with several of them. Below is a summary of their views.

It's A War For Central America:

"It's not just a war for El Salvador," one U.S. Army Special Forces man spat out. "The conflict here is just one part of the war for Central America. Furthermore," he continued, "our credibility with the rest of Latin America will be largely determined by what we do or fail to do in El Salvador. We can make all kinds of excuses for losing the war in Southeast Asia—there is no excuse for losing the war in Central America."

"Who are we to insist the El Salvadoran government negotiate with the guerrillas when they had a democratic election? The key to all Central America is El Salvador, if El Salvador falls Honduras will be surrounded and Guatemala will be next. If we don't stop them in Central America, there is no question that in a few years we will be fighting them on the Rio Grande.

"However, if Nicaragua falls to the anti-communists or stops supporting the guerrillas for whatever reason," the adviser said, "the Salvadoran Army couldn't get out of their bases fast enough to chase the guerrillas."



Alain Keler/SYGMA

Problems:

1. Political infighting.

The struggle for power in the El Salvador military has adversely affected the campaign against the guerrillas. The Central Commander must negotiate with his subordinates and convince them to follow his concept of operations rather than order them as he depends upon them for support. An example of political maneuvering adversely affecting the execution of the war was a power struggle between Lt. Col. Ochoa, one of the most effective Salvadoran field commanders, and the Minister of Defense, Gen. Garcia, some months ago. This conflict brought the war to a halt for two weeks as field commanders kept their troops in their bases awaiting developments. The same adviser pointed out that although it was an unfortunate incident, it did prove the military had the discipline to support the chain of command, though many junior officers supported the hard-charging Ochoa.

2. Lack of national strategy/coordination.

The El Salvadorans have no "country team" and lack national strategy for prosecuting the war. The El Salvadoran high command must define its mission and implement it with an integrated, coordinated plan.

3. Tactics/leadership.

"One of our major problems is in the area of leadership and tactics," a Mil Group adviser commented. "Senior officers still have not accepted the fact that conventional tactics

cannot be used to defeat the insurgency. They still insist on conducting multi-battalion operations which have proved ineffective. They do not have sufficient troops, mobility or logistical capability to seal the insurgents in an area and eliminate them. When they try such operations, the guerrillas simply exfiltrate through the lines at will and strike elsewhere."

"It is in the best interests of the Salvadoran military to use ambushes, small-unit patrols and night operations," the adviser continued. "We think we have got our point across to Garcia and his staff, but we'll have to wait and see."

4. Lack of NCOs and junior officers.

Directly related to the above is the fact that the El Salvadorans are short of NCOs and junior officers. Somebody made a gross error in judgment a couple of years ago when they increased the size of their army three-fold but failed to take into consideration there were insufficient technicians, NCOs and junior officers to command and control such an increase. At present, only 25 officers are graduated each year from the Salvadoran Military Academy. The shortage of junior officers was somewhat alleviated by training 500 young men at Ft. Benning recently, which was successful, but also very expensive.

The Salvadorans desperately need a national-training facility where recruits will receive basic training taught by a resident U.S. Army mobile-training team.

5. Insufficient number of Mil Group advisers.

Mil Group advisers generally grouse about what they consider an unrealistic, arbitrary ceiling on the number of advisers the U.S. government will send to El Salvador.

One commented, "We don't need 3,000 advisers, but we do need enough to get the job done. As of now, the first priority is to stop the insurgents from taking over."

"However, we need 20 additional advisers immediately to train an additional immediate-reaction battalion and one mini-battalion."

6. Shortages of equipment.

Congress, in its typically short-sighted way, also has hampered the Salvadoran war efforts severely by failing to

GUATEMALA: ONE WE CAN WIN

By Robert J. Caldwell



Alain Keller/SYGMA

allocate necessary funds. For instance, the Mil Group initially planned to have five choppers for each of the five immediate-reaction battalions to give them necessary mobility. At present, the Salvos have only 14 choppers in the entire country!

Because of lack of funds and an insufficient number of advisers, only 1,500 troops have been in the U.S. and 3,000 in-country out of the 22,000-man army. It costs eight million dollars for each U.S.-trained battalion.

The Salvadorans need a radar system to combat air infiltration of arms and supplies from Nicaragua.

Salvadorans are also short of communications equipment, while the guerrillas have an excellent communication system.

While we were in El Salvador, the air force had run out of 500-pound bombs and was short on 20mm HE ammo for their aircraft.

As one adviser bitterly put it, "how do you make a 30-day supply of ammo last two years?"

7. No civic action/psychological warfare/amnesty program.

The Guatemalans have been fighting Cuban-inspired insurgencies for 20 years and therefore have developed an effective, well-integrated, comprehensive counter-insurgency program. The El Salvadorans, on the other hand, are just not facing up to the need for an amnesty program. Their civic-action effort is spotty at best; they don't know what "psy" war means.

The insurgents have an effective release policy for captured El Salvadoran troops and to induce the troops to surrender they distribute leaflets advising, "Soldier! Your life will be respected!" These psy/ops techniques are causing great concern among the Mil Group personnel and Salvadoran officers. Many feel the average soldier will believe he can surrender during battle and survive. Salvadoran Army units have taken few prisoners during the war and, thus, the guerrillas have no option but to fight to the death. The Guatemalans, however, have an extensive amnesty program—it is not at all unusual to find Guatemalan soldiers and ex-guerrillas, who shot at one another a few weeks earlier, working to rebuild villages.

What are our chances of winning? Pretty good, if the United States has the backbone to continue to provide the necessary funds and support—assuming, of course, that the Salvadorans can get their act together. If not, in the not-too-distant future, we can all look forward to hopping a bus for the Mexican border and plunking some commies in our own backyard. □

The continuing war in Guatemala remains the most under-reported struggle in Central America. Given the fact that Guatemala is closer to Los Angeles than Los Angeles is to Washington, this lapse by most of the news media is something of a mystery.

The strategic stakes on Guatemala are considerable. This nation of 7.2 million is the largest in Central America. Its economy was the region's richest even before substantial oil deposits were discovered along Guatemala's border with Mexico. And that proximity to Mexico lends a special urgency to Guatemala's guerrilla war, a Marxist-led insurgency that has flared up intermittently since the 1960s.

If the Cubans and their Soviet patrons have a geo-political blueprint for subverting the Americans (and who can doubt that they do?), they must envision a Marxist tide rolling north from Nicaragua through El Salvador and Honduras to Guatemala, the unquestioned key to southern Mexico.

And Mexico, of course, is the ultimate prize in that strategic triangle encompassing everything between the U.S. border, the Panama Canal and Cuba. Consider the significance of a Castroite regime commanding vast oil reserves and a population of 70 million perched right on the Rio Grande. Whether this nightmare for the United States ever materializes will depend in no small part on what happens in Guatemala. The domino theory was never

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more valid than it is today in Central America.

Fortunately, Guatemala is proving a tough nut to crack. The Guatemalans are holding their own and more despite a U.S. arms embargo imposed by Congress and the Carter administration during the late 1970s. The overthrow, by military coup, of the heavy-handed Lucas Garcia regime in March of last year prompted the Reagan administration to propose limited military aid for Guatemala. But, as of early January, Congress had not yet agreed and nothing significant was in the pipeline for the Guatemalan armed forces.

The fighting in Guatemala pits an estimated 3,000 armed, full-time guerrillas against government forces totaling about 20,000 regular troops. Last summer, the reformist government of President Jose Efraim Rios Montt began arming civilians and forming them into civil guard detachments to supplement the army in the conflict areas, primarily in the western highlands of El Quiche and Huehuetenango Departments.

Some 40,000 civilians had been enlisted in civil guard units by year's end and about half that number had received arms, including M1 rifles and shotguns. But training for these units is haphazard and some civil guards carry nothing more lethal than night sticks and wooden rifles.

The Guatemalan Army is generally regarded as the toughest in Central America. The troops are disciplined and reasonably well-equipped. Leadership is usually good, especially at the small-unit level, which is where the war is now being fought.

The army's major maneuver units include 15 infantry battalions, a light armored battalion, one parachute/special forces battalion, an engineer battalion, and 12 batteries of light and medium artillery. A Presidential Guard Brigade provides security in Guatemala City.

The air force has 16 combat aircraft organized as a counterinsurgency squadron.

The most serious equipment deficiency for Guatemala's armed forces is in helicopters and the spare parts needed to keep those in the inventory operational.

It doesn't take a tactical genius to recognize that the mobility made pos-

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sible by helicopters is vital for a 20,000-man army attempting to defeat an insurgency in a country that encompasses 42,000 square miles, much of it remote jungles or rugged mountains with little or no access by road.

The guerrillas, members of four decidedly Marxist groups, generally operate in small units and rarely mass in more than company strength. Their weaponry includes an assortment of modern assault rifles, machine guns, an occasional mortar, hand grenades and a few RPGs. The insurgents also manufacture their own mines, including many crude but effective claymores. Booby traps featuring dung-smearing punji sticks are routine hazards for government troops operating in guerrilla areas.

There is outside support for the insurgency. Some guerrilla weapons—RPG-7s and M16s captured by the North Vietnamese in 1975—obviously come from the Soviet bloc. FALs and G-3s are readily available on the international black market. The working assumption in Guatemala is that many if not most guerrilla arms are paid for by Cuba and smuggled into the country via Mexico and Belize. Guatemalan security forces believe they have stopped most of the direct arms flow from Nicaragua through Honduras and El Salvador.

The Guatemalan Army's strategy emphasizes aggressive small-unit operations and, starting a year ago, an extensive rural pacification program. The government calls it "bullets and beans." The pacification program amounts to providing protection and assistance to the *campesinos* (peasants) and then mobilizing them against the guerrillas. By last summer, the new approach was paying off in the form of vastly reduced guerrilla activity and an impressive expansion of government control in the countryside.

Significantly, the Guatemalan Army avoids the set-piece search-and-destroy operations employed by U.S. forces in Vietnam and copied by government troops in El Salvador. Instead, the Guatemalans favor long-range patrols combined with small-unit hunter tactics based on careful intelligence. But the basic strategy is still to deny the guerrillas a base among the rural population.

The success of these efforts is measured in the declining numbers of government casualties and an increasing guerrilla reliance on the use of terror against the civilian population. The guerrillas are not defeated yet, but all of the standard indicators suggest strongly that Guatemala is winning its war. □

THE SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY THREAT TO THE SOUTH

Virginia Prewett

As if to underline recent Soviet threats to "surprise" the United States in its own New World neighborhood, Moscow is sending Castro four new submarines, tripling his present fleet of two, according to authoritative leaks. U.S. Senate sources recently confirmed that Castro will also get other major offensive weapons—four 5,100 mile TU-95 Bear reconnaissance/bomber jets.

Both gifts dramatically increase Cuba's arsenal of offensive Soviet-made weapons, all of which violate the 1962 Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement binding Russia never to send Castro offensive weapons.

Castro already has MiG-23s that can be modified to carry the Kitchen missile, which has a nuclear warhead 10 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb and which can reach a target up to 480 miles away at about 3,000 miles an hour. But the MiG-23s combat-loaded radius is only 240 miles, and this does not make it an impressive chip in Moscow's game of nuclear threat. Nevertheless, even without the Kitchen, MiG-23s are offensive weapons and with the two Foxtrot attack submarines already given to Castro grossly violate the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement.

But if TU-95s duly appear in the New World with Castro's colors, or if the submarines on the way are missiles subs—say Echo II—then the U.S. mainland will be in unprecedented jeopardy.

A TU-95 or an Echo II can easily be equipped in Cuba with weapons with 800-kiloton nuclear warheads, each four times as powerful as the Kitchen and 40 times as destructive as the Hiroshima bomb. Either the plane or the sub can launch its missile from a position so close to a U.S. target that our defenders would have no time to knock it down. Jimmy Carter, for "economy," had our last quick-acting close-in defense system, which was in Florida, dismantled in 1978 and 1979.

U.S. defense against Russia's very-

Virginia Prewett has covered Latin America for more than two decades.

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long-range or intercontinental ballistic missiles depend on our stated policy of answering a Russian nuclear attack with a shower of our own ICBMs on their population. We reinforce this stand-off with systems to spot, identify, attack and destroy their ICBMs on their long journey toward our cities.

But a TU-95 in Cuba fitted overnight with the deadly, if short-range (385-mile), Kangaroo missile, or an Echo II sub surreptitiously loaded at its Cuban base with Shaddock missiles with the same warhead, can slip into a position to incinerate a U.S. city before our interceptors can scramble, confirm the firing of a missile, and catch it and knock it down.

It takes five minutes for the scramble alone. The Kangaroo can travel 175 miles from its launching point in that time. A TU-95 can easily carry a Kangaroo from Cuba to menace Washington, D.C., or any seaboard city from Galveston to Eastport, Maine.

But let's concede a slim chance that our interceptors might get lucky once. Suppose a TU-95 with its Kangaroo missile threatens Norfolk, Charleston or Boston, but by a miracle both plane and missile get knocked down. Then an Echo II sub with its Shaddock, as powerful as the Kangaroo but with more range—540 miles—can pop its nuke to destroy Key West in less than five minutes, slide back into its "hardened" man-made cave at Cienfuegos, Cuba—and celebrate.

If the United States then blasts Cuba, a Cuban Kangaroo-bearing TU-95 fortuitously visiting friendly Nicaragua or on a "show-and-tell" visit to Mexico City, can divert to the Rio Grande, launch its missile to level Galveston, and flee south. The United States certainly would not knock it down preventively over Mexican territory.

The preceding is the essence of the "five-minute threat" against us to retain the edge in menace or psychological terror in Western Europe that Russia has gained by aiming intermediate-range ballistic missiles at Europe. Moscow is trying to browbeat us and our population into not supplying our Western European allies with IRBMs and cruise missiles to balance the Soviet threats. Our allies have asked for and Reagan has promised to deploy the answering missiles this year.

EL SALVADOR: NEGOTIATIONS AND THE 'DECENT INTERVAL'

By Cleto Di Giovanni

A central fact in this chess game of threat is that Moscow can send TU-95s or Echo IIs to visit Cuba, as it often has, and then turn them over to Castro with a penstroke. (Six TU-95s are making back-to-back visits to Cuba this year.) Castro can paint his emblem on the offensive bombers overnight, while fitters rig the big planes to deliver Kangaroos, and order already-trained Cubans to arm Shaddock missiles on the subs. And at dawn, many U.S. cities will face a nuclear threat against which we have no defense.

Neglect of our New World defense for 20 years by both Democrats and Republicans, plus tolerance of Moscow's military buildups in Cuba, have in practical terms deprived us of an advantage our population has enjoyed above all major nations: invulnerability to major attack from enemies nearby.

The Soviets and Castro are ringing the United States on the south just as the Soviets and the Warsaw Pact satellite nations have ringed Western Europe on the east. In Cuba alone, the Soviet-Cuban axis has built 10 major military airbases and four significant naval installations.

One underground airbase near Havana is "hardened," as are underwater submarine pens at Cienfuegos. "Hardened" means protected by layers of reinforced concrete so thick that it would take a nuclear "pulse"—barage—to neutralize the facility.

And the Soviet-Cuban axis has built or is building 26 military bases in Nicaragua, improving two ports and three big airstrips there for military use. On Grenada, Cubans are completing two airstrips side by side—one long, the other short—while militarizing a shipping haven.

In early 1982, this writer saw aerial photos of 10 military-type airstrips being built in the wilds of backland Guyana, Venezuela's leftist neighbor. Hemisphere intelligence services have confirmed their construction.

Thus, since 1959, when Castro took power, "Little Cuba," as Moscow's ally, has penetrated the New World with at least 58 new military installations in four nearby nations, all of which today reinforce overt Soviet military threats against our population.

And as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Nestor Sanchez said in a recent speech, Castro also has projected his military aid and other assistance into "Libya, Iraq, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, the Congo, Mozambique and Vietnam, among others." □

How easy it is becoming these days to talk of a negotiated settlement in El Salvador! Many in Congress want it. Latin-American policymakers at the State Department seem to want it. Journalists, academics and all sorts of other people want it. So, it may finally come about.

There will be a few hitches. The Salvadoran government, for example, may object to negotiations, just as the South Vietnamese government did. But when a Third World country at war is dependent on the United States, it loses its license to determine its own future. If Washington decides it's time for a negotiated settlement, resistance to that idea among the natives becomes merely a technical difficulty.

At the risk of being a kill joy for those who want to see a light at the end of the tunnel, let's consider just three probable consequences of a settlement leading to some form of coalition government.

Negotiations with El Salvador's guerrillas to end the war (as opposed to negotiations with leftist political leaders to incorporate them into an evolving democratic process) will result in a communist-dominated government. Only the length of the "decent interval" before it becomes obvious is debatable. Assurances by the United States that it will stick by El Salvador to keep that from happening should be evaluated against similar promises made to the South Vietnamese government in Paris and Saigon.

Furthermore, Salvadoran communist mutterings about desires for pluralism and timely elections will serve as an effective anesthetic to dull our vision and memory. Otherwise, we might look to Nicaragua to see how the communists define pluralism and timeliness.

There is talk about town that any negotiations to end the Salvadoran conflict will have to involve the Sandinistas, directly or indirectly. That, perhaps, is what the State Department means by "going to the source." Washington could not hand the Sandinistas a better opportunity to enhance their

claims to legitimacy and international credibility.

The second consequence of a negotiated settlement, or even talk of one, could well be a disintegration of morale and discipline within the Salvadoran armed forces. Again, South Vietnam provides the example. If, despite their resistance, El Salvador's military leaders believe the United States will push for negotiations, they will bail out to their safe-havens in Miami or elsewhere. Their enlisted men will shed their uniforms, try to flee into Guatemala or Honduras, or proclaim fidelity to the guerrillas. And who can blame them, after what happened to National Guardsmen in Nicaragua four years ago, despite widely touted Sandinista promises to uphold human rights?

Finally, and perhaps more important, is what this kind of a "solution" to the Salvadoran problem will do to the moral fiber of the United States. It will reinforce the Vietnam syndrome—a psychological condition in our country characterized by impatience with protracted guerrilla wars, susceptibility to press manipulation of facts, and a lack of interest in getting involved in these conflicts—regardless of where they are or what U.S. national interests they threaten.

That kind of reinforcement would make all the more difficult any new commitment of U.S. resources to counter the next communist attempt to grab power somewhere. U.S. credibility abroad would suffer another blow.

With a difficult military situation in El Salvador and with congressional Democrats smelling blood in Washington, this is the wrong time for President Reagan to yield on his principles—unless he wants history to judge him accordingly.

Let those who are arguing so forcefully for negotiations in El Salvador—whether out of naivete or because they know exactly what they are doing—address in public the kinds of consequences of their actions which have been raised here. Let there be that kind of a discussion at least at the White House, if not at the State Department, before the administration gets locked into a policy so favorable to its opposition. □

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A WINNING STRATEGY FOR HEMISPHERIC FOREIGN POLICY

POLITICAL REALITIES vs. THE REAL WORLD

by Joel Skousen

All too often foreign policy is designed and presented based upon its chances for approval in Congress—or worse yet, its ability to make it through a particularly biased subcommittee; that is to say . . . political realities.

However, political realities are always short term realities that very rarely match the real world of long term realities. In the Vietnam War, for example, a limited war was conceived and halfheartedly prosecuted based upon the political realities of dealing with a hostile majority of congressmen, who were heavily influenced by coordinated media attacks on the war effort. Yet, the long term reality was that the communists were determined to conquer, and nothing short of a free world resolve to win, unconditionally, could have stopped them.

It made absolutely no difference, in the final outcome, how many lives we sacrificed, how much money we spent, or how well intentioned some conservative leaders might have been. Whatever we did wasn't enough, either in quantity, quality, or in timeliness. Indeed, playing the political realities game was the most damaging tactic because after the failure, it convinced many Americans that war is not useful in the defense of freedom when, in fact, it was the prosecution of the war that was at fault, not the war itself.

Now to put the present Central American conflict in realistic perspective: **It doesn't matter how many millions, how many weapons, or how many advisers we throw at El Salvador, we will lose, as long as the administration is determined to fight a limited war.**

We are being presented with two losing strategies—an anti-war strategy by the liberals, attempting to cut off all assistance to anti-communist nations, on the one hand, and a “walk on eggs,” “do as little as possible” limited war strategy on the other. Granted, the first is more ridiculous and rapid in its consequences than the second, but both are tried and failed destructive policies.

Our first and foremost task is to design a winning strategy, regardless of the political realities. Sound principles would dictate that in any arena of bargaining with the opposition, you have to know what the minimum requirements are for victory in the real world of the conflict—not simply the political realities. These set the bottom limits of compromise, for to accept or participate in any plan, no matter how well intentioned, that promises less than a successful outcome is to court future political defeat as we, of necessity, share in the blame for the disaster.

You may counter, what good does it do to present a strategy that will never

pudiation of freedom fighting will emerge.

WHAT WILL IT TAKE TO WIN IN CENTRAL AMERICA?

First, it is imperative that effective objectives be selected which will guarantee a permanent solution. I suggest the following:

1. *The total elimination of communist armed forces from this hemisphere.*

The “containment of communism” doctrine has resulted only in giving this great evil a protected sanctuary from which to spread subversion. It must be eliminated and crushed once and for all. This proposal is not a doc-



Soviet Bear bomber, with nuclear capabilities, intercepted near Cape Cod, Mass., earlier this year.

US Air Force Photo

have a chance of being implemented? First, you must realize, it is a symptom of advanced political disease in a nation when a minimum winning strategy cannot politically survive. To participate in the compromise, in the suicidal spirit of *bipartisan politics*, is indeed foolish. The only possible course, for men of principle, is to take a no-compromise stand on that minimum strategy for success, and illuminate the errors of the opposition. If they proceed on their course of folly, we must at least have put distance between us and the failure, so that as the consequences of such failures appear in full light, blame can be properly assessed.

We must remember that it was out of the failures of the Carter administration that the window of opportunity appeared which led to a conservative 1980 victory . . . and if we are not careful, it will be out of the failed limited war strategies of the present administration that a massive and final re-

trine of aggression, but emanates from the fundamental rights of free men to defend themselves against tyranny and the denial of personal and national sovereignty.

2. *The cessation of all foreign economic aid destined for the subsidization of collectivist social and economic policy now firmly entrenched in Latin America.*

Democratic socialism, without exception, has never produced any result but poverty, loss of incentive and continual debt. If you cut off the external injections of economic assistance, the resultant misery and consequence will more quickly result in the return to a free-market prosperity. Socialism and government intervention, not freedom, are the root causes of social unrest. How can we expect people to repudiate socialism when (through misguided foreign aid) we continue to make it appear as if it is working?

3. *The implementation of a totally free-market international trade rela-*

tionship with non-communist nations.

It is essential to allow for a rapid development of free-market prosperity. Cutting back only half of the regulatory and social baggage as was done in Chile only guarantees a temporary and slow recovery which will eventually succumb to the dead-weight of the remaining collectivist cancer.

SUGGESTED IMPLEMENTATION:

1. Issue a national declaration that Cuba, Nicaragua and their allies are at war with all the free people of this hemisphere and are intent upon the implantation, by force, of communism upon those who actively resist.

2. Implement a total military blockade, by both air and sea, under a declaration of defensive war.

3. Recognize governments in exile of both Cuba and Nicaragua, simultaneous with a demand for the unconditional surrender of communist leaders within 30 days.

4. Offer limited amnesty and repatriation for soldiers who are presently serving under communist regimes, as they lay down their arms. Communist leaders and those soldiers guilty of specific crimes of torture, murder, or rape would not be eligible.

5. Demand the return of all lands, banks, and import/export associations to their previous owners, when such were expropriated involuntarily or, where such resources exist within a country, compensate the original owners in hard currency for the former market value of such property and then convey a true and free title of ownership to the new occupants.

6. Provide, where desired, free-market economic counsel to encourage the establishment of economic liberty, making each country an attractive source for investment and development capital.

In light of the present political realities, the chances for implementation of such a strategy are slim to nil. Nevertheless, I suggest it is time we stop playing the political game, set a new and enlightened standard of action, and then dig in and obstruct the forward advance of the left with what power we possess—preparing for the next window of opportunity that surely must come in the wake of the impending crisis. Fight we must, but when outnumbered in the not-so-limited democracy in which we find ourselves, only the consequences of present evils will prove our worth and set this nation back on course. If we participate in the debacle through compromise, who will the people turn to for leadership when they regain their courage and want to fight? □

THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE

Cleto Di Giovanni

Last August the Symms amendment on U.S. policy towards Cuba passed both houses of Congress by overwhelming majorities. Congress and the administration may soon have an opportunity to demonstrate how seriously they take that amendment.

Introduced by Sen. Steve Symms (R-Idaho), the amendment reaffirmed U.S. policy towards Cuba by highlighting three essential elements. First, U.S. opposition, by force if necessary, to Soviet and Cuban subversion and aggression in Central America. Second, U.S. opposition to a Soviet military base in Cuba. Third, U.S. support for self-determination for freedom-loving Cubans.

Within the past couple of weeks, Sen. Symms has received information from sources he considered reliable that "the Soviets are up to something extremely dangerous in Cuba"—specifically, that they have recently deployed bomber variants of their TU-95 Bear aircraft to Cuba. He suspects the Soviets are also building revetments for as many as a squadron of Bear bombers.

Adm. James Watkins, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, confirmed that something was up in a March 15th statement: "They (the Soviets) now have four Bear aircraft in Cuba. Two are the conventional reconnaissance (type). But two for the first time are the ASW variant of the Bear called the TU-142 or Bear Foxtrot. And that is of concern . . . that is the kind of escalatory step annually we are seeing, and we are worried about it . . ."

The Bear bomber is not a defensive weapon. It is a long-range aircraft capable of carrying nuclear bombs and air-launched cruise-type missiles. Indeed, according to even newer information, the Bear aircraft in Cuba which were detected during the second week of March may have operable bomb bays and bomb bay doors.

The presence of these bombers in Cuba would be a clear violation of the 1962 Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement prohibiting Soviet offensive weapons in the island. It would not, however, be the first violation. The Soviets have tried to test our limits of vigilance on that agreement since it was reached. Now apparently satisfied with our apathy, they no longer even hide their intentions. Georgi Arbatov, director of the USA Institute in the Soviet Academy of Sciences, recently repeated last year's threat that his government would

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deploy missiles "near American borders" if the U.S. put its Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe.

Does this mean Soviet missiles in Cuba? Or Nicaragua? Or Grenada? Or perhaps Suriname? The Soviets certainly no longer lack potential basing sites in the Caribbean Basin.

In addition to their use in a game of nuclear missile blackmail with us, offensive weapon systems in Cuba would also provide handy umbrellas of protection for other pro-Soviet governments in the Caribbean which might be threatened by exile groups favored by the U.S.

The Soviet Union formally places the "Socialist Community of States" under the protection of Soviet armed might.

Far-fetched? Not at all. Between March and April 1981, in a move all but unnoticed by the American public and government, the Soviet Union formally extended the "Brezhnev Doctrine" to Cuba. This doctrine, which the Soviets have progressively developed over the years but never named as such, places the "Socialist Community of States" under the protection of Soviet armed might. By incorporating Cuba into this community in early 1981, the Soviets not only extended their military protection to the island but also tied it permanently to the USSR and other members of the community, with no right to withdraw under threat of Soviet armed intervention.

As an augur of what may be the next extension of the doctrine in the Caribbean Basin, the Soviet ambassador to Nicaragua hinted, in a Dec. 7, 1981 speech, of Soviet willingness to bring Sandinista-ruled Nicaragua under Moscow's protection. That speech followed, by just a few days, the ending of an unusually long and active visit by Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega to the U.S.S.R.

It is sad but true that the Soviets have made their inroads in the Caribbean Basin because of our indifference. The stationing of offensive bombers in Cuba is just another step. Putting the Cubans and Soviets on notice that they are not going to have a free ride in the region any longer was the purpose of the Symms amendment. Will Senator Symms' initiative work, in the face of its first real challenge? Stay tuned. □

POLICY FOR SURVIVAL: NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

by Gov. Meldrim Thomson

There will be full scale war in the Caribbean, possibly with nuclear weapons, unless we take immediate steps to proclaim and enforce a modern version of the Monroe Doctrine.

On December 13, 1823, President James Monroe in a speech to Congress, committed a small but fearless United States to a doctrine that barred foreign powers from intruding into the affairs of nations of the Western Hemisphere.

The Monroe Doctrine gave peace and security to the nations of the Americas against foreign intrusion for more than one hundred years. . . .

. . . For practical purposes it died when our State Department helped Fidel Castro come to power in 1959 and we then allowed him to become a Soviet surrogate and convert Cuba, with the aid of the Soviets, into a formidable Marxist fortress.

This action by Castro made Cuba a vassal state of the Soviets and violated the Monroe Doctrine. Since we lodged no protest and took no action against this intrusion by a European nation which exerts a de facto control over Cuba, we in effect abandoned the Doctrine.

On April 26, 1983, President Reagan alerted the nation to the growing crises in the Caribbean in a speech to a joint session of the Congress.

"The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America," the President warned.

Such warnings mean little unless backed by a firm, clear policy of action that is understood and supported by the people of the United States.

"The President should declare it to be American policy to liquidate every Soviet outpost in Central America," declared Patrick Buchanan in a recent forceful and persuasive column.

Buchanan also said that those congressmen who by their familiar pattern of progressive nonsense impede the national purpose "should be identified for what they have become: passive—and in some cases active-collaborators of the Communist Empire."

Meldrim Thomson is the former governor of New Hampshire.

The Union Leader, Manchester, N.H.—(May 9, 1983), Copyright © 1983 by The Union Leader.

We believe that the President should formulate and implement a Freedom and Prosperity Program for the Western Hemisphere that would (1) modernize and reactivate the Monroe Doctrine, and (2) lay the foundation for a Federation of the Western Hemisphere within the general concept envisioned by the South American liberator Simon Bolivar.

Any restatement of the Monroe Doctrine should include the following:

- A clear, concise statement of our strong opposition to communism and that we will not tolerate its existence in the hemisphere.

- An absolute ban against the introduction of any war materials from sources outside of the Western Hemisphere that can be said to exceed those reasonably necessary for the defense of any independent nation in the hemisphere.

- A declaration that we will impose a blockade whenever such action is necessary to prevent traffic in arms for aggressive purposes.

- We should permanently end all foreign aid to all nations of the world and use this powerful weapon of persuasion only for the benefit of those nations that are free or seek a greater degree of freedom.

Where foreign aid is being provided to any nation today that sends, receives or grants transit to arms for aggressive purposes, it should be instantly terminated.

Let us bear in mind that from 1946 to 1980 we provided to more than 2/3rds of the nations of the world foreign aid in excess of 2.3 trillion dollars, including principal and interest.

That is more than twice our vast public debt. It is about half of the value of our annual gross national product. And that great and terrible drain on the taxpayers of America bought precious few friends for us!

- We should put an end to the charade of the giveaway of the Panama Canal and for our own immediate security we should assert and enforce our legitimate right to the Canal—a right established under the 1903 Treaty between the United States and Panama that was never affected by the two invalid treaties of 1978.

The treaties are flawed on many counts but basically they never existed as valid instruments because the De Concini Reservation prevented a meeting of the minds of the two nations—an essential ingredient under international law to any valid treaty.

From 1946 to 1980 we gave the Republic of Panama more than \$450 million dollars in foreign aid. In addition we are currently giving Panama \$75 million per year. The brand of appreciation and friendship we received from Panama for our generous largess was to permit the transit of arms to the Nicaragua warfront and by frequently voting in the U.N. for communist causes, and against the United States.

- Finally, with Central America now in tragic turmoil it makes no sense for us to transfer to Panama all air rights over Panama 18 months before such a transfer is required under the treaties. And yet that is exactly what was done on April 22, 1982, as reported in the Houston Chronicle in a UPI story from Panama City, Panama on April 24.

The second feature of a new Freedom and Prosperity Program for the Western Hemisphere should be a long range development of the common interests of the nations of the hemisphere.

No similar area of the world has so much in common as do the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Almost all won their freedom within the space of 50 years of our Revolution by throwing off the yoke of a foreign power. What George Washington was to the United States, Simon Bolivar was to South America. . . .

. . . Upon such sturdy and common foundations a great social order, prosperous and beneficial to the millions of people who now populate the Western Hemisphere could become the reality of a shining new vision for the 21st century.

President Reagan could initiate this bifurcated program to advance the security and prosperity of a wholly free hemisphere by calling an exploratory meeting of the non-communist nations of North, South and Central America to consider the formation of a Federation of the Western Hemisphere. Its good would be to promote the common welfare and security of all the people of the hemisphere. □

FINANCIAL INTELLIGENCE REPORTS

Long Time Bear Just Turned Bullish on Gold For the First Time in Three Years (and He's Even More Enthusiastic About the Prospects of Silver).

He's Also Forecasting Extraordinary Developments For Interest Rates, The S & P 500, the Status of Bank Liquidity and the Economy in General.

Richard Young's astonishing 15 year track record has become something of a sensation in the investment community. He has picked the exact top and bottom on gold and silver; he's called every major interest rate movement, predicted the current stock market boom, forecasted explosive world banking and currency developments and been right on target with recommendations about the economy and business events. Not only has Richard Young hit exact price predictions; his timing forecasts have been almost perfect.

Dear Friend,

One of the greatest modern day financial analysts must certainly be Richard Young. And yet, few people outside the ranks of serious investors even know about him. But his track record on gold forecasting, interest rate predictions, stock market calls, and foreseeing economic developments months before they occur is totally amazing.

More specifically, Richard Young was the only one I know of to call the peak in gold within three weeks of it occurring. He turned bearish while everyone else was still telling you to buy, buy, buy--and, of course, he was absolutely correct.

He was one of a handful of people to foresee the recession coming when everyone else was warning of increased inflation--he called the rise in interest rates a full year ahead of everyone else. He predicted the precipitous drop in gold prices and the lingering period it would remain anemic--almost to the second. He forecast the recent drop in interest rates while all his colleagues still predicted escalating rate trends.

He called the bull market in stocks when virtually no one else gave the market any serious interest whatsoever. He predicted the devaluation of the Mexican Peso 12 months before it occurred. And he has not missed a major call on the S & P 500 Index in nearly seventeen years. Needless to say, the people who followed Richard Young's investment advice have accumulated tremendous wealth. And if his current forecasts turn out to be as accurate as his last ones, actual fortunes could be quickly made in 1983 as well.

Why, you probably ask, haven't I heard more about him if he's so darned good? Because he's very exclusive and so incredibly expensive that only well-heeled investors and corporate treasurers have been able to afford his services until now. People pay the man tremendous amounts of money to receive his monthly forecasts on investments and financial topics of major importance. People who need precise information to plan investment strategies turn to Young Research. Some are banks and large corporations. The rest are wealthy individuals, many of whom speculate in the futures markets. These are people looking for financial opportunities that could make them substantial profits quickly. The fee he charges is a small price to pay in comparison to the frequent accuracy of his forecasts (and the profits that have been made from them).

I've arranged a way to make this no-nonsense financial analysis affordable to anyone who seriously wants to receive it. I'll tell you more about this later.

Right now let me tell you more about Richard Young's record of forecasting money making events ahead of everyone else:

I first heard about Dick Young in a feature article Forbes Magazine did in August of 1981. In its "Money Men" special, Forbes wrote about how remarkably accurate Richard Young's predictions had turned out to be. They cited his accurate call of the dollar's rise, his correct bearish position on gold in early 1980, and his extraordinary call of gold's peaking price in May, 1981, which, of course, was within days of its occurrence. Forbes publicly praised Young's forecasts for the following calls--a bottoming out of gold around \$300.00 sometime in mid 1982 and a minimum 35% devaluation of the Mexican Peso--something that could have made a bundle for his clients who took short positions. Well, I was impressed with what Forbes had written about him and I decided to follow up on the man.

Then, I remembered I had heard more about Richard Young. Back in August, 1980, I was reading the Silver and Gold Report, one of my favorite publications. . . . gold, by the way, was then selling at \$645/oz. . . . and I've gone back to that article to quote it accurately:

. . . "Our review of expert opinion indicates \$600/oz. may be a new gold floor. All except Richard C. Young see precious metals prices beginning to trend higher".

Dick Young was one of the few experts who was right on the money about gold. Again, in May 1982, SGR re-interviewed Mr. Young. Their prefacing paragraph to that interview began

this way:

"Dick Young turned bearish on gold in February, 1980, missing the exact peak by just weeks. It was a remarkably accurate forecast and one which almost all other hard money analysts--ourselves included--missed. That accuracy is not accidental. Mr. Young is incredibly thorough in what he sets out to do."

The more interested I became in Dick Young, the more often his name and forecasts came up in publications I respected. Jim Blanchard quotes him often in his Gold Newsletter.

The Personal Finance report of April 15, 1981, reviewed the World Money Analysts Third Annual Hong Kong Investment Seminar and noted the prevailing view on price inflation. Guest writer Steven K. Beckner wrote:

"Except for Richard Young, editor of Young's World Money Forecast who foresaw a period of disinflation beginning later this year, most other speakers predicted the opposite--worsening inflation."

This was the one man unafraid to make a hardline financial recommendation as this excerpt from the Silver & Gold Report shows:

"Another key forecast came in late August of last year, when we conducted a survey of silver and gold experts. Our main headline block for that issue read in part, 'All except Richard Young see precious metals beginning to trend higher this year.' Again, Mr. Young was taking a sensitive and controversial stand and, again, his analysis proved to be correct."

And once again Dick Young was uncannily accurate when most other advisors were predicting the exact opposite.

That accuracy is not coincidental. SGR went on to write the following:

"Mr. Young is incredibly thorough in what he sets out to do. In our last interview, conducted in early February, 1981, Mr. Young analyzed a wide variety of statistical series involving gold and the economy. He showed how they followed patterns; used those patterns to get a series of projections from one to five years into the future; and then brought them together to give a unified advance picture of the year to come. A mathematical tour de force--somewhat dry, we confess--but the payoff was very much worth it for our subscribers. There were 3 key forecasts:

- Interest rates would remain 'painfully high' . . . (putting) real pressure on the marginal sector of any industry.
- The economy would be weak from 'grinding inflation' . . . Whole growth patterns will be disrupted, with entire industries in trouble.
- Gold would be weak for the short and intermediate term."

Each of these has proven to be right on target.

The more you study Dick Young's analysis, the more impressed you become.

He develops his monthly forecasts from a blend of statistics, economic indicators, monetarism and his own feel for what's happening. He has two main sources of information. One is a network of contacts whom he talks to on the telephone. Even more important are public documents--mainly reports of the Federal Reserve, the Commerce Department and other central banks.

One of the key fundamentals to his amazing accuracy seems to be his proprietary Market Tension Index (MTI).

The MTI is a solid concept. There's nothing complex about it. You can use the MTI in your own financial planning. The MTI takes 7 interest rate series to make 8 tests for momentum and divergence. The higher the MTI reading from 0-8, the better the environment for the S & P 500 Common Stock Index. It's just that easy. No complex math. No computer screens here.

You'll find the MTI a cinch to use. It's been so stable that not one change has been made in the MTI since its inception over a decade ago. Not one change.

Bob Gross of Professional Investor Services wrote:

"Suffice to say that we have in our possession the documented record of this indicator going back to 1965. And it has not missed any of the major turns (S & P 500 Index) since 1965 . . ."

The MTI is most reminiscent of the monetary thermometer published by Bank Credit Analyst. Over the period for which the MTI has been available, we find the Market Tension Index far superior".

TOPNOTCH INTEREST RATE FORECASTS

And Dick Young's track record in forecasting interest rates has to be among the very best in the country. Over a year ago, with T-Bill rates in double digits, he forecast a 7% T-Bill rate for the Summer/Fall of 1982. Very few professionally-generated forecasts foretold the 1982 rate collapse.

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You know soaring inflation keyed the gold boom of the '70s. Young Research digs into the inflation numbers. Their work is so well known that the U.S. Department of Labor actually calls them on the very day the crude price index is released. That's right. The Department of Labor calls Dick Young. No one, absolutely no one, gets their all-important price numbers before Richard Young does.

THE KEY TO A JUMP IN THE PRICE OF GOLD

Why is it so vital to your business or financial program to get these numbers fast? Why? Because crude prices key the future trend in the Consumer Price Index. You can forecast the CPI if you have the crude numbers down cold. And a jump in the CPI, sure as can be, will key a jump in the price of gold and point to higher interest rates. There's money to be made--if you're early . . . and right now, Dick Young is turning bullish on gold and silver for the first time in nearly two years.

I reviewed some back issues of Young's World Money Forecast. His forecasts are extraordinary. In 1981 he told subscribers:

"The clock is ticking for the Peso. My advice, if you have funds in Mexico, get them out. If you are doing business in Mexico, write all your contracts in U.S. Dollar terms. Don't initiate any venture that would pay in Pesos at some future date."

THE AUTHORITATIVE MONETARY REPORT

Young presents the findings of his research in his monthly Young's World Money Forecast. The Money Forecast is 32 pages in length, and what a presentation it is! There is absolutely nothing like it available, at any price. The best word to describe Young's World Money Forecast is unique! No mincing words here . . . Only fast reading, "no-holds-barred" strategies for profit on gold, interest rates, the stock market, currencies, and the economy featuring Young's Market Tension Index work.

Young's World Money Forecast is not for everyone. At \$475/yr., it's not inexpensive; but, the best never is. Detailed documentation, low-keyed and authoritative, Young's World Money Forecast is truly a breathtaking report service.

Accumulating wealth and keeping it is a tough task for all of us. Young's World Money Forecast can give you a tremendous edge.

HALF PRICE SPECIAL OFFER--SAVE OVER \$237.00

I'm pleased to be able to offer you a special introduction to the World Money Forecast. Monetary research is Dick Young's forte, but market research is my strong suit. I've convinced Dick Young the best way to introduce his World Money Forecast to readers is through a special price break. So, for the next 30 days, you may subscribe to the World Money Forecast for 1/2 the regular subscription price. Further, Dick has agreed to send you, absolutely free, a 6 month subscription to his Young's Economic Strategy Reports.

SPECIAL BONUS WORTH AN ADDITIONAL \$138.00--YOURS FREE

The Strategy Reports are conclusion-only in format--three page updates on all of Dick's findings. The Strategy Reports are published a minimum of 26 issues per year, in between issues of the monthly Young's World Money Forecast. The Strategy Reports regularly are offered for \$275/yr. You get a 6 month subscription free with your special half-price introductory subscription to the World Money Forecast.

To my knowledge, this is the best price offer Dick Young has ever made. I'm pleased to be the one making it to you, and know you'll benefit far beyond your half-price subscription fee. Of course, if you're not satisfied, you get your money back. Just drop me a note.

★ Save Over 60% ★

I can offer only readers of the Financial Intelligence Reports this special price advantage. And the offer is only good for 30 days. Don't forget, you pay only \$237 for a full year's subscription to Young's World Money Forecast--regularly \$475.

Plus you receive a six-month subscription to the twice-a-month Strategy Reports (regularly \$275/yr.) absolutely free. A \$613 value for only \$237. A savings of over 60%. And, your subscription fee should be tax deductible for business purposes. So, if you're in the 50% tax bracket, you pay only \$119.

Young's World Money Forecast is actually seven different advisory letters in one: each 32 page monthly report contains all these--Young's International Gold Reports, Young's U.S. Business and Inflation Forecasts, Young's U.S. Interest Rate Forecasts, Young's Canadian Dollar & Mexican Peso Forecasts, Young's W.G. Mark & Swiss Franc Forecasts, Young's Japanese Yen Forecasts--plus, Young's Pound Sterling Forecasts.

In addition, you receive 13 issues of Young's Strategy Reports. These are powerful, concise, tightly written reports for the confidential use of Young research clients only. They are published twice a month

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between issues of the 32 page Young's World Money Forecast and they present precise summary forecasts, analyses and specific buy/sell recommendations on gold, interest rates, world currencies, the economy and the stock market. These potent reports for investment decision makers are rushed to you literally within hours of final editing.

Most people probably don't need to subscribe to as thorough an advisory service as this. However, if you want hard hitting, no nonsense, thoroughly researched, well reasoned and intelligently presented expert analysis and interpretations to help you invest, this could be the most important investment tool you ever possess. Certainly, it can make a major difference if you have more than \$25,000 invested in gold, silver, stocks, a business, money markets or foreign currency.

Richard Young backs up his conclusions with rigorous statistical research going back over many years. If his analysis calls for it, he's one man unafraid to take a sensitive and controversial stand and more often than not, his analysis proves to be correct.

You can have confidence in his findings and forecasts.

I personally recommend you accept this exceptional offer. You have my company's guarantee you will profit from the service or we will immediately refund every penny you paid.

Act now, while the matter is fresh in your mind. Find out why Dick Young is finally turning bullish on gold and silver. You'll have made a wise and profitable decision.

P.S. The January, 1983 issue of Young's World Money Forecast told subscribers to eliminate gold positions. Gold was then over \$490/oz. Dick Young backed up his gold sale advice in his confidential February Economic Strategy Report. Silver sales were also advised. Subscribers to Young's authoritative research reports were those out of the gold and silver markets as gold collapsed from \$520/oz. to nearly \$400/oz. One more thing--In the March issue, subscribers learned how to take advantage of the gold and silver profits they'd preserved--also what buying strategy to adopt with metal prices so low.

Warm regards,

Jay Abraham
Financial Intelligence Reports

P.P.S. Exactly one year ago with the T-Bill rate at 11 percent, the long government bond at 14 percent and the prime at 15 3/4 percent, a special 1982 forecast issue of Young's World Money Forecast projected a 1982 T-Bill yield of 7 percent, a long government bond rate of 10.2 percent, and a 10.5 percent prime rate.

Even some of his closest business associates thought Dick Young was nuts! Well, he wasn't nuts. In fact, Dick's 1982 forecast was one of the most accurate, professionally generated forecasts made for 1982.

The T-Bill rate, in fact, bottomed at 7.3 percent, the long government bond is now approaching a 10.2 percent yield basis and the prime will be close to 10.5 percent by year end.

You could have profited handsomely in 1982 had you had Dick's forecast on your desk in December, 1981.

He's now putting the final touches on his forecast for the second half of 1983 on not only interest rates, but gold, world currencies, and the U.S. economy. It will be mailed as a bonus to everyone subscribing.

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FINANCIAL INTELLIGENCE

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THE WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT



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Pres. Reagan and Italian Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani in the reviewing stand

LET'S TALK MONEY AT WILLIAMSBURG

By Lewis E. Lehrman

Williamsburg is an economic summit without an agenda. That shouldn't be surprising, for the West today has no coherent economic order—unless you count austerity and sacrifice.

Recently, I returned from a trip to European capitals. Central-bank officials and ministers of trade did acknowledge the profound problems of monetary disorder, exchange-rate fluctuations and their protectionist effects. Yet, while the French government now calls for a return to the Bretton Woods system—profoundly flawed itself but certainly more effective than the present float—no minister with whom I spoke believed international monetary problems would be formally discussed at Williamsburg. This pessimism about the possibilities of reform is striking, coming only six months after Treasury Secretary Regan called for a monetary conference.

The issue of international monetary reform and the new arguments for different systems of fixed exchange rates arise from the failures of the managed currency float for the past 10 years. During this period, economies of the West declined and protectionism intensified. Ideas of reform originated in the 1960s, with the purpose of curing the primary defect of Bretton Woods—the reserve currency status of the dollar, which led to a permanent balance-of-payments deficit in the U.S. These

ideas have not yet been sufficiently considered. Now is the time to do so.

The evidence is compelling that reconsideration of the world monetary system is overdue. One need only review the history of the last few years in America, Britain, Germany and France, as their economies declined under the weight of the monetary and interest rate disorders engendered by central bank money market manipulation.

In Britain in 1979, Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives campaigned against the Keynesian credit policy of the Bank of England and the sterling depreciations of the Labor government. Mrs. Thatcher's campaign called for a stable currency, economic growth, low interest rates and financial order. After nearly four years of austerity and an unapologetically monetarist central banking policy, Britain still has 13% unemployment. Output is no higher than four years ago. Meanwhile, the pound's value fell from \$2.50 to \$1.45—beneath the lowest level under the Labor. The cost of credit, the touchstone of economic growth, hovers at real rates of 8% to 10%, depending on the quality of the borrower, even as the public-sector borrowing requirement has diminished as a percentage of GNP.

France's Currency Collapsed

In France, Francois Mitterrand's Socialists campaigned in 1981 against the credit and budget austerity of President Giscard. They promised a statist industrial program of economic expansion. However, Mr. Mitterrand's conventional neo-Keynesian policies of government spending and credit ex-

pansion led to the collapse of France's currency. The trade deficit grew to \$14 billion a year and domestic inflation intensified. Now, the new Mitterrand policy of austerity, designed to deal with the crisis is, of all things, Thatcherite monetary targeting joined to the most draconian inequity of all—wage and price controls aimed at lowering real wages. Despite the stringency of the Mitterrand austerity, interest rates have risen and unemployment is over 9%. He has repudiated the very goals of economic expansion and job growth for which his government was elected.

In Germany in 1982, Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats also presided over rapidly rising unemployment occasioned by the government-sponsored Bundesbank policy of credit austerity, monetary targeting and high interest rates. By the summer of 1982, Mr. Schmidt's coalition fell apart as his Free Democrat allies, sensing repudiation, switched affiliation to the Christian Democrats. What made Hans Dietrich Genscher and his Free Democrats jump ship was massive defections from the Schmidt economic policy, as measured by opinion polls. Germans of both parties rejected the policies of austerity.

Capitalizing on discontent with austerity, Helmut Kohl's CDU negotiated a deal with the FDP and shrewdly called for early elections in March 1983. They won those elections by a decisive margin, campaigning for a program of economic recovery.

In the U.S., President Reagan came to office in 1980 after a brilliantly successful campaign based on job creation, new investment, stable money,

Mr. Lehrman, who ran for governor of New York in 1982, is writing a book on economics and monetary policy.

The Wall Street Journal (May 11, 1983), copyright © 1983 by Dow Jones & Co., Inc. All rights reserved.

lower interest rates and economic growth. It is true that inflation has come down. And it is true that, unlike most of his Western European counterparts, Mr. Reagan has significantly reduced marginal tax rates. But the real cost of credit for homes and business is still unacceptably high. Industrial production does not yet exceed 1979 levels. There are still over 11 million unemployed.

The credit policy of Fed Chairman Paul Volcker has brought down inflation while producing one of our greatest recessions, a world banking crisis, and a political setback for the Republicans in November 1982. But the policy of monetary austerity, and the recession it caused, was not President Reagan's program of 1980. It was instead the policy of the Fed and the Office of Management and Budget. Like Mrs. Thatcher, Mr. Reagan unwittingly fell into the trap of his advisers who advocated credit austerity.

And so the West sways between expansionist central bank credit policies that lead to the euphoria of inflation, and austerity policies of credit contraction, which lead to the despair of unemployment and spiritual poverty. In a larger sense, and to some practical extent, this stop-go economics has impoverished us all. European and American workers are punished by socialists and conservatives for the "sin" of wanting wages that keep up with inflation.

In the meantime, because of unemployment, Western governments are preoccupied with the balance of trade—an all-time fallacy. The specter of protectionism is on the rise. But our disorders in the world trading system cannot be cured by GATT or by trade agreements. Those disorders are monetary in origin. Protectionism thrives

on competitive exchange-rate policies, brought about by the abrupt currency depreciation and appreciations of well-meaning but uncertain central bankers and politicians.

Many central bank officials in Europe speak with pride about the new austerity. They look with equanimity on the 35 million unemployed of the OECD countries. The question is: Must policy makers put 2.5 million people out of work in Germany, 3 million in Britain, 11 million in the U.S.—in order to reduce inflation? Surely those who still believe in the future of the Free World and in the American dream must answer: No, there is a better way. Only national and international monetary reform can cure our monetary disorders.

It was the German monetary reform of 1948, based on a new convertible currency—a deutschmark tied to gold—that along with deregulation produced the German Miracle. It was the creation in 1959 of a convertible gold franc, which brought forth the savings and investment, that made the Fifth Republic of De Gaulle rich enough to create both nuclear defense and national prosperity. The gold convertibility of the dollar, and multilateral convertibility in Europe—the hallmarks of the Bretton Woods system—created the conditions for postwar prosperity. But the Bretton Woods system had the great flaw of being based on the *official* reserve currency status of the dollar.

System Is in Deep Trouble

The monetary order of Bretton Woods was never reformed in this respect. As a result, when the dollar collapsed in 1971, Bretton Woods collapsed too, just as Prof. Jacques Rueff and Robert Triffin forecast in 1959.

There is no major country yet willing to look at the fundamental flaw of the international economic system: the notion of political leaders that national economic and monetary policy can be made independent of the world economy.

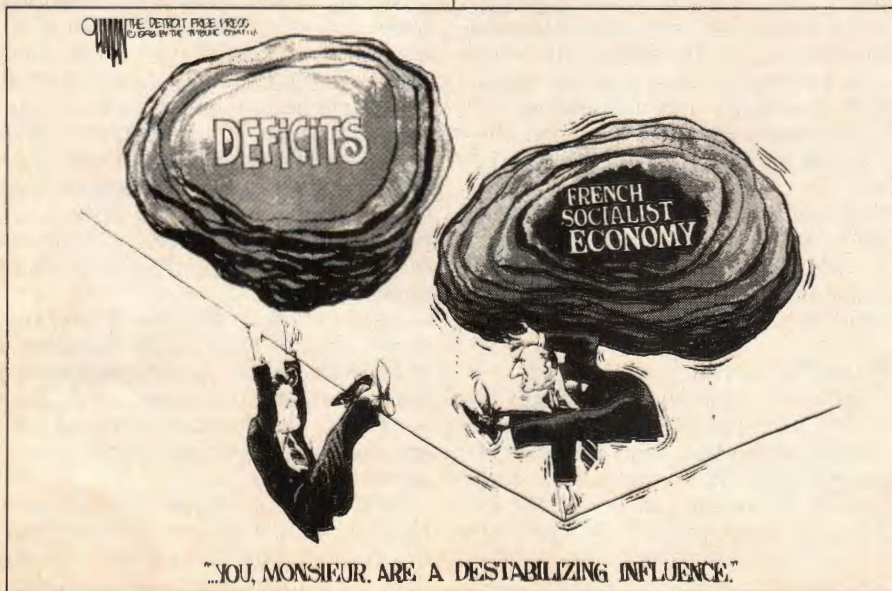
The truth is that there is only one economy. It is the integrated world economy. Therefore, national economies need a monetary coordinating mechanism. And that is why an integrated world economy needs a common monetary standard, which is the best neutral international coordinating device. **But no national currency will do; only a world currency will work. That is why having national currencies convertible to gold—an international money—has worked in the past and will work again.**

Even Mrs. Thatcher was recently quoted as saying, "It's absolutely vital for us to jointly pursue policies which enable us to get and keep interest rates down and to keep inflation down." There *is* such a policy. The policy of convertible currencies, linked to an international monetary standard, is the only one which has worked reasonably well in the past. The policy is imperfect, as are all human institutions; but a system of fixed exchange rates which is the incidental by-product of the real international gold standard is the least imperfect of the international monetary systems we know. Without such a free-world monetary order we shall never restore sustained price stability, long-term capital markets at low interest rates, and the investment boom which alone can lead to reasonably full employment.

Without a reformed monetary system of multilateral, unrestricted convertibility of the major Western currencies into gold, we shall continue in a topsy-turvy world, oscillating between autarky and entropy. Incredibly, Socialists will talk of reducing the real wages of workers to increase profits and end trade imbalances, as they do now in France. And self-styled anti-Keynesian conservatives will rely on neo-Keynesian central bank credit expansion to create economic booms in order to end austerity and get re-elected.

The international monetary system is in deep trouble; we won't just muddle along much longer. The time to deal with the so-called "structural" problems of our monetary order is now. If we do, we can once again create conditions of rapid non-inflationary growth. If we don't make the reforms, sooner or later the world economy will founder.

Only the U.S. can take the lead. We must begin at Williamsburg. □



WILL WILLIAMSBURG AFFECT YOUR WALLET? YOU BET!

Smith Hempstone

It's annual economic summit time again. In other words, ho-hum—and so what? So nothing—unless our side, which is to say the Reagan administration comes up with a juicy agenda.

A growing number of Europeans and Americans think the juiciest item would be what to most of us sounds like the dullest: reform of the current system of "floating" exchange rates. Most of us, after all, don't check the business pages daily to see how many French francs or West German marks you need to exchange for a U.S. dollar.

Which doesn't mean international currency exchange rates don't amount to a pile of pennies in our daily lives. How much of one nation's currency it takes to buy another's plays a part in how many jobs are created or lost in your town and in how fast the dollar in your pocket is losing value because of inflation in the United States.

A Parisian who wants to buy something stamped "Made in America" has to go to a French store whose owner bought the item from an American exporter—and paid for it in U.S. dollars. But first the French importer had to buy U.S. dollars and pay for *them* in francs.

A "strong" dollar—one it takes a lot of francs to buy—makes the American-made item more expensive than a "weaker" U.S. dollar—one you can buy for fewer francs.

Now, suppose a West German firm makes the same item and can sell it to the French importer for less because the franc buys more marks than dollars. Then the American exporter loses the sale. And the German firm wins it.

The more such export sales are lost, the more jobs are lost in the U.S. factory that makes the item.

This exchange rate business works coming as well as going: In the short run, a strong dollar—one that's rising in value compared to the franc—makes foreign-made items cheaper and so encourages Americans to buy imports instead of the equivalent U.S.-made items. This is how foreign currency exchange rates affect jobs.

One easy (but frightfully awful in the long run) way to solve the problem is to print more dollars, thus cheapening the value of the dollar both within the United States and on the foreign ex-

change markets. This is how you get inflation, as every one of us alive and sober in the last 15 years remembers all too painfully.

Some political heavyweights, at home and abroad, think yesterday's inflation and today's global recession (only the U.S. seems to be recovering) as well as growing protectionist sentiment nearly everywhere can be blamed, at least to some degree, on the "chaos" of floating exchange rates.

The heavyweights include former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, a conservative; his succes-

The French importer who wanted to make a contract to buy U.S.-made items knew, more or less, year in and year out, how many francs he'd have to exchange for dollars to consummate the deal.

This fixed system collapsed in two stages, in part because the U.S. printed more dollars than it had gold to back them. By 1971, the U.S. was forced to stop promising to let foreigners cash in their dollars for gold.

The other shoe fell in 1973, when everybody agreed to abandon fixed



sor, Francois Mitterrand, who's somewhere between a Socialist and a neo-Keynesian; former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, a nominal Socialist who used to lecture the likes of Jimmy Carter at previous economic summits on the evils of stimulus spending and inflation, and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

All these luminaries—some of whom are responsible for the decision in the early 1970s to ditch the old system of fixed exchange rates—now think floating rates are killing the global economy and want to see the issue hashed out soonest.

Fixed rates mean the dollar is always worth a given number of francs or marks or Japanese yen, the yen worth a fixed number of pounds sterling, and so on. And, at least under the post-World War II Bretton Woods agreement, the dollar could be cashed in, by foreigners, for a fixed number of ounces of gold at the U.S. Treasury's window.

currency exchange rates because further dollar expansion had led to even more inflation around the world. Other countries wanted to be spared from importing all the inflation the U.S. was willing to export.

But the world needs some sort of money to conduct its trade in. Oil, grain and gold are quoted in dollars, so other countries weren't able to avoid the effects of dollar inflation, even after fixed exchange rates were replaced by floating rates.

Floating rates mean the dollar is worth as many yen as the franc and the franc is worth as many marks as people are willing to pay. Almost nobody likes this system any better. Except Treasury Secretary Regan, among others in the administration.

They grant there is a problem, but seem unwilling to make it Topic "A" at Williamsburg, where the United States should be taking the lead with a plan to reform the system. Too bad. □

Smith Hempstone is executive editor of the Washington Times.

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(Continued from page 48)

Soviet-bloc nations except the ambassadors and their immediate staffs.

- require that the United Nations' headquarters be located outside the U.S. by 1986.

- aggressively broadcast the truth into all communist countries (for example, telling the Cuban people about the large number of their sons who are fighting and dying as Russian surrogates in Africa).

Finally, it should be the policy of the United States to promote democracy, peace and freedom throughout the Western Hemisphere and to take all steps short of military action to ensure free elections for all the peoples of the Americas.

The steps I have outlined do not involve military action by the U.S. They are peaceful means of achieving the important result of protecting the men, women and children of this hemisphere from becoming Soviet slaves.

U.S. policy on Central America will be a major issue of the 1984 campaign and the American people have clearly demonstrated that they will not elect any Democrat who is perceived as "weak" on foreign policy.

Those Democrats who have opposed the President's efforts in Central America are reversing the anti-Communist stance that was traditional in the Democratic party before McGovern. They have put themselves out on a very long limb and that sound you hear from the White House may be President Reagan sawing the limb off.

But I hope that no one gets the chance to make political hay out of the question: Who lost Central America? That is a human tragedy that is within our power to prevent.

What Do You Think It Will Take To Win In Central America?

Please fill out your answers to the following questions on the card provided next to this page. Be sure to add postage.

To stop Soviet Imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, would you support any of the following actions by the United States?

1. Cut off any financial aid, including credits and loan guarantees, that benefits directly or indirectly a Soviet-bloc country?
YES NO
2. End U.S. participation in any international organization that lends money to the Soviet bloc?
YES NO
3. Forbid the sale to the Soviet bloc of any item that could be used for military purposes?
YES NO
4. Give material aid and encouragement to any group fighting a communist government (for example, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan or Ethiopia)?
YES NO
5. Immediately expel all citizens of Soviet-bloc nations except the ambassadors and their immediate staffs?
YES NO
6. Require that the United Nations be located outside the U.S. by 1986?
YES NO

RESULTS OF APRIL CD POLL:

Should the Government Subsidize Political Advocacy?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. President Reagan does not know billions of tax dollars are being "granted" to Liberals?
Yes 46.2% No 42.7% Didn't Vote 10.6%</p> | <p>3. Reagan's moderate and liberal advisers want liberals to continue receiving the large grants.
Yes 95.9% No 1.3% Didn't Vote 2.8%</p> |
| <p>2. Reagan's top advisers are neglecting to inform the President of the liberals' use of taxpayer dollars.
Yes 83.1% No 11.4% Didn't Vote 5.5%</p> | <p>4. Should Reagan fire any of his appointees who give tax money to liberals?
Yes 97.8% No 1.1% Didn't Vote 1.1%</p> |

JUNE CD POLL

To stop Soviet Imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, would you support any of the following actions by the United States?

1. Do you believe the loss of Central America to communism would be critical to American security?
YES NO
2. Would you support a congressional resolution declaring that Cuba and Nicaragua are at war with the free nations of the Western Hemisphere?
YES NO
3. Should the U.S. support anti-communist freedom fighters in Central America?
YES NO
4. Would you favor a military blockade of Cuba and Nicaragua to stop the flow of arms to communist insurgents?
YES NO
5. Should the U.S. end economic aid to socialist and Marxist nations?
YES NO
6. Would you support the commitment of U.S. troops to prevent the fall of El Salvador to communism?
YES NO

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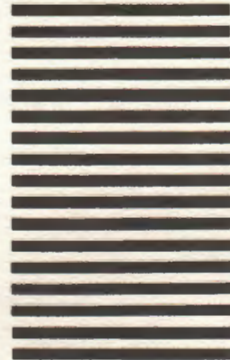
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(R-N.C.)



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THE BIG BANK BAILOUT OF 1983 BEGINS

By Patrick Buchanan

Sad to report, but the conservatives have begun signing on to the Great Bank Bailout of 1983.

Sen. Bill Armstrong of Colorado, who chairs a subcommittee on international institutions, suggests that we have no choice but give the International Monetary Fund the largest national slice of the \$50 billion it wants. Big John Connally of Texas, while conceding the folly of the big banks, reluctantly agrees.

Don Regan and Beryl Sprinkel of Treasury trek to Toronto, trepidatious Christians ready to face the lions rather than burn incense at the altar of the IMF, and return to the catacombs, new acolytes of Apollo, telling us we must now all burn incense to the pagan gods and it is not all that bad once you get the hang of it.

President Reagan sends the signal in his State of the Union address: "We will continue to work closely with the International Monetary Fund to ensure it has adequate resources to help bring the world economy back to strong non-inflationary growth."

Look at it this way, Fed chairman Paul Volcker soothes the House Banking Committee. This is not a "bailout" of the big banks; it is a "bail-in," heh-heh, since the big banks are being forced to shell out even more money to their debtor clients to get the IMF aid.

And so they are—with Yugoslavia the textbook case. The U.S. government in the lead, 11 Western nations agreed to give Communist Yugoslavia \$1.3 billion in new money, but only if the Western banks provided this insolvent communist regime *another* \$1 billion in new loans.

The same situation was obtained in the great Mexican bailout. The U.S. government and the IMF poured in billions, but the big banks were also *required* to send new billions chasing the tens of billions already gone.

Can no one see what is going on here?

The ultimate in foreign aid machinery is being created with the consent and complicity of a conservative American government, a machine beyond the erotic imaginings of the Brandt Commission and the Socialist International.

The "New International Economic Order" under which the black and brown nations of the socialist south



Williamsburg Summit 1983 participants

have a permanent moral claim upon the wealth of the white and capitalist West is being created before our very eyes—Regan & Reagan, Architects.

Not a week passes without some new country declaring it cannot pay its debts, and the IMF rushing to the rescue with Western capital, dragging along the hapless banks. Not a single insolvent regime, no matter how odious, appears to have been denied a seat at the sumptuous banquet table of the IMF—to be forever set by the taxpayers of the United States.

It is not the best of foreign enterprises that are first in line at the loan windows of the IMF. It is the worst—the bankrupts, the free-loaders, the deadbeats, the insolvent, the illiquid, walking away with the capital: Stalinist Romania, \$10 billion in the hole; Yugoslavia, \$20 billion arid bust; Argentina, \$40 billion in debt, with wholesale prices rising at a 300 percent rate; Mexico, \$80 billion in debt, with foreign earnings collapsing by a billion dollars every time the price of a barrel of oil falls another \$2.

If this massive transfer of American capital to the IMF and the Third World is a wise, prudent investment, let us fairly ask: How much of the *personal* wealth of these affluent international bankers is invested in such loans? How much of David Rockefeller's *personal* wealth was sent down to Mexico City—along with the savings of his Chase Manhattan depositors—*after* the threatened August default? How much of Robert McNamara's personal wealth

was sunk into the Tanzanian economy along with those hundreds of millions of American dollars he sent off to Julius Nyerere from his upholstered perch at the World Bank?

If the IMF facility and bank bailout—use your own terms—represents wise and prudent investments of our money, why don't the rich and powerful men demanding it put their personal fortunes on the line, alongside the savings of the rest of us? Let us prosper, or sink, together. Right?

Not to worry, the follies of the past will not be repeated, we are assured. This time the IMF will place "conditions" on the loans.

But the folly *is* being repeated! The only condition that will make Yugoslavia and Romania sensible economic investments is to demand that both junk their ridiculous Marxist economic systems.

Has the IMF done that? The only way Mexico and Tanzania can become prosperous nations is for the former to abandon its socialist nostrums and controls, and the latter to jettison the new-Maoist government by far the worst that has ruined that country. Did the IMF tell them that?

After two years of immense economic hardship, we Americans have accumulated a savings pool upon which all our hopes for recovery depend. Why, when capitalism is desperate for credit, would intelligent capitalists ship their wealth off to subsidize any Communist and socialist failure? □

BEWARE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

by Robert W. Lee

Foreign aid is perhaps the most unpopular and expensive program ever foisted on American taxpayers by their representatives in Congress. Indeed, the very unpopularity of the concept has caused its die-hard supporters to channel funds through a maze of organizations and projects so that the voters cannot identify the extent of the problem.

For instance, who knows the actual dollar cost of the foreign-aid burden to date? Available figures seemed to place it at \$300 billion since 1946. But, according to a Library of Congress study released in May of last year, the actual cost exceeds a mind-boggling \$2.3 trillion when interest on the money borrowed for the giveaways is considered. By comparison, our total national debt

associations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc. This *multilateral* approach precludes U.S. control over the disbursement of funds and even to whom they are given. It also assures that we receive little or no credit for the handouts and we surrender authority to extract concessions which serve humane interests. Multilateral aid is thus even more detrimental than is bilateral aid. Yet one administration and Congress after another has used one specious argument after another to get taxpayers to condone ever greater transfers of money from their pockets, to the Treasury, and thence into the coffers of the international lending institutions. Consider, for instance, the current drive by the Reagan administration to feather the nest of the IMF with yet another \$8.4 billion.

decision to hike the agency's total quota level for its 146 members by more than 47 percent (from 61.1 billion to 90 billion Special Drawing Rights) and the General Arrangements to Borrow fund by nearly two-thirds (from S.D.R. 6.4 billion to S.D.R. 17.0 billion). The U.S. share of this total increase of S.D.R. 39.5 billion will, if Congress approves the administration's request, amount to \$8.14 billion, or 19 percent. The administration's proposal was introduced in the House on March 3rd as H.R. 1907, and in the Senate on March 7th as S. 695. As we write, hearings are under way in the House, while the Senate bill has been favorably reported by both the Foreign Relations and Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committees.

For nearly four decades, the IMF has used the United States as its milk cow. Unless there is a sufficient public outcry about the matter, Congress will authorize it to continue to do so, with grave economic results for our country.

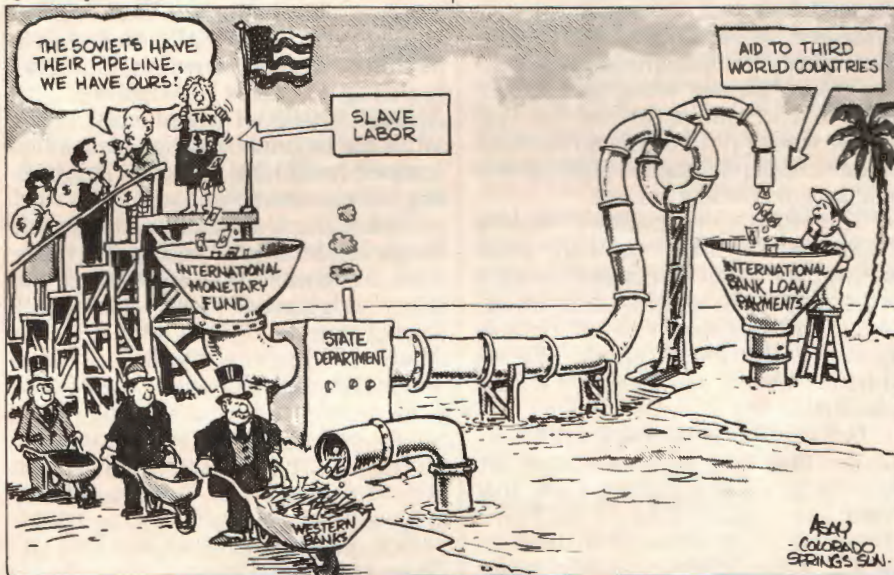
Origin Of The Game

Both the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the so-called World Bank) were conceived during a conference held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, from July 1-22, 1944. Whereas the World Bank was supposed to encourage loans that would aid reconstruction and development in member nations after World War II, the IMF was established to stimulate international trade and promote stable exchange rates among the currencies of member nations. At least those were the *stated* purposes of the two agencies. In actual practice, the policies approved at Bretton Woods have combined to accomplish four major objectives. As summarized by political analyst Dan Smoot in 1963, those objectives include:

"(1) **Strip the United States of the great gold reserve** (which had made our dollar the dominant currency on earth) by giving the gold away to other nations;

"(2) **Build up the industrial capacity of other nations**, at our expense, to eliminate American productive superiority;

"(3) **Take world markets** (and much of the American domestic market) **away from American producers** until capitalistic America would no longer dominate world trade;



at the end of April was \$1.25 trillion. Quite literally, the United States has inflated its currency and bankrupted itself to finance foreign nations and prop up socialist, and communist, dictatorships.

Most foreign-aid dollars have been distributed on a *bilateral* basis, whereby we give directly to recipients and are able to exercise at least a modicum of control. In addition, however, tens of billions of dollars have been (and to an increasing degree are being) channelled through sundry international financial agencies such as development

Robert W. Lee is a contributing editor to The Review of The News, and author of The United Nations Conspiracy (1981, Western Islands Publishers).

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Proposed Reagan Giveaway

In a message to Congress transmitting his proposed Budget for Fiscal 1984, President Reagan asserted on January 31: "My administration will submit to the Congress a proposal to increase the U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. obligations under the IMF's General Arrangements to Borrow, as soon as negotiations on these issues are complete." According to Mr. Reagan, "This is necessary to ensure that the IMF has adequate resources to help bring the world economy back to strong, non-inflationary growth."

The IMF negotiations were completed on February 11th, resulting in a

"(4) Entwine American affairs—economic, political, cultural, social, educational, and even religious—with those of other nations, **until the United States could no longer have an independent policy, either domestic or foreign, but would become an interdependent link in a world-wide socialist chain.**"

Each observer may judge for himself the extent to which actual events have confirmed those objectives.

Indeed, in 1963 President John F. Kennedy told a group of finance ministers and banking representatives of nations involved in the IMF: "Twenty years ago, when the architects of these institutions met to design an international banking structure, the economic life of the world was polarized in overwhelming, and even alarming, measure on the United States. So were the world's monetary reserves. The United States had the only open capital in the world apart from that of Switzerland. Sixty percent of the gold reserves of the world were here in the United States. . . . There was a need for redistribution of the financial resources of the world. . . .

"This has come about. It did not come about by chance but by conscious and deliberate and responsible planning. . . .

"We are now entering upon a new era of economic and financial interdependence. . . .

"I think the last 20 years have provided impressive proof of the benefits of international financial cooperation. We are linked so closely together; our economies are tied so intimately." (Speech, September 30, 1963, as reported in the *New York Times* the next day)

Right on the money! As Paul Craig Roberts, professor of political economy at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, recently told the House Budget Committee's Task Force on International Finance and Trade: "It wasn't that long ago that the United States stood astride the world like a colossus. Our financial and diplomatic power was respected, and countries sought to be in our good graces. We even managed to conduct our diplomacy through our own institutions. But today, after subordinating our interests to international organizations, the United States risks standing before the world as 'Uncle Sap.'"

The Founding Red

Harry Dexter White, were he alive today, would no doubt be pleased. Mr. White, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at the time, was design-

nated as our country's principle spokesman at the Bretton Woods Conference. As such he directed and dominated the conference and led in establishing the policies and formulating the institutions approved by that conference. Indeed, he eventually became the first executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund.

All the while, Harry Dexter White was a secret communist agent. Worse, the fact that he was serving as a Soviet agent was known to President Harry S Truman at the very time he nominated White to his post with the IMF. The essentials of the White case were revealed and summarized by U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell during a speech in Chicago on November 6, 1953. After describing White's extensive and influential service within our government, including his service as "the chief technical expert for the United States government at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in 1944," Attorney General Brownell continued:

"Notwithstanding all this, Harry Dexter White was a Russian spy. He smuggled secret documents to Russian agents for transmission to Moscow. Harry Dexter White was known to be a communist spy by the very people who appointed him to the most sensitive and important position he ever held in government service.

"The FBI became aware of White's espionage activities at an early point in his government career and from the beginning made reports on these activities to the appropriate officials in authority. But these reports did not impede White's advancement in the administration. . . .

"But I can now announce officially for the first time in public, that the records in my department show that White's spying activities for the Soviet government were reported in detail by the FBI to the White House by means of a report delivered to President Truman through his military aide, Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, in December of 1945.

"In the face of this information, and incredible though it may seem, President Truman subsequently on Jan. 23, 1947, nominated White, who was then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, for the even more important position of executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund.

"As soon as White's nomination for this sensitive post became public, the FBI compiled a special and detailed report concerning Harry Dexter White and his espionage activities. . . .

"This new summary of White's activities as a spy was handed by the FBI

to Brigadier General Vaughan for delivery to the President on February 4, 1946, and, yet, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee was permitted to recommend White's appointment on February 5, in ignorance of the report. The Senate itself was allowed to confirm White on February 6, without the Senate being informed that White was a spy."

We have quoted at some length from the Brownell summary for the benefit of skeptics who may think we are engaging in name-calling. To the contrary, it is a thoroughly documented fact that the IMF was largely conceived, and directed in its early stages, by a Soviet agent dedicated to the destruction of our national sovereignty and economic strength.

The Phony I.M.F. Crisis

You will recall Dan Smoot's observation, quoted earlier, that a goal of the Bretton Woods arrangement was to strip the U.S. of its gold holdings by transferring the precious metal to other nations. On January 1, 1953, U.S. gold holdings totaled \$23,252,000,000, while foreign claims in the Free World against that gold totaled \$10,546,100,000. Within a decade, however, our gold holdings had dwindled to \$16,057,000,000 (December 31, 1962), while the amount of foreign claims had jumped to \$24,984,000,000. The Bretton Woods scheme was well under way.

Today, the U.S. remains the largest single holder of gold among IMF members, but guess who resides in second place? It is the IMF itself, with 103 million ounces as of November 1982. At March 1983 prices, the IMF's gold is worth between \$40 billion and \$50 billion, a sum far larger than the recent quota and General Arrangements to Borrow increases combined. Which means, in turn, that there is actually no need for yet another U.S. contribution. As Representative Ron Paul (R-Texas) told his House colleagues on February 28th: "**Giving more money to the IMF is like giving alms to a billionaire. The IMF is not broke; it is merely pleading poverty.** It has the second largest gold reserve in the world and it ought to use it, if the present crisis is as serious as the IMF says."

Is the alleged "crisis" that serious? As we will see shortly, many observers believe it is not. But spokesmen for the Reagan administration are doing everything possible to give an aura of potential catastrophe to the issue. For instance, during the House Banking Committee hearings in February, Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker asserted that the present debt crisis is a threat "without parallel in the postwar period." About an hour later, during

those same hearings, Representative Paul asked Chairman Volcker why the IMF's gold is not being sold to meet the so-called "crisis." Volcker replied that the IMF holds its gold for use "in time of need," the obvious response to which (in Congressman Paul's words) is: **"If this is not a time of need, then no quota increase is necessary. And if it is a time of need, then the IMF's gold reserves should be mobilized."**

The *Wall Street Journal*, among others, believes the "crisis" is wildly exaggerated. For one thing, says the *Journal*, the quota increase won't take effect until next year, which "doesn't sound like much of an emergency to us, although it does sound like a way of permanently augmenting the power of the IMF bureaucracy." Indeed, "it appears that the international debt crisis, as conventionally defined, is for all practical purposes over," since (among other things) only a fraction of the total debt of non-O.P.E.C. developing countries is in doubt, "and even that amount will be reduced by the economic recovery now taking place." The *Journal* cites a confidential Federal Reserve/Treasury Department staff study compiled last summer which concluded that "a collapse of the system is highly unlikely (although there is always the danger that an individual borrower, or borrowing country, will run into difficulties)." Only in the cases of Mexico and Brazil, the study concluded, "is the magnitude of U.S. banks' exposure sufficient to pose a potential threat to confidence in the event of total loss." And such "total loss . . . is highly unlikely."

Clearly, the key to the solvency of developing countries is the extent of recovery within the industrial nations. And, as Senator Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.) has observed: "One of the most profound steps that we can take to insure the longevity of this essential recovery . . . is to reject the IMF quota increase and keep the \$8.5 billion involved where they belong: in our own credit markets, where they will be used by domestic borrowers in the interest of economic expansion and increased employment both at home and abroad."

To Benefit Insiders

Suppose, though, that a crisis of sorts does indeed exist. Why must financial assistance be rendered by the IMF? As Paul Craig Roberts points out, "Since most of the IMF's resources are provided by the United States and its allies, there are no financial reasons to prevent the Western alliance from organizing the bailout itself and extracting political and strategic benefits on

a *quid pro quo* basis . . . a self-liquidating revolving fund could be set up to tide over the debtor countries. When the crisis is over, the participating countries could withdraw their funds for their own use because they could not be permanently transferred to the IMF."

A major reason why so many Western banks are in trouble with the bad loans they have made to developing countries is the IMF itself. Secure in the knowledge that the IMF will step in to assist foundering countries, the big banks have been enticed to make loans to those countries which they otherwise would likely have declined. **So, with both the banks and the impoverished nations involved in trouble, the U.S. taxpayer is being asked to bailout both in a manner which will simply add to the long-range fiscal woes of the debtor nations while further exposing the banks to bad loans.**

A reasonable alternative, as many observers have suggested, would be for the 15 or so U.S. banks in the biggest trouble to get together with their counterparts in Japan and Europe and collectively decide what percentage of their shaky loans should simply be written off to enable the debtor nations to pay the balance. As the *Washington Times* recently editorialized, such a move would cause the banks to "lose some earnings. Dividends, stock prices and management bonuses would dip. But the banks would more than survive (loans to non-oil producing developing nations represent less than 11 percent of combined assets of the nine largest banks involved). Besides chastening the bankers, partial write-offs are better for them than getting in deeper by being required to extend more loans."

Voodoo Arguments

One of the many arguments used by administration spokesmen in promoting the IMF bailout bill is that the additional funds represent a mere swap of assets, whereby we receive access to SDRs to counterbalance our own contribution. But this is misleading nonsense. As former Treasury Secretary William E. Simon explains: "When the Treasury gives the IMF 25 percent of our quota increase in hard cash and the remainder in a line of credit that is drawn on U.S. financial markets, the IMF certainly acquires real liquid assets. What it 'swaps' with us is much less definite. **We acquire a 'claim' on the IMF denominated Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), but it isn't a claim that we can cash in and spend.** Indeed, if it were a real asset swap, instead of an accounting sleight

of hand that disguises an international transfer payment, what would be the point of the quota increase?" Good question.

Senator Gordon Humphrey adds: "Small businessmen in New Hampshire, or anywhere else for that matter, cannot borrow SDRs in the credit markets in an effort to get their establishments moving again. They and all other domestic borrowers need good hard dollars, and if the Congress yields to the IMF funding request there will be 8.5 billion fewer of those dollars available here at home."

It is also claimed that we earn interest on our SDRs held by the IMF which is true. But what is *not* mentioned is that, as described by economist Paul Craig Roberts, "interest payments on IMF reserve holdings amount to only 85 percent of the weighted average of market interest rates of the SDR component currencies." Which means that such interest is only about 85 percent of what our dollars could earn if invested elsewhere. Such as here at home to make jobs and improve U.S. productivity.

It is further claimed by proponents of the bailout that providing more U.S. money to foreigners will enable them to buy more of our goods, thereby spurring our economy. Which, as former Secretary Simon observes, makes as much sense as "arguing that a shopkeeper can increase his sales by giving away money in the streets in the hope that some of it will be spent in his shop."

Other arguments forwarded by the administration on behalf of the IMF funding increase are as baseless as those we have briefly discussed above."

The *Washington Times* adds: "Even without renewed inflation, the bailout the administration wants will cost Americans and impair recovery, without disciplining the bankers, encouraging economic growth among the debtor nations, or even assuring that we wouldn't simply be throwing good money after bad and worsening the crisis." And Paul Craig Roberts contends: **"By handling the bailouts through the IMF we are allowing a third party to disburse our money for us, thereby enfeebling our diplomacy. Passing foreign aid through an international bureaucracy reduces the control and influence of the donor countries. The ultimate result is to divorce foreign aid from the policy interests of the United States. . . . There is no obvious reason why the United States should use its scarce resources to increase the power of the IMF, a supranational organization that we do not control."** □



MORE VIOLENCE AND VULGARITY TO COME

At the annual stockholders meeting of RCA, Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media posed a question to Mr. Thornton Bradshaw, Chairman of RCA: "It has been pointed out by the National Federation for Decency that RCA is a significant advertiser in X-rated magazines . . . magazines which are offensive to many—not only because of their exploitation of pornography, but because of their persistent ridicule of Christianity and Christian values. I presume that you would not advertise in magazines that are anti-semitic or anti-black. Why do you advertise in publications that are anti-Christian? Is that less offensive than being anti-semitic or anti-black?"

The comments were followed by a long pause. Then Mr. Bradshaw responded. He evaded giving a direct answer to the question. "I don't think this is fair for you to put questions like that . . ." Not fair? Since when did a question from a stockholder at a stockholders' meeting become an issue of fairness? Indeed, what is unfair to ask for straight hard facts from a company in which one has money invested?

This was followed by some laughter as to how Mr. Irvine knew about the ads. Did he read the magazines?

"Maybe you didn't notice in introducing this, I said that this has been complained about by the National Federation for Decency, not by personal research, sir," Mr. Irvine responded. Mr. Bradshaw then stated: "Oh . . . oh . . . that's different."

"That's different," Irvine asked. "You take their word for it?"

"Absolutely not," Mr. Bradshaw responded.

Irvine: "You dispute that they found such advertising?"

Bradshaw: "I have no idea whether we do or do not. I presume that we do not."

Mr Bradshaw evaded the question. The cold hard facts are that RCA is a frequent advertiser in the anti-Christian publication *Playboy*. RCA refuses to advertise in anti-semitic and anti-black publications. But RCA has no qualms about advertising in a magazine simply because it is anti-Christian.

At RCA, being anti-semitic or anti-black is wrong. But being anti-Christian is not. To me the message is quite clear: RCA wants the business of Jewish people and black people, but not Christian people.

In mid April ABC paid \$85,000 in an out of court settlement to an Ohio couple who claimed they were libeled in an April 1980 "20/20" broadcast. The Blakemores said that statements made about them were "false and in reckless disregard of the public record."

The Blakemores were interviewed by ABC in a 1980 "20/20" program dealing with public corruption in Ohio. Burt Fulton, attorney for the Blakemores said that the sources ABC based their story on were not credible.

A spokesperson for ABC stated that the out of court settlement came about because ABC did not want its sources to take the witness stand. The spokesperson went on to say that ABC's lawyers viewed the \$85,000-dollar settlement as a "nuisance value," part of the price to pay in avoiding protracted and costly litigation.

This is a drastic change in policy for the networks. Usually they defend to the utmost their "integrity" in such matters. Maybe I'm different. But if I wasn't guilty, I wouldn't have paid.



How Sexy Will Commercials Become? That was the question being asked recently at the National Association of Broadcasters convention. Last fall the Department of Justice struck down the Broadcasters' TV code in a ruling which said the code was anti-competitive. Now networks and local stations have free reign in what can be included in commercials. Gone are the restrictions which forbade the actual drinking of alcoholic beverages in TV ads. Gone are restrictions which precluded lingerie ads with live models.

Now networks and affiliates will make their own decisions about what is and what isn't acceptable for their audiences.

What can we look for in the future? *Broadcast Magazine* recorded the comments of Thomas E. Cookerly of Albritton Communications. Cookerly said, "We all know that sex sells. I think we're going to be bombarded with more sexy commercials in coming years."



A recent study conducted jointly by the National Association of Broadcasters and the communications consulting firm of McHugh and Hoffman

was presented at the NAB meeting in Las Vegas.

NAB's Larry Patrick reported that the study revealed that people "tend to rate television as less important in their lives." He went on to say that "a majority believe that TV is a negative influence, encouraging bad behavior and language."

Following the report, broadcasters were making such comments as "unbelievable," "stupid," and "I wanted to slay the messenger."

Many television broadcasters were wondering out loud how anything that would be detrimental got to the convention floor. One staff member noted that in the rush to meet convention deadlines, "things fell through the floor." In a move to ensure that things do not fall through the floor again, NAB president Eddie Fritts and vice president John Summers are conducting an internal investigation and will establish a system of checks and balances to ensure that, according to Fritts, "nothing like this will happen again."



Another study conducted by Decision Research Associates in behalf of Group W, the Westinghouse network, shows network viewership is evaporating. The study found that although television may be the leisure activity Americans engage in most often, *only 15 percent of those surveyed listed television as their favorite pastime.*

Bob Durdoff, general manager of the research firm, stated: "It's not astonishing that network shares are falling . . . It's not the alternate technologies that are eating away at the audience. It's that television programming is less and less interesting . . ."

Perhaps that is an unoffensive way of saying that TV is becoming more and more offensive.



ABC has announced they will spend 10 billion dollars in the next five years. My question is: Will our society be a better place because of that money, or will ABC provide more violence and vulgarity with it? If I were a betting man, I would lay my money on violence and vulgarity.

For additional information write National Federation for Decency, P.O. Box 1398, Tupelo, Miss. 38801.

THE CONGRESS IS THE PROBLEM

Lord knows that I have had great problems with the Reagan administration, and I continue to have them. But as lacking in understanding of the middle class voters as the administration has been, and as strategically stupid as their policies have been presented, the Congress continues to be far worse.

There is the newly enhanced Democratic majority in the House. The leadership firmly believes that the liberals are going to win again in 1984 and it is their solemn duty to prepare the way. As a consequence, no conservative initiative of any substance will see the light of day and all of the old liberal formulas for instant disarmament and spending ourselves back to prosperity are again in the forefront. The determined band of Boll Weevils, the conservative Democrats who helped the Administration so much in the last Congress, have stayed in the background. On the one hand, some of them are intimidated by the leadership. They fear that what happened to Phil Gramm may happen to them. On the other hand, some of the more pragmatic among them aren't sure of the outcome in 1984 and they don't want to be incapable of dealing with a new Administration if it comes to power.

The Republican-controlled Senate is a disgrace. The lameduck Howard Baker, having held forth for only economic issues in the last Congress, is now witnessing his GOP majority going off in all different directions. There is no leadership. A small band of liberal Republicans is determined to restore cuts in social programs. Some of them, having survived close challenges in 1982, now believe the route to a political future is to become latter day followers of the cult of Jacob Javits.

Then there are the marvelous committee chairmen. If the United States is unable to compete with the Soviet Union militarily, it won't only be the fault of Jane Fonda or Ted Kennedy. The names of Mark Hatfield and Pete Domenici will be up there in the dishonor roll when it is called.

The conservatives, with a few exceptions, don't really know how to operate. When push comes to shove Jesse Helms knows what to do, and Bill Armstrong and Bob Kasten get very high marks for approaching various issues in a highly sophisticated way and managing to accomplish important things while avoiding monster images.

Many of the rest of the Republicans

are ineffective. They whine about the media or the administration and fail to understand how power politics is played in the big city. In fact some of them are downright pitiful. I was at a White House meeting with a few of them recently and it suddenly became very clear to me why it is that the administration doesn't take these people seriously. These conservative senators are so lacking in strategic vision and toughness that if I were Ronald Reagan I would conclude that they are not an important factor and would get on with dealing with the people who do know how the game is played, and that is exactly what Jim Baker and company are doing.

The Republican-controlled Senate is a disgrace. There is no leadership. A small band of liberal Republicans is determined to restore cuts in social programs.

We desperately need leaders in the Congress. We need men of character, who can articulate things well and who are willing to fight. Right now Rep. Newt Gingrich, the conservative strategist from Georgia, has been trying to assemble a cadre of young turks who are willing to do what the GOP leadership has failed to do. These congressmen actually want to fight their opposition. Amazing. They need help. The current GOP leader, Bob Michel, is a political Perry Como who these days doesn't even much participate in the affairs of the House. The No. 2 man, Trent Lott, a longtime friend, has not compromised his principles, but he is such a southern gentleman that he often doesn't rock the boat when it needs rocking. That is understandable, as he has a shot at a leadership later on when Michel retires or is defeated. But the group that is really doing the Lord's work, men such as Rep. Bob Walker of Pennsylvania, truly one of the brightest Members of the House, must have additional troops to help lead. The field is so wide open that a young conservative can have a great impact. Look at Rep. Jack Fields of Texas. He is young, determined and principled. He has

made a great contribution to our side already and this began just a few months after he was elected. A few years ago, something like that would not have been possible, but the liberal reformers, having modified seniority, have made it possible for a freshman to have impact.

In the Senate the situation is the same. A new leader will be chosen in the next Congress because of Howard Baker's retirement. That vote will likely be close. In fact, given the current lineup, it will be a modern political miracle if the GOP is able to maintain its majority beyond this Congress. There are so many vulnerable Republicans up in 1984 and so few vulnerable Democrats.

That is why Bob McAdam, the bright and talented political director at the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, together with a number of other PAC leaders in the conservative community are putting a great emphasis on candidate recruitment. Among those of CD's readership who this moment are reading these words may be some potential candidates with the leadership character so badly needed in the Congress. I hope if you are such a potential candidate or know of one you will be in touch with us.

Clearly if but a few men or women of strong character are elected it will make a tremendous difference. We must re-elect good men like Helms, Armstrong and Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire as well as the many Members of Congress who make a difference. But if we run a wholly defensive election, in other words even if all of our fine incumbents are re-elected, and we do not elect some new leaders, we will be little better off than we are now. That is not a good situation. Hence we must begin this very moment to unseat some of the vulnerable liberals who think that 1984 is the perfect year for them. It will be particularly difficult in the Senate because so few liberal incumbents appear to be vulnerable. Yet appearances can be deceiving. In 1978 Thomas McIntyre was rated as unbeatable and so was Dick Clark. Yet Humphrey and Roger Jepsen defeated them. Sen. Gaylord Nelson was considered a shoo-in in 1980, but Bob Kasten ended his long Senate career. Somewhere out there there are candidates of that caliber who can surprise a few incumbents. Now is the time for these good people to come to the aid of the cause. □



A MONROE DOCTRINE FOR THE 1980s

Americans are without doubt the most sophisticated people in the world. We are light-years ahead of anyone else in the development of manned spaceflight. Our agricultural system is the most productive ever known. In millions of American homes, six-year-olds are learning how to program computers.

But when it comes to understanding the communists, we are woefully ignorant. Some of our leaders seem to have formed their opinions about communism a hundred years ago, when it was just a theory.

Since then it has been put into practice.

In the last 65 years, the communists have conquered 43 sovereign nations with a current combined population of 1.6 billion.

Although the Soviets have the most powerful army in the world, they seldom engage in direct military action. So far, they have used nuclear weapons only for intimidation. For the most part, they keep their own boys out of war, letting others do their fighting for them.

Today a Soviet-supported revolutionary movement will use fighter pilots trained by the PLO and weapons supplied by Vietnam. Most of its military advisers are Cubans. And, once the existing government is overthrown, the communists maintain control with secret police trained by the East Germans.

The Soviets carefully undermine their adversaries by the use of infiltration, espionage and propaganda. They constantly cultivate "agents of influence" at every level of society to erode the support of the people for their national institutions.

During the Vietnam War, the communists conducted a public relations campaign designed to discourage our support for the people of South Vietnam. They recognized that the object of war is to break the enemy's will, and they used every means at their disposal to do so.

Their diplomats met regularly with our diplomats, convincing them that a negotiated settlement was possible, that the communists would settle for less than total victory. Repeatedly, they raised our hopes and then dashed them.

That psychological warfare continues today. Each year, the Soviets and

their puppets send thousands of performing arts groups, sports teams, scientists, diplomats, bureaucrats and many others to the Western nations.

On any given day the Soviet-bloc countries have over 3,000 government personnel in the U.S., including over 300 Soviets based at the U.N. It is estimated that as many as 40 percent may be engaged in espionage.

During the last 15 years, the Soviets bought or stole our most sophisticated computers, oil and gas drilling technology, and ball bearings for missiles. On credit guaranteed by the American taxpayer, U.S. firms built the world's largest truck factory in the Soviet Union; many of the trucks built there are used to carry soldiers to Afghanistan to crush the freedom fighters there.

As Lenin said, "When the time comes to hang the capitalists, they will gladly sell us the rope with which to do it."

Americans are sophisticated, all right, but that sophistication is limited. They know a lot about home computers but almost nothing about modern warfare as practiced by the Soviet Union.

Probably no nation on earth has risen to challenges as the United States has. We have faced war, depression and disease with unparalleled vigor and determination. But we as a nation simply do not understand the challenge that faces us now.

We are involved in a prolonged conflict with an adversary who is ready and willing to fight us on any battlefield, at any time, by any means. The question is: Will the American people realize that we are engaged in this war before we have lost it?

In our own hemisphere the Soviet pattern of takeover is well underway. Communist-supported terrorists now control Cuba, Nicaragua, Guyana, Grenada and Suriname with aid and/or comfort from left-leaning regimes in Mexico, Belize, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia.

The communists are working and fighting to topple pro-Western governments in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica.

Since 1962 the Soviet Union has shipped nearly 700,000 tons of arms to Cuba—131,000 tons in just the last two years.

Soviet economic assistance to Cuba totals \$9-14 million a day.

There are at least 2,600 Soviet soldiers in Cuba, plus 8,000-10,000 Soviet military and civilian advisers.

At the present time the Soviets have in the Western Hemisphere at least two Foxtrot attack submarines and at least four bombers capable of destroying any city in the continental United States. In Cuba alone, the Soviets have more than 650 tanks, 555 combat aircraft, and 50 torpedo and missile attack boats; 140 surface-to-air missiles were delivered just last December.

We will be defeated unless we act now to meet the Soviet threat. If we allow the Soviets to complete the conquest of Central America, the people of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California will be face-to-face with the Soviet military within 3-4 years.

In 1823, President James Monroe set forth a policy that became known as the Monroe Doctrine. Partly in response to Russian activity, Monroe pledged that any attempt by a European power to create or maintain a colony in the New World would be opposed by the U.S. as "dangerous to our peace and safety."

The United States would steadfastly oppose foreign interference in the affairs of the nations of the Western Hemisphere "for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny . . ."

It is time for the United States to recognize once again that keeping this hemisphere free of our enemies is vital to our national security. It is time to restate and update the Monroe Doctrine.

Therefore, I propose that, as long as the Soviet Union is involved in the affairs of any country in the Western Hemisphere, the United States will:

- cut off any financial aid, including credits and loan guarantees, that benefits directly or indirectly a Soviet-bloc country.

- end U.S. participation in any international organization that lends money to the Soviet bloc.

- forbid the sale to the Soviet bloc of any item that could be used for military purposes.

- give material aid and encouragement to any group fighting a communist government (for example, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, or Ethiopia).

- immediately expel all citizens of

(Continued on page 40)

The Protectionist Illusion

The stagnating economy makes protectionism an ever more seductive temptress.

With millions of Americans out of work, pressures are mounting to restrict imports in hard-hit industries. The longer the economic slump, the stronger the sentiment to protect American products and the jobs of people who make them by erecting barriers to the flow of goods into the U.S. from abroad.

All nations, of course, want good economic times and high employment for their own people. To one degree or another, all countries are protectionist. The United States is less so than most. Since the end of World War II, we've been opening our borders and vast internal markets to other countries' wares. In turn, products made in America have found acceptance around the world, generating jobs here at home.

Protectionist fever was rampant in the 1930s. The results were calamitous: sky-high tariffs on imports, retaliatory measures by other countries, trade warfare, unemployment — depression.

Now the protectionist peril is welling up anew. Forces at work in the U.S. and other countries are undermining the international trading system that has evolved over the post-war decades and stimulated economic growth in most parts of the world.

Governments beset by economic troubles, especially unemployment, find themselves increasingly prodded to embrace such measures as import restrictions, trade quotas, and export subsidies. Politically, such measures may have appeal. Economically, they promise only disaster — a deepening of the world's economic ills, more people out of work, perhaps another outbreak of trade warfare like that of the Great Depression.

From the lessons of the past, it's clear that protectionist remedies are an illusion. They don't work. They are self-defeating, wiping out more jobs than they preserve. While some jobs may be saved in a protected industry, others are lost elsewhere in the economy.

Retreat from free trade lessens competition, deprives consumers of a full choice of products, drives up prices, and stokes inflation. Producers protected from competition lose their incentive to invest, improve, modernize, expand, compete — create more jobs.

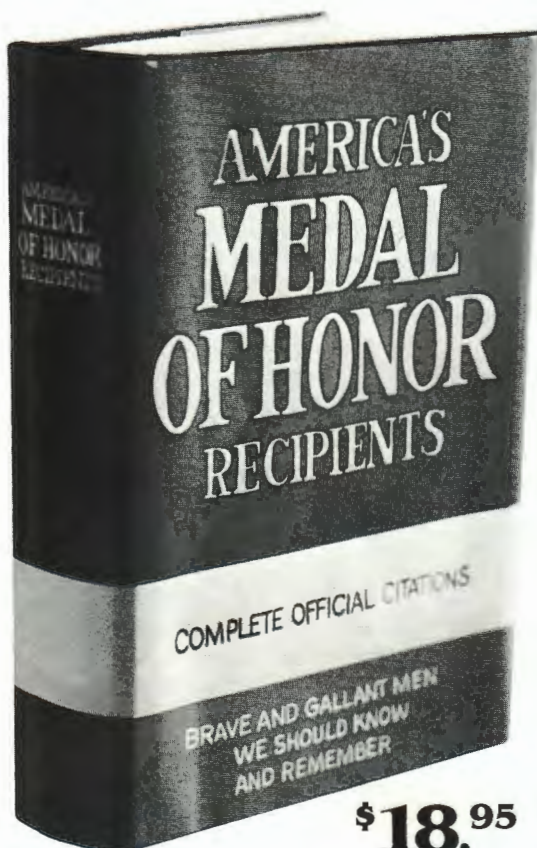
Nations and people everywhere are better off with a trade system that's free and fair. As a principal economic power, the U.S. should lead the way to greater cooperation and openness in commerce as the best hope for economic health among all nations.

Let's not choke off imports. Let's expand exports.



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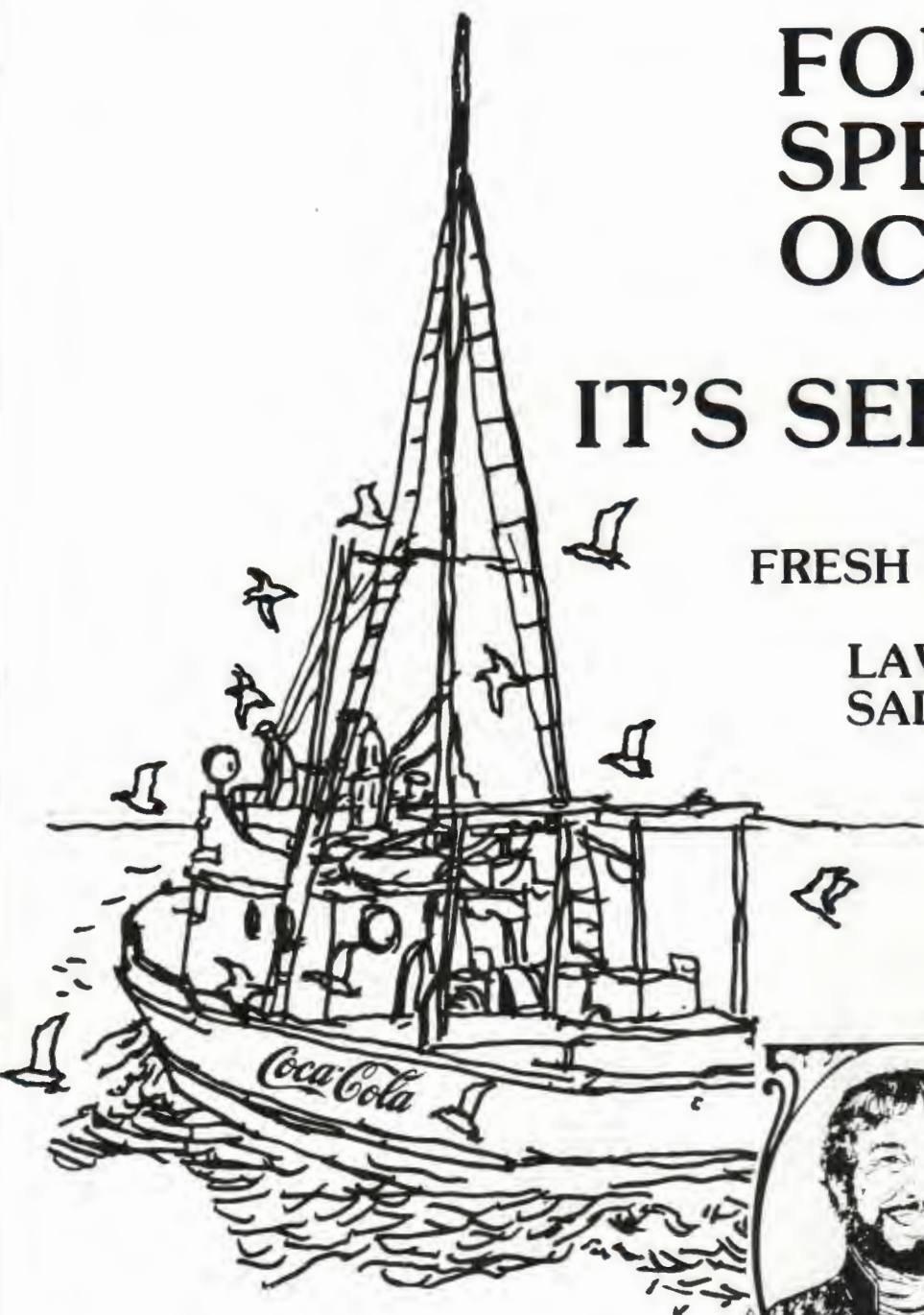
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Editor's Notes

With this issue, *Student Magazine* marks the close of its first year of serving the student community at CU and across Colorado. We graciously thank our readers for their continued support. And we thank our advertisers for their patronage of this endeavor over the last year. Next year promises to be even more exciting as *Student Magazine* expands its efforts to serve students' needs.

Student Magazine focuses this month on a critical area for the security of the United States: Central America. U.N. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick sets forth the facts on Nicaraguan aggression in Central America. Richard Araujo, Latin American analyst at the Heritage Foundation, comments on the realities of the El Salvadoran crisis. Carl Oesterle reports on two Afghan freedom fighters who recently spoke to students at CU.

We also take a critical look at Senator Gary Hart's presidential ambitions, concluding that as President, Senator Hart would be a disaster waiting to happen. James J. Kilpatrick and Senator Jesse Helms are featured in Commentary. *Student Magazine* also begins with this issue a new feature, *HAEC VITA*, short commentaries on the events of the day.

We encourage any student interested in journalism—advertising, writing, photography, etc., to stop by our new office at the University of Colorado in University Memorial Center Room 416. We also congratulate Publisher John Carson, who is graduating and will be attending Cornell Law School next year, for winning the Thomas Jefferson Award.

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Letters

Gandhi Faulted

I was disappointed to see that your review of the film *Gandhi* (March, 1983), like most others, simply whitewashed the film and failed to take note of any historical inaccuracies the film presents as fact.

Gandhi the film is nothing more than a thinly-veiled paid political announcement for the government of India. In fact, India provided nearly one-third of the funding for Richard Attenborough's epic morality tale.

There are many historical data which would be relevant to any serious historical study of Mahandas K. Gandhi. Attenborough presents the viewer with nothing of Gandhi's rigidly racist view of the caste system. Furthermore, the film alludes not one wit to Gandhi's total absence of concern for the blacks in South Africa during his time there.

The film does not tell us about Gandhi's suicidal and naive attitude towards Hitler. Nor are we told of the events subsequent to the British "massacre" at Amritsar in 1919. Upwards of a million Hindus and Muslims were killed by their own hands—but we hear not a word of this event in the

film. Rather only the anti-colonial (read: anti-America) object lesson is presented.

Gandhi as a film is flawed, and highly inaccurate and unreliable as a work of history. That reviewers in the country, by and large, have failed to see *Gandhi* in its true light is a sad commentary on film criticism in general.

Cordially,
Roger Green

Congratulations

It is good to hear from you and I congratulate you on the first issue of *Student Magazine*. It is professional in both appearance and content. It is a real scoop on your part to have an interview with Attorney General Smith and your wide range of articles should appeal to the wide variety of interests found on your campus.

I embrace the pro-life position and hence would award the palm to Paul Keyser in his debate with Brooke Bovard. Ms. Bovard's first point that the fetus who

does not pay taxes is not entitled to the same protection of the law accorded those who do, would likewise deprive of their civil rights the millions of Americans who live on government welfare or other subsidies. Her second point about the rights of the pregnant woman is easy to answer; she has exactly the same rights as anyone else and not the "right" to injure another.

All best wishes to you and your associates and much success.

Sincerely,
Edmund A. Optiz

Trash!

Having now seen two issues of *Student Magazine* it is safe to say that your publication is nothing more than the same right-wing trash perpetrated by others of your ilk. This campus would be much better off were you to leave.

Sincerely,
Marty Morin

W E ' R E H E R E F O R Y O U



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Campus

CU Students Today Pursue New Idealism

by Steve Wilmsen

The 1960s.

The image of the era is one of demonstrations, sit-ins, bell-bottom jeans, drugs and violence. Tune in, turn on and drop out was the motto.

Beyond that image though, what were the attitudes and ideals of the students and how do they compare with the attitudes and ideals of students today?

"The greatest difference," says University of Colorado's dean of arts and sciences from 1963 to 1980, William Briggs, "is that students today are much more career oriented than they were then."

In the '60s, a unique idealism emerged because of moral questions that arose because of Vietnam, he said.

"The deferment of college students left only the poor and minorities to fight the war for us," he said. "This raised questions of morality in the minds of students and keyed off a whole sequence of idealism."

Students today, on the other hand, come to college with a career choice in mind and pursue it because the degree will get them a job. This is largely because of economic uncertainty, he said.

The students of the '60s tended to study courses in the liberal arts and designed their own curriculum, said Briggs. At that time, we dropped almost all policies on academic advising because students wanted to learn things their own way.

Today's students are usually more restricted to a narrow course of study, especially in the vocational areas, he said.

"I think it is important to have a broad education—and I think

companies now are starting to realize that the graduate with a broad background is more valuable as an employee than the graduate who has a narrow one," he said.

"Another thing that concerns me," he said, "is that, whereas students 20 years ago wanted to learn just for the sake of learning and so worked hard at it, today's students seem bent on doing as little work as possible for a grade."

"Students today need to explore a little bit academically and do things because they love them. There needs to be some passion for it to be worth while."

Charles Middleton, the present associate dean of arts and sciences, student academic affairs, presents a slightly different perspective.

"It is true that students today are much more career oriented than they were in the '60s, but that doesn't mean students today have lost their idealism. I think students will always be idealistic. It's their nature. It's the time of life. The only difference in students now is they have a different way of expressing it. They are working more within the system rather than protesting against it," he said.

Middleton agrees with Briggs that the change was brought about because of the economy.

"Concerns were different then," said Middleton. "Students in the '60s didn't have to worry about getting a job after graduation—a bigger worry was getting drafted. Now the tables have turned. There isn't a fear of getting drafted but there is of not getting a job."

The goals students aim for are universal, he said. Students are fresh

with ideas and solutions to the problems of the establishment and they work to correct them. That is what students will always do. The difference arises because the world around them—the economy, social problems—shapes the form of their idealism, Middleton said.

"Students of the '60s were motivated by social, moral and political issues, he said. There were a lot of special interest groups that ultimately helped initiate some of the minority programs and peace and conflict studies, he said.

Students today are pressed by more subtle uncertainties of the future, such as nuclear war, he said. This uncertainty seems to have led to a "hurry up and get it while you can because it may not be there tomorrow" attitude, he said.

Both Middleton and Briggs offered some advice for students:

Middleton:

Never take no for an answer until you are convinced your opponent has some reason to be that way.

Briggs:

Form sound principles and work hard, be that in school or otherwise, because it pays off. Learn for the sake of learning and don't be afraid to accept new challenges. It's important to go where you haven't gone.

Middleton has been an associate dean of arts and sciences at CU for four years.

Briggs teaches mathematics at CU. He was dean of arts and sciences from 1963 to 1980. He came to teach mathematics at CU in 1955.

Steve Wilmsen is a junior in the University of Colorado Journalism School.



The Program Council Staff,
posing informally.

Program Council: "CU's Entertainers"

by Joan Kleinschnitz

The bright walls are covered with glossy photos of rock stars. People run in and out with media budgets and bags of "Blade Runner" buttons. The phone rings, the music topples across the desks and the typewriters clack busily along.

This is the office of C.U.'s Program Council, the place where Boulder's fun starts.

Bill Charney, the director of Program Council, seems to love the stir. He's been a part of the self-supporting, student-run group for almost five full years now.

"Program Council exists for two reasons," he said. "The reason that is obvious to the world is entertainment. We try to provide the best entertainment at the best price.

"The less obvious reason, but more important in my opinion, is that it gives students an opportunity to get experience in the 'real world'."

Program Council is the student organization that brings concerts to Boulder, movies to campus, and the Trivia Bowl and Alferd Packer Day to the UMC. Program Council brought Tom Petty, Jefferson Starship,

Kansas, Devo, the Who, Jethro Tull, and the Stray Cats to Boulder this year.

It takes a lot of people to pull off all of these events. The council consists of about 150 people, all of whom are students. The jobs they do vary from guarding the field after a football game to laying out ads in the office.

When students first get involved in the group, they are expected to volunteer for work at many of the events. After a semester, students can get paid for jobs, by working the ticket counter at the movies, for instance.

Program Council can offer students experience in all areas of business, especially finance and accounting. Students can learn about production, publicity and promotion. And good, practical experience can be obtained in office and personnel management.

Under the main director is the core of the council, made up of seven directors: business, media, publicity, production, security/personnel, and film series coordinator. It takes a lot of hard work to get one of these positions. Charney estimates that these jobs turn over about once every

year and a half. So there is room for advancement.

Charney said C.U.'s program has a national reputation for being one of the best of its kind. He doesn't see it as a kind of "junior league" in the entertainment field at all.

"If this really is a junior league, then we're the senior of the juniors," he said.

"I remember a time when I thought my career at Program Council would be complete if I could be backstage just once," said Charney. Since then Charney has met Peter Townsend, Robin Williams, almost everyone in the Who, Chubby Checker, Bruce Springsteen and the members of Supertramp. He's even watched a baseball game while sitting next to Mick Jagger. Charney said he has met "just about anybody who's played Boulder."

If students are interested in getting involved, Charney suggests they stop by the office and hang around a little while. He suggests getting to know people on the staff and volunteering to do some work.

"Show a little initiative, a little persistence," he said. "You can't just coast in."

At the beginning of the semester next year Program Council will hold an organizational meeting. Students are asked to fill out a form so that a bank of phone numbers can be built up.

The reasons for becoming a part of the group extend beyond the practical, said the entertainment veteran.

"It's a chance to get involved. If you're a guard at a concert and people leave with a smile, then you know you made a contribution," he said.

Don't expect to be paid much—though, (manager's salaries start at \$25/week and skyrocket up to a big \$100/week at the council)—but do expect to have a lot of fun. That's what it's for.

"Come on up and check us out," said Charney. The Program Council's office is on the fourth floor of the UMC in room 420.

Joan Kleinschnitz is a junior in the C.U. Journalism School.

Campus Events

College Republicans vs. Campus Democrats

On Sunday, April 24th, C.U.'s College Republicans and Campus Democrats faced off in a benefit softball game for the Colorado chapter of the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation. State Representatives Sandy Hume (R-Boulder) and David Skaggs (D-Boulder) played for their respective campus organizations in the hopes of raising money for this worthwhile cause.

Freedom Day: a Celebration of America

Wednesday May 4, will be the first annual Freedom Day. This event which is funded by UCSU will be a one-day celebration. The main event is a rally at noon in the fountain area where hot dogs and apple pie will be sold. Throughout the day there will be four debates scheduled in the UMC on various aspects of freedom.

Greek Week Greek Week for 1983 ran from April 8 to April 30. The event opened with the Panhellenic/IFC Smooch-a-thon with the benefits going to the Macky Renovation Project. On April 13, the Songfest was held with a huge turnout from the various fraternities and sororities. There was also a Teeter-Totter-a-Thon to benefit the Ronald McDonald House.

Fundamental Freedoms Radio Station KGNU 88.5 FM continues to broadcast its series on Fundamental Freedoms: The Bill of Rights. The show is broadcast on Monday evenings, 6:00-7:00 p.m., April 14-May 23, 1983. This series is made possible by a grant from the Colorado Humanities Program and the United Bank of Broomfield.

Graduation This year's graduation will occur on Friday, May 20th. The festivities start at 9:30 in the Events Center.

FINAL EXAM SCHEDULE

	Exam Time
Wednesday, May 11, 1983	
Ger 101, 102, 201, 202: Comm 260	0730-1030
Chem 103, 104, 106, 482, 582 Thursday night classes	1130-1430
0930 hours classes meeting T, TH	1530-1830
11 classes meeting MWF, M-F	1930-2230
Thursday, May 12	
Acct 200, all sections	0730-1030
1600 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	1130-1430
1100 hours classes meeting T, TH	1530-1830
1530 hours classes meeting T, TH	1930-2230
Friday, May 13	
Span 101, 102, 105	0730-1030
Q M 201, B AD 200, A M 136, MATH 108, Tuesday night classes	1130-1430
0800 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	1530-1830
1300 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	1930-2230
Saturday, May 14	
All Monday night classes	0730-1030
0800 hours classes meeting T, TH	1130-1430
1230 hours classes meeting T, TH	1530-1830
1500 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	1930-2230
Monday, May 16	
EPOB 122, Phys 322	0730-1030
Phys 102, 111, 112, 213, 301, 302, 332	
Wednesday night classes	1130-1430
1000 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	1530-1830
1400 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	1930-2230
Tuesday, May 17	
0900 hours classes meeting MWF, M-F	0730-1030
1200 hours classes meeting MWF	1130-1430
1400 hours classes meeting T, TH	1530-1830

A Celebration of Freedom

Wednesday May 4, 1983

Rally UMC Fountain area

11:45

Hot Dogs — Apple Pie

Speakers

America Day Debate Series

John Locke vs. John Mill

UMC 235 9:30-10:30

Capitalism vs. Socialism

UMC 159 2:00-3:00

May 4th

Environmental Policy and the Future of Freedom

UMC 235 10:30-11:30

The U.S. Role in El Salvador

UMC 159 3:30-5:00

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO



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Afghans Bring Struggle to University of Colorado

by Carl Oesterle

On Wednesday March 16, 1983, two men, Omar Samad and Fahim Haider, visited Colorado as part of a continuing effort to bring the realities of Afghanistan and the Soviet invasion of that country to the American public. Both men were active in the underground anti-communist resistance movement before they were forced to flee due to threats against their lives and the lives of their families. The following provides an interesting look at Afghanistan's political history combined with the very enlightening input of two men who were in Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet invasion in December 1979. Both men plan to return to Afghanistan before the end of this year to rejoin the Afghan patriots in their struggle against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late December of 1979 undoubtedly dealt a severe blow to freedom in Afghanistan and throughout the world. However, it has aroused a patriotic spirit in the Afghan people so strong and so emotional that the Soviet Union's long-standing practice of wielding military might to subdue a people has met fierce resistance. The Kremlin's policy of subjugation by force is at last being contested by a people who are willing and able to fight for their freedom. This fight has been happening for many years in Afghanistan. Previously, it was a struggle for social, economic, and political reform. The events of December 1979 have transformed it into a fight for survival.

Afghanistan's location as a "buffer," first between Tsarist Russia and the British Empire and later between the Soviet Union and the American-sponsored Baghdad pact, resulted in Afghanistan's continued existence as an independent state. However, this situation isolated Afghanistan from most significant events in the "outside" world. Most notably, it delayed any advance towards social, economic, and political reform and modernization. An era of reform

began under King Amanullah in 1919 but this awakening was halted abruptly with his fall from power in 1929. A brief revival occurred in the late 1940's with the election of a 120-member parliament in 1949. This, Afghanistan's first experiment in "liberal parliamentarism" was ended in September of 1953 when Mohammed Daoud Khan imposed himself as Prime Minister of Afghanistan. Daoud ruled with an iron hand until 1963 when he retired. Shortly after he stepped down, the people once again began to call for a return to a parliamentary form of government. In 1964 a constitutional monarchy was created and relatively free elections were held in 1965 and 1969. According to Omar Samad, an Afghan who lived during the monarchy, life during the monarchy, "got better all the time, but reform takes time and in Afghanistan too, it was very slow." The result was that on the 17th of July, 1973, Mohammed Daoud Khan once again took power in a bloodless coup. He ousted his cousin, King Zahir Shah, and abolished the monarchy. Daoud gave

himself enormous power by installing himself as head of State, chief executive, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and leader of the sole political party. Daoud is characterized by Samad as being an, "ambitious dictator and a son-of-a-bitch. However," Samad insists, "things were still much better under Daoud than they are under the communists." In April of 1978, a complex alliance between two pro-Moscow communist factions, Khalq ("people") and Parcham ("flag"), orchestrated a successful "revolution" in which Daoud was overthrown and he, and his family, and his cabinet members were arrested and executed.

It is the events of 1978 which led to the eventual Soviet invasion in late 1979. The Soviets claim that the Afghan dictator at the time, a man named Hafizullah Amin who had risen to power after intense infighting among the Khalqi and Parchami factions, made, according to Pravda, "an insistent request to the Soviet Union for immediate assistance and support in the struggle against external aggression." Just days after Amin's so called "request," he was charged as a western spy and sympathizer and was executed. The Soviet Union began the invasion of Afghanistan on December 24, 1979 with the airlift of Soviet troops from



border areas to the Afghan capital of Kabul and surrounding vicinities. Approximately 80,000 Soviet troops entered Afghanistan on December 27, 1979 and today there are approximately 130,000 Russian, Cuban, East German, Bulgarian, and Vietnamese troops in Afghanistan attempting to pacify the Afghan resistance movement.

The American people have been condemned to ignorance regarding the realities of Afghanistan since the Russian invasion by an American media which has virtually ignored the most blatant act of hegemonic aggression since World War II. The American government too, despite its freedom-supporting rhetoric, has turned its head to the plight of Afghanistan. Why has America, the foremost defender of freedom in the world, ignored the Afghan people's fight for freedom? "I do not know," laments Samad, "I simply do not know. All you read about here is El Salvador. It is a problem for your country but 1,000,000 Afghans have been killed in the last four years. Men, women, and children have been killed just because they were trying to live

free. The Soviet invasion has created the largest refugee population in the world. 4,500,000 Afghans have been forced to flee their own country. Thousands of people are leaving every week. It is a human issue. Forget politics. It is a human issue."

Haider claims that a major reason Americans haven't heard about Afghanistan is because of very successful Soviet propaganda

**"It is a human issue.
Forget the politics, it is
a human issue!"**

campaigns. "The Soviet propaganda is too strong...they bring attention to other causes...like the nuclear freeze. They bring 300,000 or 400,000 people to demonstrate in Europe and Washington, D.C. but there is a war going on in Afghanistan. The nuclear freeze is a good idea but the possibility of a nuclear freeze and the reality of chemical and biological warfare in Afghanistan are two different things."

"Afghanistan has 5,000 years of history," exclaims Samad, "and we have never been occupied like this

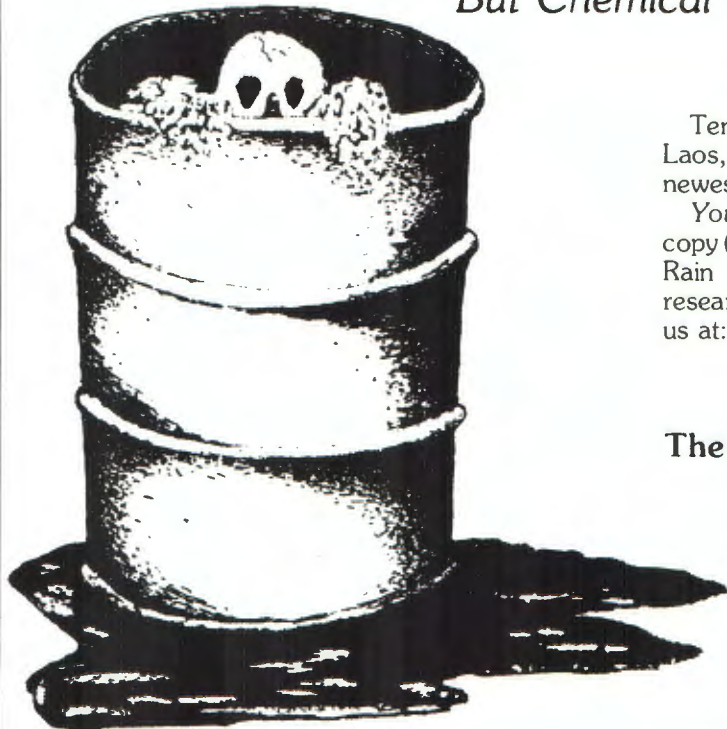
before. Since the beginning of the invasion we have asked for the support of the free world, including and especially the United States. We don't want American soldiers or advisors or Marines. That is a no-no and is against our traditions and our beliefs. All we want are some small pieces of military hardware...specifically we want the type of rocket we can use to shoot down the Russian helicopters." "Flying tanks," as the Afghans call the Soviet helicopters, have become the most successful weapon for the Soviets and they represent a major obstacle in the freedom fighter's struggle. "We cannot shoot them down," states Samad, "to do so we must either shoot the pilot through an open window or shoot a certain wire near the rotor on the tail of the helicopter."

Despite the tremendous odds against them, the Afghan freedom fighters presently claim that 80 to 85 percent of Afghan soil is free. "The Russian soldiers are cowards," claims Samad, "they are afraid to get out of their tanks and armored vehicles." Apparently this is because the Soviet

Continued on page 24

Nuclear War is a terrifying possibility. . . .

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Commentary

Campus Parasites

by James J. Kilpatrick

They identified themselves, these six little parasites, as John Doe, Richard Roe, Paul Poe, Bradley Boe, Carl Coe and Frank Foe. On March 9, in a U.S. District Court in Minnesota, they won an injunction that will let them feed upon the body politic next fall.

The six, you will have surmised, are youths 18 to 21 who have wilfully refused to register under the Selective Service Act for a possible draft soemtime in the future. Having thus spit in the eye of their country, they are demanding tax funds under the Higher Education Act in order to assist them in completing college. District Judge Donald D. Alsop, in an opinion he plainly regretted having to write, upheld their position.

It is an infuriating situation. The suit arose from an act of Congress last November, sponsored chiefly by S.I. Hayakawa in the Senate and by Gerald B. Solomon, R-N.Y., in the House. By lopsided votes in the two chambers, Congress undertook to deny student loans or other aid to young men who had not registered under the law.

"It is a real travesty," said Hayakawa, "when those who will not register can turn around and apply for educational benefits." Solomon said his purpose was to deprive every young man of any form of federal assistance "unless he has obeyed the law."

As a practical matter, the linkage makes sense. No young man is compelled to apply for a federally subsidized student loan. He can seek private financial assistance; he can

apply for a scholarship; he can look for a job and work his way through college. In the case at hand, the six parasites offered no proof of their allegation that they "will be unable to complete their education without (federal) financial aid." These sorry products of the Me Generation simply hollered, gimme, gimme, gimme.

As a matter of law, as Judge Alsop made clear, the 1982 act has serious shortcomings. One of the almost forgotten provisions of the Constitution forbids Congress to pass

any "bill of attainder." The clause originated in the old English practice by which Parliament could condemn an individual to death for treason without the formality of a trial in court. Our own founding fathers, determined to keep the legislative and judicial branches separate, prohibited Congress from passing any law that might effectively find guilt and impose punishment on whole groups of people.

That was Judge Alsop's ruling in the case of the six parasites. By denying them student loans, Congress was seeking to punish them without a trial. The six would be "attainted."

Judge Alsop made it clear that he
continued on next page



Going Home for Christmas

by Senator Jesse Helms

The more things change, the more they stay the same.

I shall always remember how disgruntled the U.S. Senate became just before Christmas 1982 when so many Senators were willing to vote for the final version of gasoline-tax legislation which they had never seen—just so they could go home for Christmas. It didn't matter that it was a very bad piece of legislation that would destroy more jobs than it created, or that many of its provisions were outrageously unfair and inequitable.

The Senators just wanted to go home, no matter what. I remember remarking that if the russians had been landing at New York Harbor, Senators probably would be saying, "Don't bother me with trivialities—I have a plane to catch."



The very same attitude prevailed in the U.S. Senate on December 22-23, 1913 when a very important piece of legislation was before the Senate. As was the case in December 1982, most Senators had not read the legislation. They had no earthly idea precisely what the bill contained. But, like their counterparts in 1982, they wanted to go home for Christmas.

I was amused to note the similarity of the "debate" in 1913 and 1982. Senator Ollie M. James of Kentucky wanted to go home. He complained: "Our train leaves here at 3 o'clock."

Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado retorted: "I am not going to take any train. I am not worrying about the train myself. I have been here all summer. I do not think this (legislation) should go through without some debate from some of us on this side who are not satisfied with it."

Before I go further, I think I should
continued on next page

KILPATRICK (continued)

did not condone their conduct: "This court is firmly of the opinion that those persons subject to the draft registration law owe their country a duty to comply with that law in all respects." He intended to afford no solace "to those who willfully violate that law."

Nevertheless, he felt compelled to enter the requested injunction, and we may suppose that Messrs. Doe, Roe, Poe and their companions swaggered snickering from the courtroom. If the U.S. attorney in Minnesota should now seek to indict them for failure to register, we may assume that they will howl piteously of selective prosecution by a chagrined and vindictive government. At the moment, the six are beyond the law; they are also, for some time to come, beneath contempt. □

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HELMS (continued)

identify the piece of legislation that was before the U.S. Senate on December 22-23, 1913. What was it?

It was a bill to establish the Federal Reserve system—probably the most far-reaching piece of legislation of the 20th Century in terms of turning over to the federal government almost absolute control of banks, interest rates, etc.

Regardless of whether you favor such controls, it is an inescapable fact that the Federal Reserve system sets the interest rates which you have to pay when you borrow money.

Yet, the Federal Reserve System was created by a U.S. Senate in 1913, on December 23, by Senators who for the most part had not even glanced at the final draft of the legislation.

Senator Joseph L. Bristow of Kansas complained that the Senate was being asked to "rush through" a piece of legislation, highly technical in nature, without Senators knowing anything about the provisions of the bill.

He charged that the Senate was being asked to approve the creation of a "political banking machine" that "...contains a concentration of power that has never been lodged in any Federal officer since the Government was established... where are we coming to in the centralization of power?"

Finally the vote occurred—at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of December

23, 1913. The legislation creating the Federal Reserve system passed, 43-25, with 27 Senators absent.

The Senate adjourned, and the Senators went home for Christmas—after having approved an enormously important piece of legislation that is still, in 1983, affecting the lives of all Americans.

And it was legislation that few

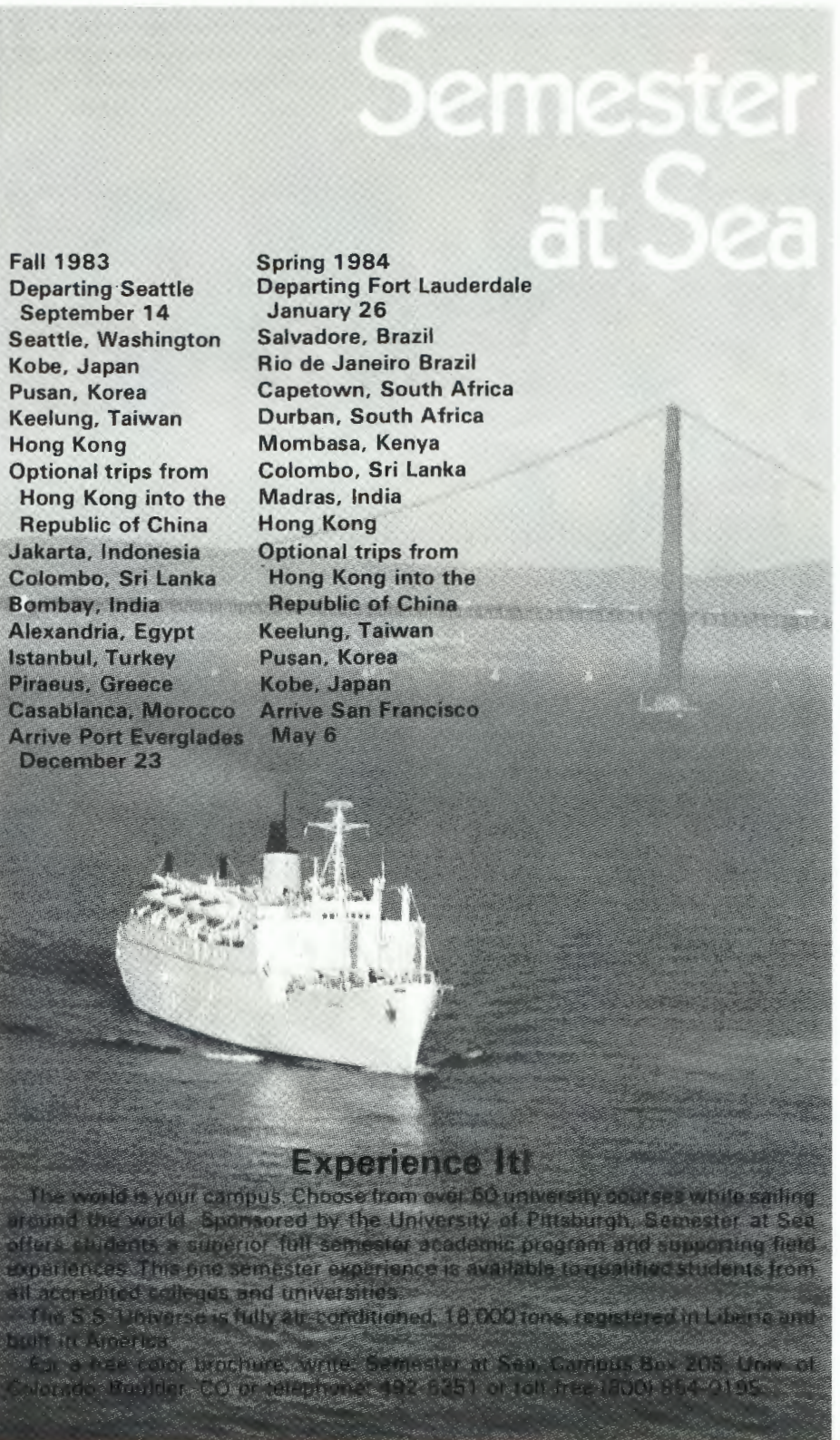
Senators, if any, really understood.

The more things change, the more they stay the same. □

♦♦♦

"I am a domestic congressman, the leader of the House, and my knowledge of foreign affairs, to be perfectly truthful, is extremely limited."

—House Speaker Tip O'Neill



Semester at Sea

Fall 1983	Spring 1984
Departing Seattle	Departing Fort Lauderdale
September 14	January 26
Seattle, Washington	Salvatore, Brazil
Kobe, Japan	Rio de Janeiro Brazil
Pusan, Korea	Capetown, South Africa
Keelung, Taiwan	Durban, South Africa
Hong Kong	Mombasa, Kenya
Optional trips from	Colombo, Sri Lanka
Hong Kong into the	Madras, India
Republic of China	Hong Kong
Jakarta, Indonesia	Optional trips from
Colombo, Sri Lanka	Hong Kong into the
Bombay, India	Republic of China
Alexandria, Egypt	Keelung, Taiwan
Istanbul, Turkey	Pusan, Korea
Piraeus, Greece	Kobe, Japan
Casablanca, Morocco	Arrive San Francisco
Arrive Port Everglades	May 6
December 23	

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Hart's New Democracy

by Gregory Alan Smith

In the upcoming months, the public will likely hear a great deal about Colorado Senator Gary Hart, now seriously making a bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984. Although considered an outside shot for that nomination, Hart will probably have a public and media appeal, especially on college campuses, reminiscent of the Independent John Anderson campaign or, even more so, the George McGovern campaign in 1972. In fact, as we will see, this is really the only differentiating factor between Hart and the other Democratic candidates aiming for 1984: He has a very slick, if bland, image which enables him to avoid being instantly identified with the more established Democratic leadership with which the public is largely disillusioned.

This vestal image will probably not be enough to win Hart the nomination though; such altar-boy appeal rarely has enough political muscle to tackle such large objectives. In recognition of

this, Hart has styled himself as an 'issues-oriented' candidate (as if there was ever a candidate who didn't make that claim). In effect, Hart has groomed himself as a bright, energetic and creative altar-boy. This willingness to speak on 'the issues' will be his undoing, however.

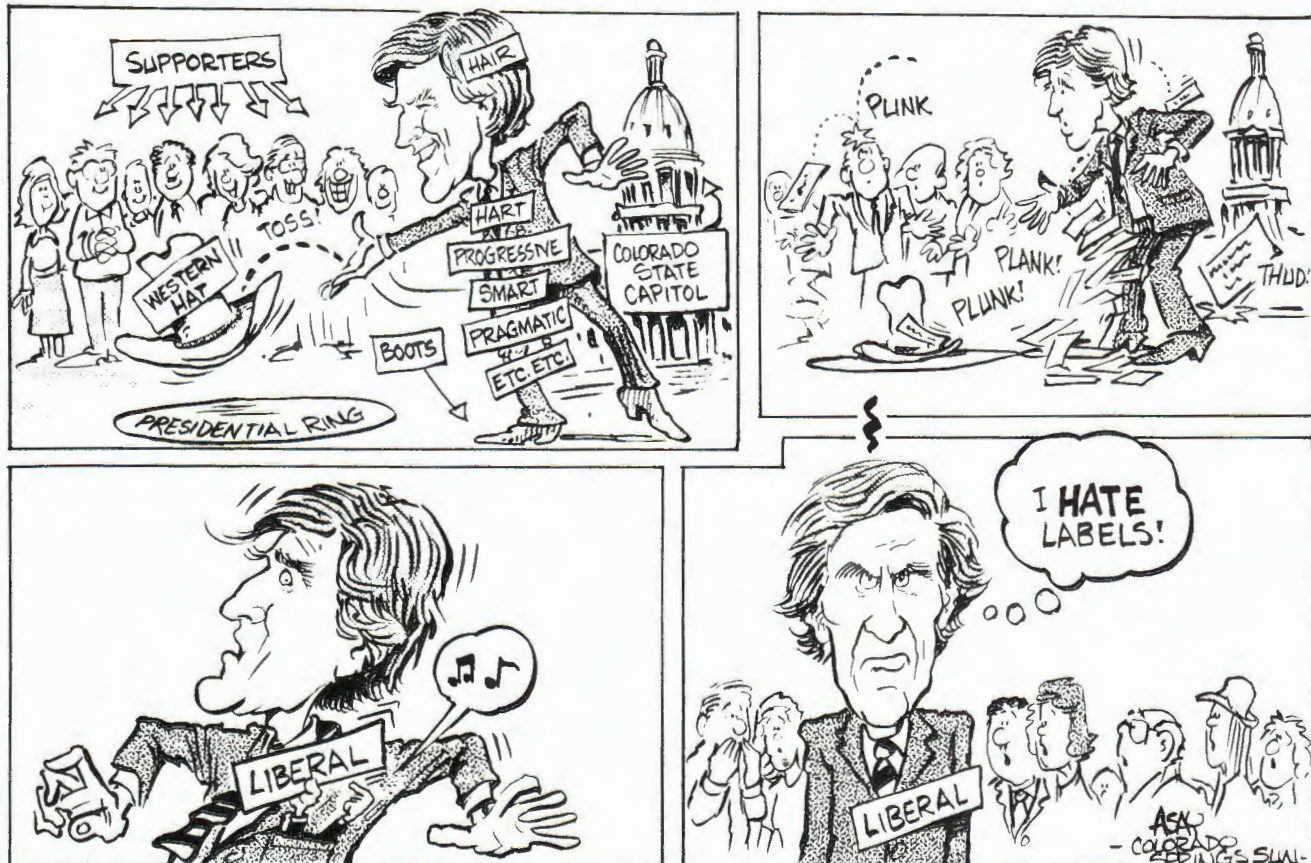
Gary Hart would be a disastrous president. In the coming months you will be told again and again why he should be elected. This series of articles will, on the other hand, attempt to demonstrate why there exists no compelling reason to vote for Hart, while there exists a plethora of compelling reasons *not* to.

Hart is, in many ways, the pivotal candidate for critical examination. Most of the others, Mondale, Cranston, Glenn, etc., are taken seriously by few rational voters. In 1980, the people overwhelmingly expressed their dissatisfaction with the disastrous Democratic policies which had brought this country to its knees. The more established

candidates of that party don't even pretend to offer anything new, with the exception of the now vogue nuclear freeze issue. To that event, Hart is the candidate many will turn to in hopes of a fresh approach. That's what he wants—but he seems rather short of fresh ideas. Hart is really nothing but a big S.O.T. (same old thing), and so a critical examination of him is therefore a critical examination of Democratic doctrine as a whole.

If, after scrutiny, you still support Hart—well, that's your prerogative to exercise. But since you are reading this article, you probably want information; you want to be educated about the issues and the candidates. If you are also someone who formulates their opinion on a rational examination of the facts, then you should listen to the critical perspective in your quest for truth. Let your reason be the final arbiter.

Gary Hart comes across with a very high-tech, brushed aluminum sort of approach. He is constantly talking about the future, about the challenges and answers for America in the '80's and '90's. He claims that the 'old'



approaches just won't work in the 'post-industrialization age.' The world is changing, says Hart, and we need dynamic new leadership to guide us in creative 'new' approaches. "If we wish to preserve and protect our traditional principles and values, we must find new ways to realize them," says Hart.

His just-released book *A New Democracy: A Democratic Vision for the 1980's and Beyond* is his attempt to appear as a serious and pragmatic political thinker. When a reader cuts through the pedantic rhetoric, the following "agenda to help us resolve our national struggle and ensure the strength of our national character" emerges: increased spending on education and entitlement programs, some sort of national health plan/insurance, an increase of the tax burden on the higher income brackets, presidential-issued wage and price guidelines, presidential direction of industry, export subsidies, federal jobs programs, tighter environmental controls and a nuclear arms freeze. To the 'challenges' of the 1980's he offers us only the same destructive policies that his party has pursued for the last fifty years.

Although he blatantly denies it, an astute reader of his book should realize that all Hart proposes is a battalion of "great society" programs dressed in Spandex for the new generation. Hart served as George McGovern's campaign manager in 1972, and there is really very little difference between the two.

But Hart is defensive on this point. Perhaps he honestly believes that there is a difference between a 'tax-based incomes policy' (TIP), and wage-price controls, or that once an industry has received export subsidies they can be weaned from them. Perhaps not, but whatever the case, he desires, and needs, people to see him as an innovator. He recently went so far as to chastize other Democratic candidates for 'stealing' his ideas.

Gary Hart wants to be president very much. The man is ambition personified, although he says he feels public 'service' is a 'noble' calling. This fascination with the oval office is crucial to an understanding of the proposed democracy which he calls 'new.'

Gary Hart sees the federal

government as a vast reservoir of resources for the management of society, and he views the presidency as the epitome of power, prestige, authority and responsibility in America. His book is a running list of actions which he feels the president should take, with the obvious implication that he should have the job. This is nothing new; there have been ambitious presidents in the past, most notably F.D.R. who tried to effectively eliminate judicial restrictions on his office by stacking the supreme court.

That the federal government is

responsible for the welfare and actions of all citizens is standard liberal catechism. The concept of Washington guiding the production and distribution of goods, the education of children and the use of land for the benefit of all of us has been the basis for all of the crumbling great society and new deal superstructure which is already weighing down our nation. Hart wants to rebuild it shiny and new.

The actions of men are guided by the way they think, and the way they think by their basic assumptions. The

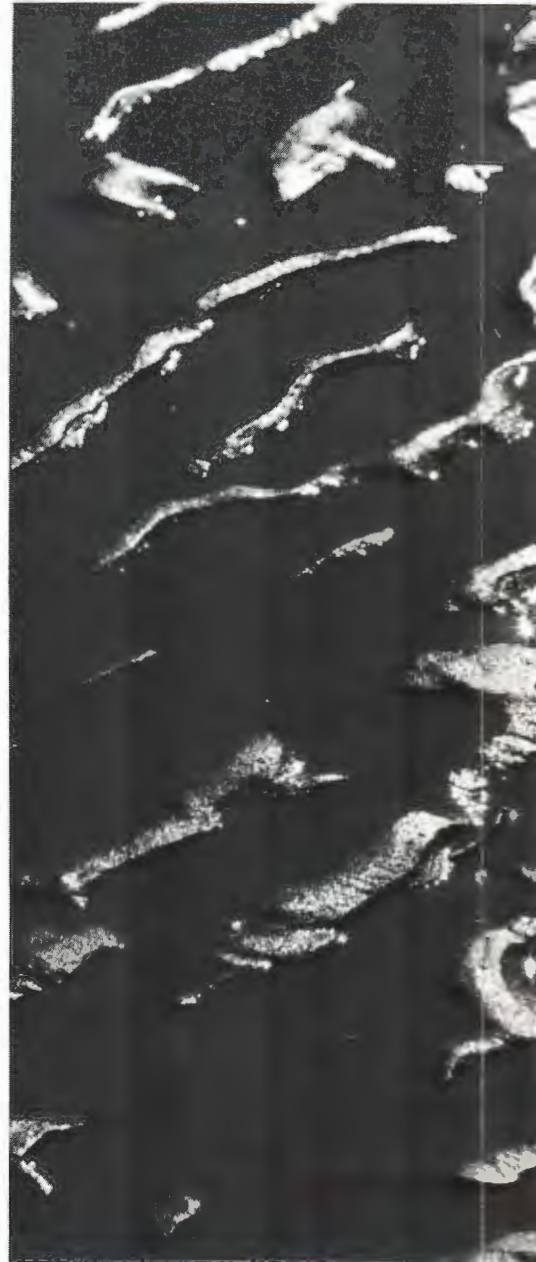
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Impressions





FOCUS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Nicaraguan Aggression Against Central America

by Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

This article is adapted from a speech given at the United Nations Security Council on March 25, 1983 by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

We do not live or act, Jacob Burkhardt observed, for ourselves alone, but for the past and future as well. What happens here in the Security Council reflects the expectations and hopes of those who framed the institution and defines the hopes and expectations that may be reasonably attached to it for the future....

For let us be clear that Nicaragua has closed its political system and Nicaragua does engage ever more openly in aggression against her neighbors.... Nicaragua's new dictators not only receive help, they also offer fraternal assistance to armed guerrillas seeking to overthrow the governments of neighboring states. Indeed, the representatives of Nicaragua no longer even bother to deny that they train and export guerrillas and arms to and through neighboring countries, though it has not been long since they answered with wide-eyed lies evidence of their many activities aimed at the destruction of the economies and overthrow of the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and other neighboring states.

Between them, Cuba and Nicaragua have managed enough fraternal help to the guerrillas or the region to bring to a halt the economic development that was steadily improving life and prospects in the area; to sow death and destruction in El Salvador and reap insecurity in Honduras, Costa Rica, and elsewhere in the region.

Examples abound of the systematic creation and support by Cuba and Nicaragua of war against the other Central American states:

In December, 1981, after meetings in Havana with Salvadoran guerrilla leaders, Fidel Castro directed that external supplies of arms sold to FMLN units be stepped up to make possible an offensive to disrupt any chance for a peaceful vote in the March, 1982 elections.

Indeed, the representatives of Nicaragua no longer even bother to deny that they train and export guerrillas and arms to and through neighboring countries.

In addition to vitally needed ammunition, these supply operations included greater quantities of more sophisticated heavier weapons. 1982 deliveries included M-60 machine guns, M-79 grenade launchers, and M-72 antitank weapons, thus significantly increasing guerrilla firepower. Individual units also regularly received tens of thousands of dollars for routine purchases of non-lethal supplies on commercial markets and payments (including bribes) to enable the clandestine munitions pipeline to function.

After two years of combat, the FMLN headquarters in



Nicaragua has evolved into an extremely sophisticated command and control center. Guerrilla planning and operations in El Salvador are guided from this headquarters in Nicaragua by Cuban and Nicaraguan officers. FMLN headquarters coordinates logistical support for guerrilla units widely spread throughout El Salvador, including food, medicines, clothing, money, and—most importantly—weapons and ammunition.

On March 14, 1982, the FMLN clandestine radio *Venceremos* (then located in El Salvador) broadcast a message to guerrillas in El Salvador urging them "to maintain their fighting spirit 24 hours a day to carry out the missions ordered by the FMLN general command." (emphasis added)

Thus, the Nicaraguans provide the arms and weapons to destroy their neighbor's economy and direct the effort from their territory. But their activities are not restricted to El Salvador. They also seek to subvert their democratic neighbors, Honduras and Costa Rica, while using their territories as intermediary points to channel and disguise outside support for the Salvadoran guerrillas....

The Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras (FMLH) was described in the pro-government Nicaraguan newspaper, *El Nuevo Diario*, by "Octavio," one of its founders, as a political-military organization formed as part of the "increasing regionalization of the Central American conflict." As a result of a raid on November 27, 1981, the Honduran police ultimately captured several members of this group. The captured terrorists told Honduran authorities that the Nicaraguan government had

provided them with funds for travel expenses, as well as explosives. Captured documents and statements by detained guerrillas further indicated that the group was formed in Nicaragua at the instigation of high-level Sandinista leaders. The group's chief of operations resided in Managua and members of the group received military training in Nicaragua and Cuba. Other captured documents revealed that guerrillas at one safehouse were responsible for

Nicaragua demonstrates contempt.... When she supports the Soviet Union's continued brutal occupation of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion and brutal occupation of Cambodia.

transporting arms and munitions into Honduras from Esteli, Nicaragua....

Nicaragua has instigated terrorist actions in Costa Rica, leading to increased tensions between the two countries. Although the Sandinistas denied complicity, the July 3, 1982 bombing of the Honduran airlines office in San Jose took place at Nicaragua's direction, according to German Inzon, a Colombia M-19 member who was arrested by Costa Rican authorities on July 14, 1982. Pinzon, who confessed to placing the bomb, said that Nicaraguan diplomats in Costa Rica had recruited and trained him for the bombing operation. With the help of Pinzon, the Costa Rican government caught the Nicaraguan diplomats *in flagrante*. They were declared *persona non grata* and expelled from Costa Rica on July 17, 1982....

The evidence of systematic, continuing aggression by Nicaragua against her Central American neighbors is as clear as is the evidence

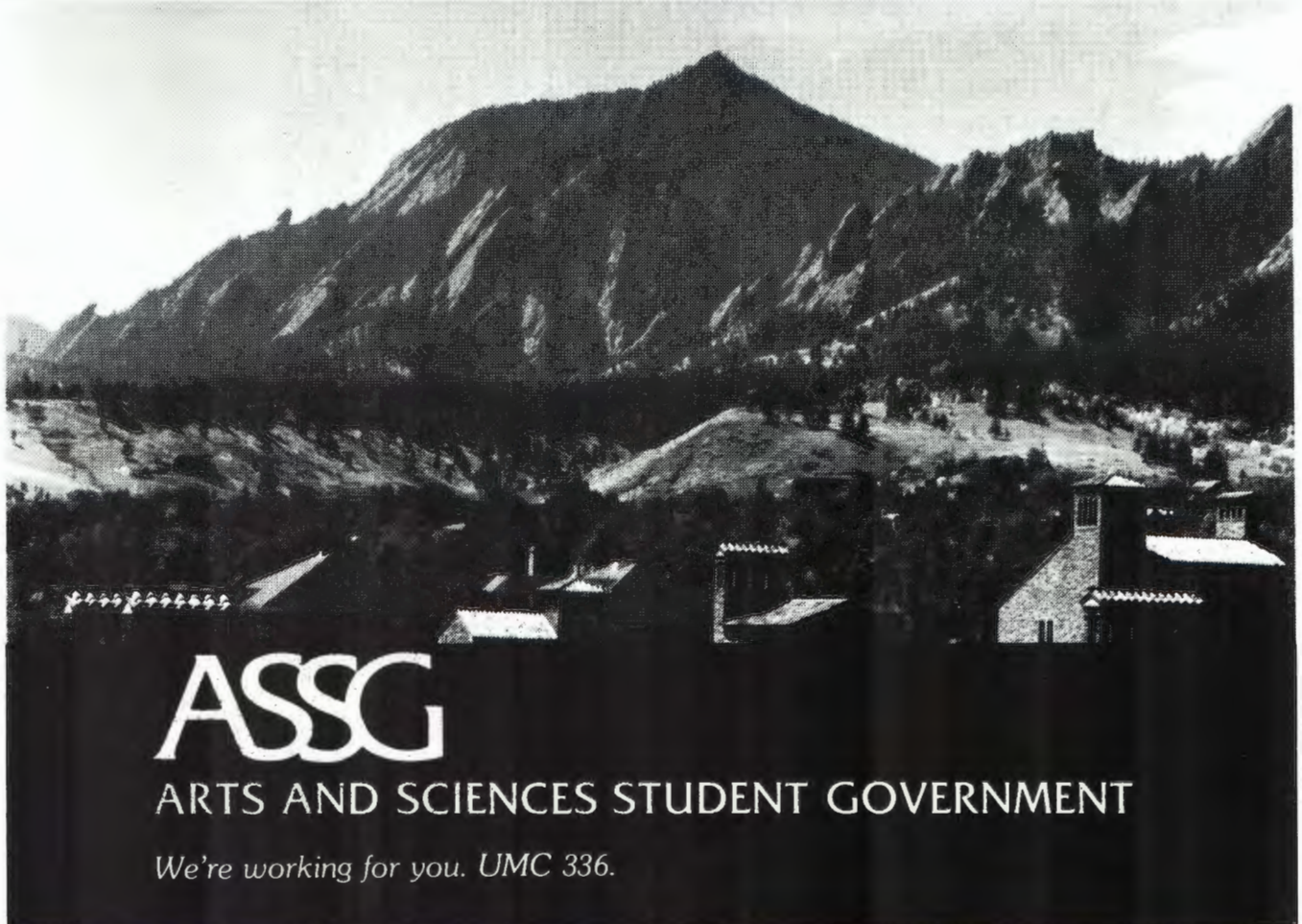
of Nicaragua's repression of her own people and the betrayal of the solemn promises made by her military rulers to the Nicaraguan people, the Organization of American States, and the world.

Of course, massive intervention in the internal affairs of her neighbors is not the only evidence of the junta's contempt for the principles of non-intervention, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, self-determination and the non-use of force.

Nicaragua demonstrates contempt for all these principles of the United Nations Charter when she supports the Soviet Union's continual brutal occupation of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion and brutal occupation of Cambodia. When her so-called Sandinista governors support the invasion and occupation of these countries and the use of chemical weapons against those peoples, they demonstrate how little they deserve the name Sandinista, how utterly they have betrayed the principles and legacy of Sandino. Pablo Chamorro, editor and publisher of *La Prensa* before his assassination and a writer whose name is from time to time invoked by the leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution, wrote of Sandino a passage which I quoted a year ago and which is just as relevant today:

"Sandino should be exalted precisely as a contrast to the Communists who obey signals from Russia and China. Sandino fought against the United States Marines but he did not bring Russian Cossacks to Nicaragua as Fidel Castro did in Cuba. There is a great difference in the Communist Fidel Castro who in his false battle for the independence of his country has filled it with Russian rockets, soldiers, planes and even canned goods and a Sandino who defended the sovereignty of his ground with homemade bombs but without accepting the patronage of another power....

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FOCUS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

El Salvador: The Growing Pains of Democracy

by Richard Araujo

The conflict in El Salvador continues to be viewed in the U.S. within a framework set by the guerrillas and reported by the U.S. media: that of a "prolonged civil war" for national liberation. What's not reported is the fact that an extended conflict is just what the guerrillas want. Their active destabilization of the country over the past year bears this out.

It is indeed remarkable that El Salvador, with its fragile political structure, has managed to remain independent.

Only recently has the American public come to realize that the ultimate goal of Nicaragua's Sandinista regime is to convert their society into a doctrinaire, totalitarian, Marxist-Leninist state and to export this ideology and type of rule throughout Central America. Had the United States not come to El Salvador's aid three years ago, perhaps El Salvador, as well as Honduras, would now be extensions of the Nicaraguan model. It would then have taken the loss of three countries, instead of one, for the American public to realize that the "liberation movements" in Central America have deeper roots than merely the struggle against social and political injustice.

Nowhere is there a better example of the true nature of these "liberation" movements than in El Salvador, where the Salvadoran guerrillas have used terror as a political weapon. Their destruction of El Salvador's infrastructure—the blowing up of bridges, the disruption of ambulance service, and the destruction of railroads and telephone lines—caused \$85 million in damages in the first ten

months of 1982 alone; over a quarter-of-a-million people have been displaced within El Salvador, not to mention the number of refugees in exile; and at least 35,000 people have lost their lives from the violence. They have skillfully used U.S. media coverage to paint a false picture and have planned their actions to coincide with events in Washington. They also seem to enjoy unconditional military, economic and moral support from Nicaragua, Cuba, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and Soviet-bloc nations. And they have established diplomatic posts in Western Europe, Canada and Mexico—and recently sent a representative to the Non-Aligned Conference in India. To view them as strictly indigenous 'comrades in arms' drawn from the ranks of the disadvantaged is a falsehood built upon a lie.

The Salvadoran government, on the other hand, has received only limited and conditional assistance. In

the face of terrorism, it is held up to standards that in the eyes of the world exaggerate the government's shortcomings, without any recognition of the considerable progress that has been made. El Salvador's performance is measured by its success in directing its society toward a democracy, its ability to curtail human rights abuses, and its military achievements in controlling and stopping the violence. Because financial assistance is tied to El Salvador's ability to keep peace, the government rightly must account for its actions. There are no such restraints on the guerrillas however.

If U.S. assistance is going to help improve all aspects of Salvadoran society, it is incumbent on us to help Salvadorans fashion a society that they themselves choose, rather than one that suits our own standards. El Salvador is presently experiencing the growing pains of democracy; it would be unwise and premature to pass

Continued on page 24



Richard Araujo

Women march in the streets of San Salvador in 1979 for Peace and Work, and against Communism. Over 40,000 women participated in the march.

Richard Araujo is a Latin America analyst at the Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. This article, which originally appeared in the Baltimore Sun, is reprinted by permission of the author.

CISPES: Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador ?

by John Carson

Many of you have probably heard of CISPES at some point in time over the last few years. This organization has been marketing itself, particularly on colleges throughout the country as a virtuous crusader for freedom and justice in El Salvador. What that all means in plain English is that they oppose all economic and military aid to El Salvador, and hope for a communist backed guerilla victory.

In the United States the activities of CISPES resemble those of a spoiled child doing everything possible to gain "media attention." The following is taken from a 1982 CISPES newsletter:

"In New York there was a demo beginning at a local congressperson's office, then a march to the Salvadorean mission. Police were very confrontational. During the previous night, someone had painted on the mission wall "U.S. Certified Fascism," this received good press. During the picket a number of people put handprints in red on the mission wall. Two were arrested for this action. Initial reaction to

planning this act of civil disobedience was mixed in the committee. Evaluation afterwards—people believed it was a successful action and based on the analysis of the situation, correct. Future actions of this type will be considered when appropriate.

The organization seems to judge the significance of its events not upon their value or authenticity, but upon the amount of "press" they receive.

CISPES from the beginning has attempted to present itself as independent and somehow unique with regard to well known "leftist" organizations. However, once again returning to the organization's own newsletters one finds they have now aligned themselves with CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft). The justification for this is "that it would be the most appropriate way to support anti-draft work." In addition they have taken on an increasingly "anti-Israel" stance.

Recently CISPES participated in and supported a New York rally which

promoted the slogan "Fund jobs and human needs, not U.S. arms to Israel." If you have been wondering why many members of Colorado CISPES are the same folks who have been jumping around from one "leftist" campus organization to another, you can stop wondering, it makes perfect sense.

CISPES of course has a perfect right to take the positions they do, and to advocate what they wish (within reason) in a democratic society such as ours. The interesting fact however, is that they don't seem to support this right with regard to their opposition. For example our own Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick has consistently been heckled and even prevented from speaking at campuses across the country by students and faculty who oppose her views and support those of organizations such as CISPES. Well, no surprise, we all know that when conservatives state their views it is carrying free speech "too far."

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BOOK REVIEW

The Federalist Review: Hayek and Novak

by Tim Tymkovich

Many classics of political and economic thought rarely make college reading lists. A well-balanced college education will provide exposure to those thinkers who continue to influence political, religious, and cultural leaders. No one doubts the truthfulness of the insightful title to Southern Agrarian Richard Weaver's famous essay, "Ideas Have Consequences." The purpose of this book review column is to explore some of those generally obscure, but exceptionally influential books which have had "consequences" on wide-based social and political movements. Current books of particular significance, potential classics perhaps, will also be reviewed.

A large number of contemporary books can be found extolling the virtues of capitalistic political economies. A sizeable intellectual movement became nationally visible in the late 1970s whose goal was to explain the moral and structural foundations of capitalism. This year's campus lecture series on "The Moral and Ethical Foundations of Democratic Capitalism" typifies much of that movement's thinking on contemporary public policy issues.

Where did this resurgence of interest in democratic capitalism begin? A slender essay written in 1944 by an unknown economist named Friedrich A. Hayek introduced many intellectuals to an alternative to Keynesian or Marxian economic dogmatism. Hayek's essay, *The Road To Serfdom*, had a large and influential affect on the political debate of the day. The book was a generally spurned call for economic and political liberty in a climate where New Deal proposals for central economic planning were being touted as the cure for the "inherent contradictions of capitalism." Hayek, who went on to teach economics at the University of Chicago and who was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics in 1974,

found that his book spawned a number of hostile rebuttals, the most vituperative of which was judiciously entitled *The Road to Reaction*.

The Road to Serfdom, dedicated by Hayek to "The Socialists of All Parties," described the dangers which he felt economic centralization posed to political and individual liberty. The primary insight of the book, and the insight which animates the work of the so-called Austrian School of economics of which Hayek is the elder statesman, is that economic liberty—rights to buy and sell private property and to interact freely with other economic agents—is an essential precondition for political liberty. Without economic liberty, the stage is set for dangerous concentrations of power located with those who control the distribution of wealth—whether or not that control is held democratically or unilaterally. According to Hayek, such concentrated power will ultimately fall under the control of despotic government which will enslave society. Only a freely operating capitalistic economy tempered by reasonable political constraints (the "rule of law") avoids excesses of centralized power that create the hazards of political and economic despotism. To Hayek, the West's experiments with state-controlled central economic planning are a long step down a road which will inevitably lead to serfdom.

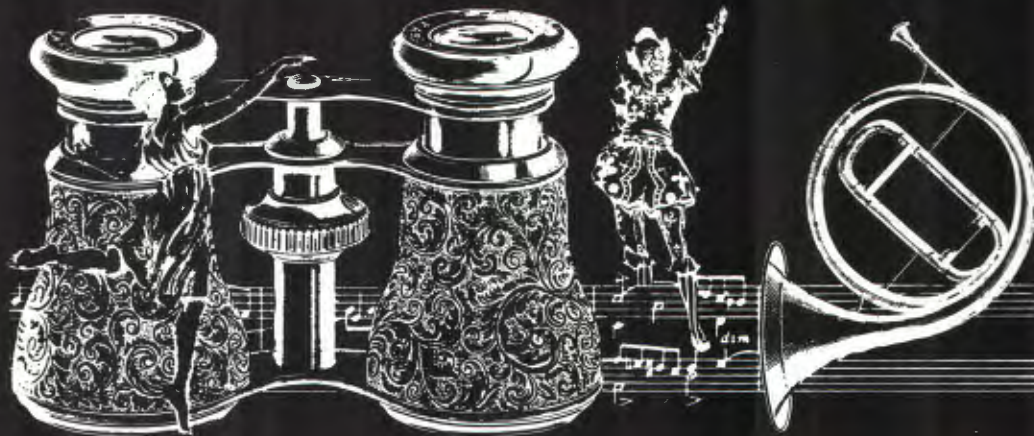
The spirit which drove Friedrich Hayek also inspires Michael Novak, a contemporary theologian whose most recent book is *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*. Novak, who spoke on campus in October, is a former "democratic socialist" convinced that capitalism needs a better articulation of its moral and ethical justifications in a world increasingly hostile to its values.

Novak expands on Hayek's theme that political liberty is inextricably linked to economic liberty. To Novak,

a nation must choose its political economy; that choice must be based on reality—not wishful thinking or parchment guarantees. The lesson of modern history is that democratic capitalism has successfully provided economic wealth in a free society; alternative political economies, particularly socialism, have provided only a chimera of "social justice." Novak elaborates on the practical and moral virtues of democratic capitalism: It has provided vast wealth and economic efficiency in an atmosphere of moral and spiritual strength fostered by political and cultural pluralism. Novak also explores what he considers the most important truth of the day: The failure of socialism as a political and economic system. To Novak, socialist rhetoric, redolent of compelling visions of equality and community, has been decisively refuted by experience. History shows that socialism does not deliver economic or moral advancement; only poverty and cynicism. He concludes that democratic capitalism provides ideals of community and social continuity in a pluralistic system which guarantees political, economic, and cultural freedom.

Professors Hayek and Novak provide compelling arguments in favor of democratic capitalism that will be important as long as societies face the crucial decision of choosing a political economy. That decision must be based on clear thinking and empirical results, not on the illusory promises of an unworkable dream. Both thinkers recognize that democratic capitalism is the least imperfect political economy that humans can hope for in an imperfect world.

Tim Tymkovich, a student at the University of Colorado Law School, is the founder of the Law School's chapter of the Federalist Society.



From the Potomac to Main Street

America's National Cultural Center rises along the banks of the Potomac with simple and quiet elegance. But the reflection it casts goes far beyond the nation's capital, bringing a new vibrancy to music, theater, and dance all across the country. Indeed, The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts stands as a living symbol of a new renaissance in American culture.

It's a showcase for excellence, attracting to its stages some of the finest orchestras as well as ballet, opera, and theater companies in the country, and from foreign lands. Their performances frequently reach millions of Americans through radio and television broadcasts.

The Kennedy Center is a truly national center, whose influence extends into the mainstream of American life. Its programs for children and young adults, for example, are taken to various cities around the country. And its annual National Children's Festival—"Imagination Celebration"—offering youngsters new works by outstanding artists, now serves as a model for similar festivals in seven states.

More important, The Kennedy Center is a catalyst for homegrown talent. Its nationwide competitions give unknown playwrights and composers the opportunity to gain national recognition. Thomas Ludwig, for example, music director for the Washington

Ballet, received wide exposure as a composer when his First Symphony, "Age of Victory," won a Kennedy Center Friedheim Award in 1982. Moreover, special music competitions for minority artists and national black theater and playwrights' projects bring new diversity to America's cultural life.

Some of the country's most promising actors are recruited through The Kennedy Center for coast-to-coast tours. And this year The Center is forming a new touring company made up of young actors drawn from the more than 450 colleges participating in the annual American College Theatre Festival.

What's so remarkable about The Kennedy Center is that it receives virtually no subsidy from the government, relying on ticket sales and private donations for its wide array of programming.

But these aren't enough. So The Corporate Fund of The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, a voluntary association composed of the principal officers of some of the nation's major corporations, including Mobil, tries to fill the gap.

Your company's help is needed to keep The Kennedy Center a true showcase for excellence. To find out how your company can assist, please write James H. Evans, Chairman, The Corporate Fund, The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C. 20566.

Mobil

By Executive Order

by M. Scott McDonald

At 12:01 PM, on November 4, 1952, in accordance with a Presidential Memorandum written a few days prior, the National Security Agency (NSA) was established as a separately organized agency within the Department of Defense (DoD) responsible for all United States Signals Intelligence activities (SIGINT). This new agency was so secret that for years no public mention of it, its facilities or personnel was ever made. Today the NSA has under its control more personnel than any other member of the Intelligence Community. President Truman's memorandum establishing the NSA is, to this day, still classified. In a 1976 lawsuit seeking access to this document, the NSA prevented its disclosure by claiming, "This Memorandum remains the principal charter of the National Security Agency and is the basis of a number of other classified documents governing the conduct of communications intelligence activities and operations, functions (and) activities of the National Security Agency." In response to learning of the NSA's extensive eavesdropping capabilities, then Senator Walter F. Mondale, referred to the agency as, "possibly the most single important source of intelligence for this country."

In 1972, the NSA became the National Security Agency/Central Security Service (NSA/CSS). The CSS is not a member of the intelligence Community. Its primary mission is Communications Security (COMSEC) for the United States Government. According to the National Intelligence Reorganization and Reform Act of 1978, "Communications Security means protective measures taken to deny unauthorized persons information derived from Telecommunications of the United States Government related to the national security and to ensure the authenticity of such telecommunications." The personnel who are involved with COMSEC are developing cyphers, techniques and equipment in compliance with the

mission of the CSS. The development of transmitters and receivers that may be used without giving away their location or the fact that a transmission is occurring falls under the preview of the CSS. The Soviet Union and other nations are currently intercepting telecommunications of the United States Government. The work of the CSS is critical. The principal means by which the National Command Authority (NCA) controls our nations defenses, including the bombers and missiles of the Strategic Air Command (SAC) and the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile equipped submarines (SSBN's) of the Navy, is through telecommunications. The black bag carried by the military officer who always accompanies the President, contains the codes that must be used to authenticate the commands of the NCA. It is crucial that adequate

then Senator Walter F. Mondale referred to the agency as, "possibly the single most important source of intelligence in this country."

techniques exist to prevent unauthorized persons from tampering with the telecommunications of the NCA or from successfully masquerading as the legitimate NCA.

The NSA/CSS has within its headquarters at Fort Meade Maryland some of the most advanced computers and technical equipment in the world. The people who operate, service and develop this equipment are some of the brightest and most highly trained individuals in their respective fields. The employees of the NSA/CSS are an elite group. Gaining employment with this agency is very difficult. Individuals seeking employment must have at least a 2.5 GPA on a 4.0 scale, for all college level work attempted. Degree candidates, except those with Engineering, Computer Science or Mathematics degrees or Slavic, Near Eastern and Asian language majors, must take the

agency's Professional Qualification Test (PQT). The PQT consists of eight multiple choice subtests. One test involves your ability to learn and utilize an artificial language. The test is designed to measure your technical appreciation and aptitude for the study of foreign languages. Another test deals with your attitudes about managing others. A sample question taken from the 1982 PQT handbook is:

A supervisor has a worker who is critical of the supervisor's ideas on how to do the work. In an attempt to ease the situation, the best action for the supervisor to take, in general, would be to:

- A. Ignore the worker's criticisms.
- B. Ask the worker for suggestions and criticize them as the worker does his.
- C. Ask the worker for suggestions when new problems arise which relate to the duties of the worker.
- D. Tell the worker in a friendly manner that the worker should be less critical.
- E. Suggest the worker look for work more in line with the worker's special aptitude.

The handbook lists the correct answer as "C."

New employees will, at a minimum, receive a salary of \$16,599.00 a year. A three week orientation is given to acquaint new employees with the agency. Employees should expect to work at least 40 hours a week and will not be able to discuss work related matters outside the office. Some of the career programs offered by the NSA/CSS are: Computer Systems, Language, Communications Security, Information Science, Cryptography, and Management and Administration. The NSA/CSS offers its personnel an extensive benefits package, including a recreation and post-graduate educational program. The nature of the work is challenging, the salaries are competitive and most personnel stay with the agency until retirement age.

M. Scott McDonald is a graduating senior in the School of Arts and Sciences.

KIRKPATRICK (continued)

Naturally the Communists who attacked and slandered Sandino when he was in the mountains now try to use him because they have no moral scruples to restrain them. Sandino was a pure product of our land, very different from the products exported by Russia or China and, as such, we must exalt and preserve his memory.... Sandino is a monument to the dignity of our country and we must not permit the Communists with whom he never communed to besmirch his memory in order to use his prestige and to succeed, someday, on the pretext that they are fighting imperialism in delivering over our land to Russia as Castro did with Cuba."....

In the Security Council in the last days we have observed the fraternal support Soviet puppet states provide one another in this arena. We have also observed how they mock the values and the procedures of the Security Council.... The Security Council cannot be taken seriously as a forum for the resolution of disputes if it permits itself to be transformed into a weapon in an ongoing conflict.

We are aware of the theory articulated by Frederick Engels, among others, that there are no neutral processes; that all notions of truth, law, and fairness merely reflect economically based power relations. We know that according to this doctrine truth is what the most powerful say it is and fairness is whatever the most powerful defines it to be. We believe that we are witnessing here an effort to transform the United Nations into an arena where power—as measured by numbers and volume—defines what is good, what is true, what is fair, what is peace.

What is true is what the so-called progressive nations say it is.

What is fair is what serves their interests.

What is legitimate is what expands their power.

Thus, it is legitimate for Communist governments to train and arm guerrillas and make war on their non-Communist neighbors. It

is illegitimate for non-Communists to attempt to defend themselves or for others to help them to do so.

According to this logic, movements which expand Communist power are, by definition, national liberation movements; everything is permitted to achieve their ends. Nothing is permitted their targets, not even the right of self-defense....

In sum we have heard in the past days repeated indications of the corrosive effects of systematic bias, systematic lies, systematic redefinition of key political values and distortion of the key political processes of this body designed to support international peace. In his Nobel lecture, Alexander Solzhenitsyn confronted again the relationship between tyranny and the systematic distortion of reality. He commented:

"Whoever has once announced violence as his METHOD must inexorably choose lying as his PRINCIPLE. At birth, violence behaves openly and even proudly. But as soon as it becomes stronger and firmly established, it senses the thinning of the air around it and cannot go on without befogging itself in lies, coating itself with lying's sugar oratory. It does not always or necessarily go straight for the gullet; usually it demands of its victims only allegiance to the lie, only complicity in the lie."

Whoever in this arena supports Nicaragua's right to commit repression at home and aggression against her neighbors, whoever is ready to respect Nicaragua's right to self-determination, self-government, non-intervention and peace, and takes no account of the rights of her neighbors to the same protections *against* Nicaragua, has become an accomplice in the betrayal of these values and this process.

This betrayal is inconsistent with the search for peace. It must be repudiated before this body will be able to participate in the process of conflict resolution. It is not too late for the nations of Central America to forego violence, to enter on the pathway of negotiations, internal reconciliation, democracy, and development. Let us make certain that what happens in this body facilitates that process. Thank you.

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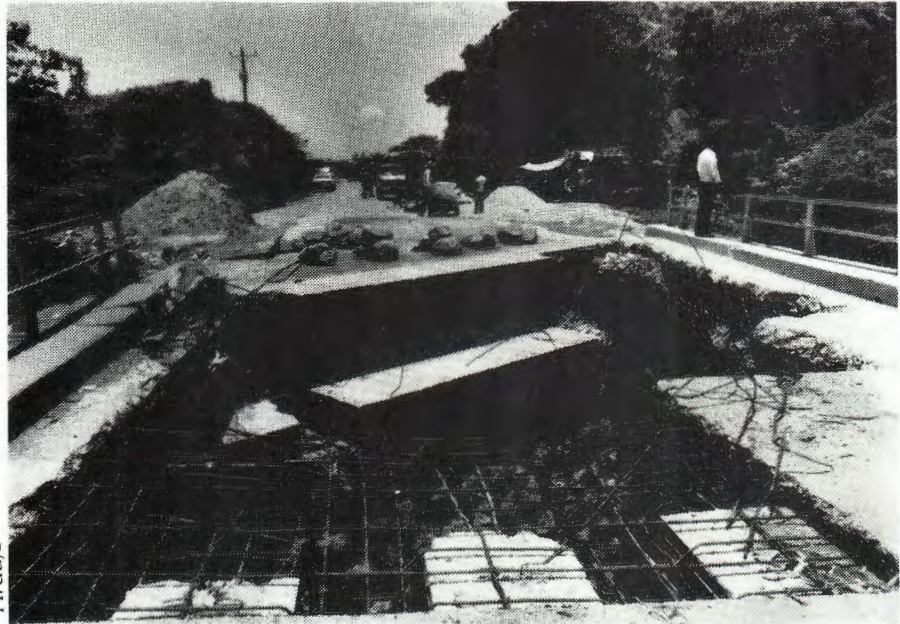
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EL SALVADOR (continued)

judgment at this time. Certainly, human rights violations should be a major concern of all observers of the Salvadoran situation. Unfortunately, politics and passion often cloud the issue and inflame discussion.

The argument for cutting aid to El Salvador is based essentially on the alleged human rights violations by mostly government-related forces. It has, however, never been proven that U.S. assistance promotes those violations, or that the government is behind them. It could be argued that human rights violations would increase if the aid were cut off. It is naive and irresponsible to think that the government will have a better chance of settling the issues if the U.S. withdraws, especially lacking control over Cuban and Soviet involvement in the conflict.

During testimony before the House Foreign Relations Committee, Monsignor Freddy Delgado, head of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, said: "Unfortunately, our country has become a geopolitical zone of friction between the two super-powers: Russia is attempting to widen its zone of influence. El Salvador has become a tiny geopolitical key that can open or close the doors to communism in Central America." He added: "The most important dialogue which could occur which could help El Salvador would not be a dialogue between government and the guerrillas to



A main highway bombed by guerrillas. Attacks such as this caused over \$185 million damage in the first 10 months of 1982.

divide up power behind the backs of the people. The best dialogue which could occur to help my country obtain peace would be a dialogue in the United States. In my country, our greatest priority is national unification and reconciliation. Let me suggest, as an outside observer, that you also need national unification and reconciliation.... It is not enough to jump from one problem to another problem, we must build a new government with strong institutions which has the capacity to solve many problems. It is these institutions which we are trying to build, and it is here that your experience with

Democracy, with Human Rights, and with Social Justice, can be an inspiration and a guide."

It is time for Congress and the American people to listen to those like Monsignor Delgado, and send one message of hope and guidance to the Salvadoran people and government. If we can do that, there is a strong possibility and probability that our policy in El Salvador will not be termed another failure. And there is the strong possibility as well that the Salvadorans will eventually be able to end the bloodshed and build a stable, democratic society. □

AGFHANS (continued)

troops are disillusioned. "They don't want to fight. They were told they were invited to Afghanistan by the Afghan people to fight American mercenaries and Chinese agents. They now realize this is not so." The Russians are desperate, according to Samad, and are trying almost anything to pacify the resistance. "They have built thousands of Mosques across Afghanistan in an effort to win the Afghans over to their side. But it will not work, the Afghans know they are liars."

The war in Afghanistan is not a normal guerilla war and according to Samad the freedom fighters don't employ the standard hit-and-run guerilla tactics. "We don't hit and run



away, we hit them and then chase them. Believe me, the freedom fighters hope and pray for a Russian convoy to come along so they can attack it and chase it."

Many explanations for America's failure to support the freedom fighters have been put forth. But the theory with the most alarming implications concerns a possible American strategy of using the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan as a tool to keep the Soviet Union preoccupied for as long as possible. The likelihood of a Soviet pullout is remote and the Soviets are apparently not prepared to commit the resources or the effort required to achieve a total military victory. Thus, the theory goes, the

continued on page 25

HART (continued)

assumption in this case is the philosophy of collectivism, guided by the ethical principles of utilitarianism. This lies in stark contrast to individualism, guided by the ethics of personal virtue, which drives men and women to struggle for the best in every endeavor.

When Gary Hart announced his candidacy on the capitol steps in Denver, he did it in the shadow of the lofty towers of the downtown business district. They sweep upward in graceful lines, their thousands of tons of steel and glass and concrete thrust into the sky in eloquent tribute to the staggering powers that drive individuals to greatness. Their foundations, and the foundations of this country, were laid by individual effort and *laissez-faire* capitalism—in such measure as we have had it. But in 1932 we elected a president who preached that in ability, government should always come before business, that in priority, the collective before the individual. It was not the first time that the world had seen this, it's as old as civilization itself. In fact, the idea of government directing society actually represents a step backward in political thought.

Yet these principles of the collective are precisely what Gary Hart envisions as the basis for his "new democracy." Hart looks at the world, sees other countries reverting to socialism and nationalization, and fears we aren't being progressive enough. His response to other nations committing economic suicide in order to 'outproduce' us in a few industries is for us to commit the same suicide.

What gives Hart the most dimension are his excessive contradictions. The more overtly liberal members of his party don't even pretend to represent themselves as anything else. Hart, on the other hand, has the audacity or naivete to constantly proselytize about individual profit, dynamic entrepreneurship and free-market industries. When, however, he begins to express himself in any detail, it becomes clear that: (1) all of this *should* come under a small amount of government supervision, and (2) all of this *would* occur under a great deal of government supervision. His

supporters call him the most creative political figure in America. If there is an award for creatively finding a way to insert one's foot into one's mouth, then Hart should be first in line to receive it. He just may be the most contradictory politician in America.

This penchant for contradiction is evidenced by the authoritative figures he constantly quotes in his book: Joan Kennedy and Adam Smith, Tolstoy and F.D.R. The idea that one could reconcile anything that Adam Smith thought to anything that Franklin Roosevelt ever said or did is creative, at least. Though one might suppose that Hart supporters would call this eclectic.

When all is said and done, the "new democracy" of Gary Hart is really nothing more than the proverbial S.O.T. It has three basic assumptions: that government knows best, that government does best, and that government should do what it thinks is best for us regardless of how we feel about it. Black anodized finishes seem to be the fad for the '80's, and Hart has put one on his rusty old ideas. Hart represents nothing more than a continuation of the Johnson, Kennedy, Truman, Roosevelt tradition. With this in mind, Democrats would be better off voting for the likes of Mondale, Glenn or Cranston—at least they would know what they were getting.

Gary Hart's supposed advantage is his fresh approach to today's and tomorrow's problems. To the extent that this is non-existent, there is no compelling reason to vote for Gary Hart. In upcoming articles, his ill-fated and contradictory policies on such matters as industry, trade, foreign relations, defense, energy and social issues will be examined in specific detail, hopefully illustrating the myriad reasons *not* to vote for him. The series will conclude with a critical examination of the principal philosophy which guides Hart and the liberal movement in general.

Hart has asked to be supported based on rational evaluation. But the lady reason wields a two-edged sword, and logic will likely reveal him as a disaster waiting to occur. So often people *want* to believe in something, and refuse to acknowledge the unanswerable argument which would

shatter their hopes and dreams. But the dreams of brave men and women are firmly planted in reality, and these are often those that *make* their dreams come true. We live in a decisive time, and the identity of the president in 1984 will have unquestionable significance. We must have the courage to boldly seek the truth amidst the floodtide of political rhetoric which will assuage us during that campaign. □

AFGHANS (continued)

door is open for America to exploit Russia's difficulties and promote American interests in the region and on the international scene. "We really do not want to think that way," says Samad, "whether it is true or not, I hope it is not. I hope the United States is not using the Afghan case as a political pawn on the international scene so that they can give a little bit of trouble to the Soviet Union at international conferences or at the negotiating tables."

How can America stand idly by while hundreds of thousands of Afghan people are slaughtered every year simply because they want to live free? Afghanistan is a crystal clear case of a people who are truly fighting for the ideals for which the United States of America stand. The Afghans want to be free, they want to be their own governors, free from the rule of any foreign power. "For the free world to ignore Afghanistan is very dangerous," exclaims Samad. "But we will fight to the end. It is a long way home but it is the only way left."

Indeed, it is a long way home, but the Afghans are courageously fighting their country's occupiers. After all, theirs is a struggle for survival.

Donations to help the Afghan resistance movement may be sent to:

**Afghan Youth Council
in America
413 East Capital Street,
Suite B
Washington, D.C. 20003**

HAEC VITA

ADAM AND ADAM, EVE AND EVE?

The University of Colorado student government recently funded a "Gay and Lesbian Awareness Week" which began on April 11 and ended on April 15. Several panels and discussions were held concerning such topics as "Homosexuality and the Law" and "Gay Culture and Art." However, there was not a discussion concerning the fact that homosexuality is abnormal. Now gays are always saying things like, "We are no different than anyone else," etc. But it is generally accepted that only one out of every ten people in America are homosexual. Does this statistic support the contention that homosexuals "are no different than anyone else"? Certainly not.

The fact is, if all people were homosexual, gays and lesbians wouldn't have to bother saying things like, "We are no different than anyone else." Because, within a generation or two, nobody would be around to care.

"The call of nature is... heterosexual, since nature is reproductive."

—William F. Buckley, Jr.

THANKS RON

The 1980 Republican Party Platform included, with Ronald Reagan's strong support, the following sentence: "Presently, the aggregate burden of taxation is so great that the average American spends a substantial part of every year, in effect, working for the government." Since that time, with the staunch support of the Reagan administration, Congress has passed a gas tax increase, a social security tax increase, and a 100 billion dollar "revenue enhancement" bill.

The 1980 Republican Platform continued: "The (Republican tax) proposal will not only provide relief for all American taxpayers, but also promote non-inflationary economic growth by restoring the incentive to save, invest, and produce."

Earlier this year, financial institutions across the country were busy mailing the following notice to their customers:

"Beginning July 1, 1983, payors of interest, dividends and patronage dividends must generally deduct, withhold and deposit with an authorized U.S. Depository 10% of the amount of interest

and dividends that they pay, unless they pay it to an exempt individual or other recipient."

The logical question is: Has someone mistakenly replaced the Republican Platform with the Democratic Platform in the White House library?

1967: Ronald Reagan when asked if he would support a withholding tax in California:

"[only] if they held a hot iron to my feet and I was bound hand and foot."

HYPOCRATS

Some very interesting observations can be made by analyzing the recent mayoral elections in the city of the big Democrats. Chicago has long been a vanguard of Democratic Party power. Yet, the Democratic Party suffered a massive upheaval recently when a black man, former congressman Harold Washington, garnered the Democratic nomination for mayor of Chicago. What must be noted is the fact that Democrats have always characterized themselves as the "party of the people." Democrats proclaim that they and only they have compassion and sympathy for blacks, hispanics, and other minorities. If this is in fact the case, then why, pray tell, did 80% of Chicago's white Democrats vote for the Republican mayoral candidate, a white man? Could it be that the Democratic Party's so-called "concern" for minorities is simply rhetoric used with malicious intent in order to elicit votes? Very possibly.

The only conclusion to be reached is that the essence of the Democratic party's agenda consists of frenzied emotional appeals designed to delude voters into believing that the Democratic Party has genuine compassion for minorities. Chicago Democrats proved this.

"And it's got nothin' to do with color, neither."

—Archie Bunker

THE GREEN'S TRUE COLORS

The loose alliance of neutralists, pacifists, ecologists, feminists, etc., etc., which make up the radical left wing Green party in West Germany did a commendable job of acting shocked and surprised when it was found that one of

their members was once a Nazi stormtrooper. Werner Vogel, a Green who was elected to a seat in the west German parliament in the recent March election, was exposed not only as a former Nazi stormtrooper, but as an official in the Nazi Interior Ministry, and a member of the Nazi Party. Mind you, this is not comparable to the compulsory Hitler Youth.

Petra Kelly, the American-educated co-leader of the Greens, and the rest of her anti-Nato Kremlin apologists, as could be expected, feigned astonishment when Vogel's past was exposed. Certainly the Greens couldn't simply be expected to admit that the Marxist philosophy which they espouse is the same as was the Fascist philosophy of Adolph Hitler. First, the Greens realized they could not truthfully oppose the fact that Communism and Fascism are one and the same. Second, and last, if they did admit this fact, leftists the world over would have no one to scream "fascist" at... except, of course, each other.

"The truth does not cease to exist because it is ignored."

—Aldous Huxley

IACOCCA THE SAVIOR

Many people have recently been singing the praises of Lee Iacocca and how his hard work and superior management have delivered the Chrysler corporation from the brink of economic collapse. In fact, Mr. Iacocca himself is jumping on his own bandwagon. Recent Chrysler advertisements show Iacocca strolling through his automobile kingdom lauding the "fact" that he and his loyal workers have brought Chrysler back from the depths of economic ruin. One would think that the least Iacocca could do is thank the congress, President Jimmy, and the American people for doling out 1.5 billion dollars in loan guarantees which kept his overpaid, underproductive union leeches employed. But alas, as any professional parasite would do, Mr. Iacocca feels compelled to exclude certain facts. After all, if the American people found out who really saved Chrysler, they would begin demanding dividends.

"Government does not solve problems, it subsidizes them."

—Ronald Reagan

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To: Members of the Wednesday Group
From: Walter Jones for Newt Gingrich
Date: 4/18/83

Newt asked me to send you this newspaper column. It is this week's edition of a regular column he writes for Georgia papers.

This is part of his strategy to make the liberals bear the burden of their past and to contrast their beliefs with reality. He wanted you to see this as an example of what he feels all conservatives should be doing and saying.

Please read this and bring it to your regular meeting.



NEWS FROM Congressman NEWT GINGRICH

1005 Longworth House Office Building • Washington, D.C. 20515 • 202-225-4501

April 15, 1983

FOR RELEASE:

CONTACT: Abrams
O: 202-225-4501
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Notes on Self-Government #13/ Liberal Forces Threaten World Freedom

Many Americans have wondered why our nation seems to be so ineffective in foreign policy; why we lost in Viet Nam; why we seem to be in trouble in El Salvador; why the Soviets seem to be able to make gains in Cuba with a brigade protecting their intelligence collection system; in Grenada, where they are building a ten-thousand foot airfield on a small island in the Caribbean; in Nicaragua, where the Soviet secret police has a large force at the embassy, and where they're helping their Cuban puppets, the Nicaraguans, build airfields and an army to threaten Honduras and El Salvador.

In the past few days, several events in the Capitol have formed a pattern that makes clear why America has had such a difficult time competing with a totalitarian state dedicated to extending its influence and subverting pro-western countries.

There were three such incidents. First, the House Foreign Affairs Committee decided to weaken the United States in its effort to help El Salvador and stop the United States from any effort to help those forces fighting for freedom in Nicaragua. In other words, the Nicaraguans and the Cubans and the Soviets can do all they want to undermine El Salvador or Honduras or Guatamala or Mexico. We will fight with our hands tied behind our backs once again.

At the same time, the Foreign Affairs Committee was saying that, while we will not help our allies very much, we won't disturb or confuse

--MORE--

Notes on Self-Government #13/page two

the allies of the other side! Imagine a football game in which your team says that they'll only play defense and then they won't rush anybody against the passer. You know how that game would end. And yet that's exactly what the Foreign Affairs Committee, dominated by Liberal Democrats, decided to do.

The second incident was Speaker Tip O'Neill's statement that he thought it was unwise to give political asylum to a 19-year-old girl fleeing from Red China. Not since the Dred Scott decision of 1857 has a leading American said that slaves have to be returned to their owner. Yet here we have a man, the leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, saying that a 19-year-old girl should be sent back to Red China for brainwashing or worse.

This willingness to subordinate a 19-year-old girl to the political wishes of the dictatorship in Peking again shows the insensitivity of Liberal Democrats to the reality of slavery in the world.

The third incident occurred during the debate on the nuclear freeze. One liberal, in this case a Republican, got up and said, "The people of the United States and the peoples of the Soviet Union should try to handcuff their governments."

Imagine that a British member of Parliament had said in 1938 the "people of Germany should try to handcuff Herr Hitler." Everyone who knew about the Gestapo would've laughed that Member out of the House of Commons.

Yet, today, when the Soviet Union is a police state; when people are literally sent into psychiatric wards and given shock treatment and tortured for their beliefs; when Andropov, the moral equivalent of Heinrich Himmler, the head of the Gestapo, is the head of the Soviet Union; a man can seriously say on the floor of the United

--MORE--

Notes on Self-Government #13/page three .

States House that the "people" of the Soviet Union should try to "handcuff their government." It is such absolute nonsense that it is frightening.

I see only two possible explanations for this deep committment to ignore the realities of tyranny.

First, maybe liberals really don't care about freedom as long as it isn't their freedom. They don't mind that Saigon has become Ho Chi Minh City. It is irrelevant to them that one third of the Cambodians were killed since 1974. They don't care about the prisoners in Nicaragua, the torture in the Soviet Union, or the prospect of a 19-year-old girl being sent back to certain imprisonment.

On the other hand, possibly they are so out of touch with reality they have no comprehension of what's happening.

To describe the Soviet Union as a state which could be handcuffed by its own citizens is as unreal as describing a rattlesnake as a cockerspaniel. Yet, this is the dominant liberal mindset which is influencing American foreign policy through the House and in parts of the State Department.

It focuses our attention on the 55 American advisors in El Salvador, rather than on the thousands and thousands of Soviet troops and advisors in and around the Caribbean, making the Caribbean, in our backyard, increasingly a "red sea."

It is a sad prospect and it threatens the very existence of freedom on this planet.

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