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23 March 1984

# Latin America Report

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23 March 1984

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## ANSELMO SULE VIEWS DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 26 Feb 84 p C-3

[Text] The foreign secretary of the Radical Party (PR), Anselmo Sule, commenting on a possible federation of democratic socialist groups promoted by the PR, stated that "Chileans now have an urgent, ineluctable duty to consolidate a full and integral democracy. On that basis, any action taken to further teamwork, unity, cooperation or solidarity is fundamental."

The leader, who is in Chile with express authorization from the Ministry of the Interior as a result of the death of his older sister, was interviewed yesterday at the home where he is staying during his visit here.

When asked about the plan to form a democratic socialist federation, which in principle would include the PR and the Social Democrats, he reiterated that this is part of an essential process of unification, or at least coordination. "All the more so if those involved have been part of the same family," he said, referring to the "old Radical trunk" that was politically active for 120 years.

He stated, "It is clear that the merger is a decision that must be made at the convention, allowing the membership to express its opinion. It does not have to happen immediately. The important thing is for the groups that comprise the federation to set to work immediately studying and analyzing working programs for the future, and an alternative plan such as that which is being drawn up now," he said.

"No Disagreement on PR Leadership"

When asked about reports of disagreements or differences with the current president of the PR, Enrique Silva Simma, Sule said that "I am part of the board of directors, and therefore I cannot be opposed to it."

"On the contrary, I share its concerns, and I can state that I am completely loyal to it. As happens within any democratic party, there are sometimes different approaches to some issues, but that is a good thing."

He added that "much of what is said about supposed contradictions arises from disinformation by those who advance such reports. In any case, I should make it clear that there is full agreement among those of us who must live abroad

that the fundamental issues of political leadership must be resolved in Chile by those who live here," he stated.

#### Social Democratic Progress

When asked what he, as vice-president of the Socialist International, thought about the progress of the idea of democratic socialism in Latin America, Sule stated that the democratization of the region has accelerated rapidly in the last 12 months.

"This is not, however, due to a situation of spontaneous generation," he noted, "but is the result of a whole internal process in the various countries. It is also due to the fact that all political movements are seeing the problems of each country within the regional context, and are setting down priorities."

"In this regard, Nicaragua was first, followed by Bolivia and Argentina. In a continuing, gradual process, interest turned next to Brazil, and now, without overlooking the situation in Central America, the focus is on Uruguay and Chile."

Regarding the progress of democratic socialism, he explained that it is due in part "to the very serious concern by affiliated parties about the plight of our countries, to the action being taken by the Latin American Committee of the Socialist International, and to the constant interest this organization has in democratic and liberation movements." He stressed in this regard that the Socialist International "lends full solidarity to the entire democratization process."

He concluded by saying that Chile and the PR have made a great contribution to the development of democratic socialist thought in the region, recalling that the only book by a Spanish-speaking author on this doctrine, "The Socialist International in Latin America and the Caribbean," is by the former president of the Radical Party, who was recently reelected as president of the Disciplinary Tribunal of the National Association of Government Employees (ANEF), Carlos Morales Abarzua.

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CSO: 3348/300

## PROCHILE PLANS FOR MEETING 1984 EXPORT GOALS

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 26 Feb 84 p B-1

[Text] Fishing exports, with an increase of US \$52 million, and gold, silver and molybdenum, with an increase of US \$34 million, are the products that will contribute the most toward achieving Minister Caceres' "goal" of expanding our sales abroad.

The secretary of state stated that in 1984 exports will total US \$44.048 billion, US \$200 million more than the 1983 figures.

Sources at ProChile revealed to "Economia y Negocios" complete information about the methods that will be used to achieve that goal, and the products that will contribute the most to it.

These sources indicated that the increase of US \$200 million is "realistic, considering that in 1984 various positive factors should converge: the effects of the devaluation and the high price of the dollar, which are being felt ever more strongly; the recovery of the world economy, even worldwide inflation, and the systematic effort to cooperate with exporters in their participation in foreign trade fairs, which will make many business deals possible this year."

In addition, the sources stated that ProChile's estimates are "conservative," since they assume that the international prices of our primary exports will remain stable, and that there will be no growth of copper sales.

#### How Goal Will Be Achieved

The ProChile statistics indicate that the increase in exports of fishing products and mineral products such as gold, silver and molybdenum, will help achieve 43 percent of the "goal."

The increase in fishing exports will amount to 90,000 tons, for a total of US \$52 million. Sales of hake, fishmeal, canned sardines, spider crabs, "concholepas peruviana" mollusks, algae, lobsters and other frozen products, will contribute the most to exports.

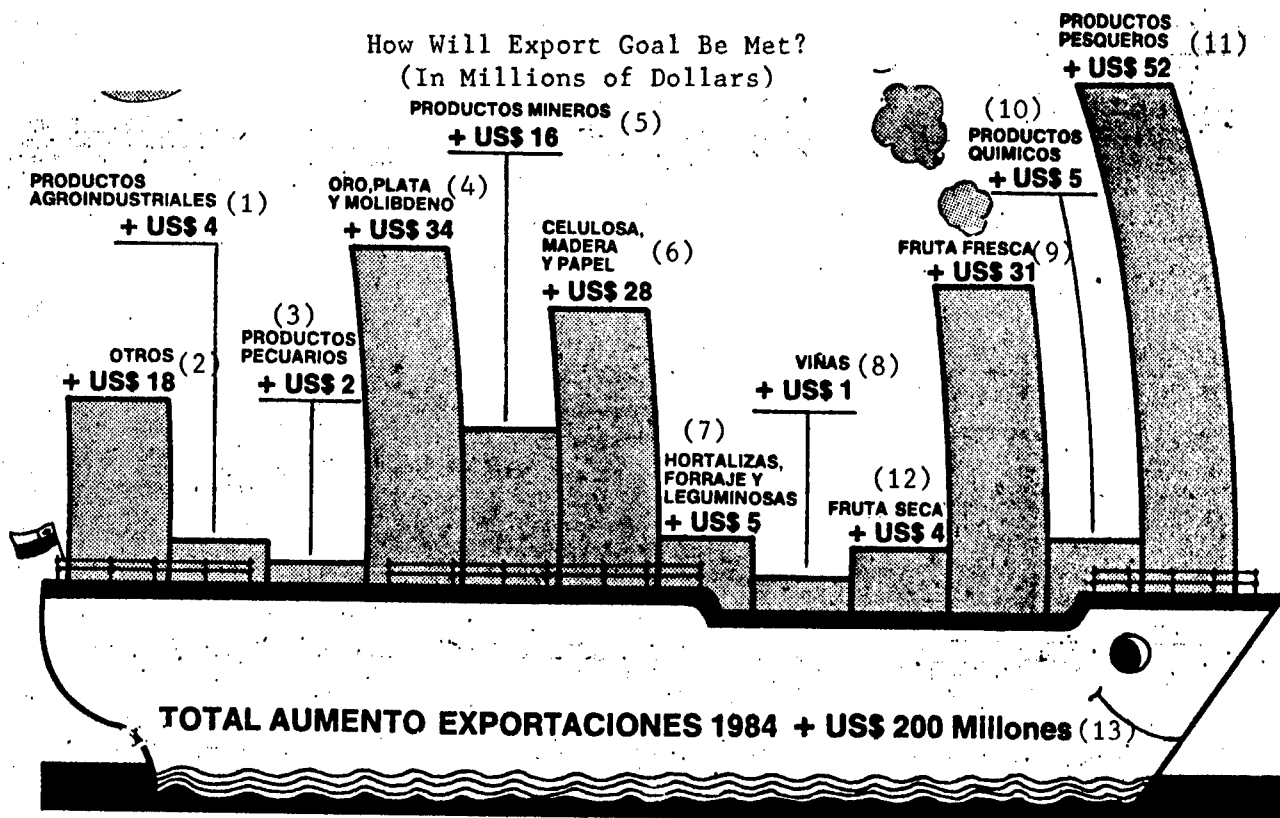


Higher sales figures for gold, silver and molybdenum, moreover, will add another US \$34 million.

The third most important category is fresh fruit, for which ProChile estimates an increase of US \$31 million. A growth in dried fruit exports is also expected, yielding an additional US \$4 million.

In addition to fruit, in the same area an increase of US \$1 million is expected in foreign wine sales, US \$5 million in exports of vegetables and fodder, US \$2 million in livestock products and US \$4 million in agricultural products.

Other major categories which ProChile expects to yield significant increases are cellulose, wood and paper, with a projected increase of US \$28 million, and a group of mining products made up of barite, salt, guano, lithium carbonate, sodium niter, sodium sulfate and gypsum. This group will contribute another US \$16 million.



Key:

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Agroindustrial products     | 8. Wine   |
| 2. Others                      | 9. Fresh fruit  |
| 3. Livestock products          | 10. Chemicals   |
| 4. Gold, Silver and Molybdenum | 11. Fishing products                                      |
| 5. Mining products             | 12. Dried fruit   |
| 6. Cellulose, Wood and Paper   | 13. Total Increase in Exports 1984:<br>+ US \$200 Million |
| 7. Vegetables and Fodder       |   |

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## CENTRAL BANK REPORT ON FOREIGN TRADE DECREASE IN 1983

Santiago TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 23 Feb 84 p 11

[Text] The Central Bank of Chile reported yesterday that the country's overall trade with the rest of the world in 1983 dropped by 9.8 percent with respect to the previous year. Overall trade totaled US \$6.8043 billion, the decline being due primarily to a drop in imports.

The Central Bank explained that the growth in exports, along with the reduction in imports, led to a balance of trade surplus of approximately US \$1 billion for the country.

#### Shipments

Export shipments for the same period rose 3.4 percent over the 1982 figures. This growth broke down to an increase of 3.1 percent in the physical volume of exports and a mere 0.3 percent rise in average prices.

The mining sector saw exports grow by more than 6.5 percent; industrial products went up by over 2.8 percent; but agricultural and sea products dropped by 12.6 percent.

The country's principal exports continue to be copper (which totaled US \$1.8357 billion in 1983), fishmeal (US \$307.1 million), fresh fruit (US \$220.5 million), cellulose (US \$156.4 million), gold and silver ores (US \$143.7 million), molybdenum (US \$122.8 million), metallic silver (US \$114.4 million), iron (US \$112 million), coniferous woods (US \$102.8 million) and metallic gold (US \$85.7 million). It should be noted that in addition to copper, there were increases in exports of fishmeal, gold, silver and molybdenum ores, and metallic gold.

Total imports last year reached US \$2.9688 billion, which is 22.5 percent lower than imports in 1982. The most significant drop was in consumer and capital goods, which fell by 45.5 and 43.1 percent, respectively.

The main import product for this country continues to be petroleum, which grew by 46.6 percent over last year. The second largest import is wheat, and third are machinery and equipment.

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## BRIEFS

INTERIOR MINISTER SCORES RADIO MOSCOW--"The agreements to hold a strike are being guided by Radio Moscow, and are being implemented by the extreme left and those who are hindering the major national agreement," stated Interior Minister Sergio Onofre Jarpa yesterday when asked about the matter. The secretary of state made these statements yesterday afternoon at the end of a ceremony during which a letter of intent was signed by the Company of Gas Consumers of Santiago and the Argentine State Gas Enterprise, to begin feasibility studies on the purchase of natural gas from that neighboring country. When Minister Jarpa was asked if any mention had been made of the call for a strike during a recent meeting at the Club de La Union with business leaders, he stressed that he had not gone there to "negotiate the strike," but to talk about solutions to problems and about cooperation between the government and them. "There are better solutions," said the minister, "than calling strikes, because the only thing they accomplish is to damage the national economy." Referring to the call to protest that emerged from the meeting of the National Workers' Command last Friday at Puente Alto, he indicated that this was typical of the "union bureaucracy, which is motivated by political interests and does not work, but lives off union dues." [Text] [Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 8 Feb 84 p C 3] 8926

CSO: 3348/300

## SEAGA SAID TO THREATEN TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish No 52, 30 Dec 83 pp 76-77

[Article by PRENSA LATINA journalist Godefroid Tchamlesso: "The Two-Party System in Danger"]

[Text] Controlling all 60 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, the Jamaican Labor Party (JLP), headed by Prime Minister Edward Seaga, has installed what is, in effect, a one-party system, thus shattering a 45-year tradition.

A violent workers protest jolted the foundations of the British colonial system in 1938, forcing it to make in-depth changes in the way the island was run. The first political party was thus born: the People's National Party (PNP), founded by the late father of former Prime Minister Michael Manley. Alexander Bustamante founded the JLP shortly thereafter.

The two parties, which both have strong union support, have alternated in power since then. Last 15 December, Seaga broke the pattern and put off its return indefinitely by winning all of the seats in Jamaica's legislative chamber, Gordon House, in a surprise and uncontested election.

The PNP boycotted the elections, which were held 2 years ahead of schedule (1985), because it felt that they had been imposed without due notice, without a prior review of the voting list and without appropriate ID cards.

Last 25 November Seaga announced to the nation his unilateral decision to dissolve Parliament and to stage elections without delay. He gave his political adversaries just 4 days to nominate their candidates and 3 weeks to wage an election campaign.

An atmosphere of doubt, surprise and confusion descended upon Kingston and the rest of the island. Prestigious local organizations, such as the council of Jamaican churches, and a number of honest businessmen urged the head of the Jamaican Government to reconsider and postpone the balloting so that the opposition would have more time and leeway.

The PNP's Executive Committee quickly met in an emergency session to take up Seaga's challenge. Manley was attending a conference of the Socialist International in Brussels and had to cancel his commitments to return to his country. After careful deliberations, the PNP resolved to boycott the elections. Participation in these hastily called elections would be tantamount to "endorsing fraud," the opposition concluded.

According to evidence disclosed by the Jamaican press, there had been a formal, unwritten bipartisan agreement to postpone elections until the new voting list was completed in mid-1984.

The former voting list, which dates from 1980, had become obsolete, as some 100,000 persons had either died or left the island, Manley argued. Around 180,000 young people who had turned 18 since then ought to have been placed on the new voting list, the PNP leader underscored.

The system of appropriate ID cards for Jamaican voters had yet to be completed as well, the former Jamaican prime minister indicated in justifying the PNP's abstention.

Seaga had given assurances a short while before that he would postpone the election until all of these requirements had been met. In February 1980, laboring under the drastic prescriptions of the IMF, Manley had called early elections, but he gave his rivals, the JLP at that time, 8 months to organize and show up for the battle at the polls with clean, well-oiled weapons.

Seaga, in contrast, ignored the sensible advice he was being given and rushed ahead. Why such haste? The events on Grenada, the death of Maurice Bishop, the subsequent U.S. invasion of the small island and the participation of Jamaican auxiliary troops in this militaristic undertaking had made the Far Right cocky.

The Jamaican regime stirred up anticommunist sentiments, resumed its slanderous propaganda against the opposition and tried to discredit the PNP by using slanted allusions to link it to the tragedy on Grenada and to the supposed "communist conspiracy" in the Caribbean. Seaga thus managed to tilt the balance of power momentarily in his favor. He succeeded in regaining some degree of popular support, which he had lost from the second half of last year until the eve of the occupation of Grenada.

All of the polls conducted by Jamaican sociologist and scholar Carl Stone indicated that the PNP and Manley enjoyed greater grassroots support, while backing for the JLP and Seaga was slipping.

Seaga's economic program had been a disappointing hoax for the Jamaican masses over the past 3 years. Discontent was seething, threatening to turn a fair, timely election into a debacle for the ruling party.

After Bishop's murder, Carl Stone conducted a poll of Jamaican public opinion. Fifty-one percent of the respondents apparently voiced support for the JLP, against 47 percent for the PNP. Seaga thus came upon the weapons with which to launch his lightning attack, ignoring all of his verbal commitments to put off the elections until the new voting list was ready.

Events then began moving at a surprisingly fast pace. On 23 November, Seaga admitted that the island had failed the IMF's tests for the continuation of a 3-year loan.

The Jamaican dollar was devalued by 77 percent; it is now worth 32 cents on the U.S. dollar. Seaga had previously (that past October) told the Jamaican people that his administration had met all of the IMF-dictated requirements. He recanted in November, claiming that he had been deceived by the governor of the Jamaican Central Bank in asserting that IMF demands had been met.

The PNP called for further clarification of this muddled issue, demanded that Seaga give a clear accounting to the people and described his administration as "dishonest" in its attempts to deceive the masses.

The PNP indicated that otherwise Seaga ought to resign as finance minister, a post he had held since he took office in late 1980, in addition to defense, information and culture, and mines and energy minister.

Seaga cited the pretext of his resignation as planning and finance minister to call early elections, arguing that he was being blamed for "the crisis of mistrust." What he actually wanted to do was dismantle the opposition at a time when his party was enjoying unexpected national support.

Along with the devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, Kingston entered into a new agreement with the IMF. The new economic program presented by Seaga was defeated in a plebiscite, as 53 percent of Jamaicans felt that it would fail just like its predecessor, which was signed in 1981.

In March and September 1983 the Seaga administration failed the IMF's strict tests. The country's net foreign exchange reserves shrank considerably, so much so that it was importing oil with letters of credit.

Jamaican manufacturers lacked the funds to import raw materials and complained angrily to the government. Jamaican farmers were languishing in chaos, with limited incentives and small markets for their products, which were being displaced by heavy imports of foodstuffs, mainly from the United States.

Luxury cars, household appliances, video cassette recorders, color televisions, clothing, jewelry and the parallel foreign exchange market decimated the reserves of freely convertible currency.

The bauxite and alumina industries are in obvious decline; agriculture is on its last legs, with king sugar in trouble, and the banana sector is still in poor shape with no hope for a prompt recovery.

Four-fifths of the country's sugar mills were closed down this year and their staffs fired en masse, in an apparent bid to privatize the sector, which until recently was run by the government. Cacao, coffee, coconuts, citrus fruits and other produce are the pale-faced poor relatives of Jamaican farming.

Tourism is flourishing, but with gaping holes that swallow up foreign currency through the black market exchange operations, encouraged by the so-called parallel market, which Seaga introduced last January.

Deficits beset all areas of the Jamaican economy. Seaga admitted that the country will post zero growth this year, along with an inflation rate tentatively estimated at 18.5 percent. The actual inflation rate will be higher, Jamaican economists say. The country's trade balance is in the red this year, and so is the national budget. Unemployment is close to 30 percent among the working age population and is rampant among women and young people.

Housing is scarce, and medical care is unaffordable, in addition to which there are limited numbers of doctors, hospitals and equipment. The Kingston metropolitan area, its periphery and rural areas all have their drinking water trucked in. Electric power is erratic and unpredictable throughout Jamaica. It elicits only complaints from customers. Education is in decline, while the cost of study materials and intermediate and higher schooling rises.

Wages have been frozen in state and state-controlled organizations. Teachers, policemen, civil servants, nurses and doctors have gone on strike several times this year.

This was the prevailing picture both before and after the events on Grenada and Seaga's arrogant takeover of the Jamaican Parliament.

The Jamaican prime minister skillfully conceals his fears. A few days ago, in taking his oath of office for 5 years, he hinted at the possibility of appointing eight senators "without political affiliation but with moral integrity" to counterbalance his unchallenged control of Parliament.

The regional conservative press (THE GUARDIAN and TRINIDAD EXPRESS, published in Port of Spain) has called attention to the danger that Seaga might introduce a single-party system with his "Pyrrhic electoral victory."

Even the Jamaican paper GLEANER, which has always been an unconditional supporter of Seaga's, has expressed reservations about the political empire that the JLP has established for itself by forcing the PNP to the sidelines by dint of a virtual coup d'etat under the guise of an election farce.

The JLP won 51 seats to the PNP's 9 in the 1980 elections. Seaga ran for office with the same number of deputies recently, while the PNP was forced to seek and nominate its candidates in just 4 days. This was indeed a low blow by Seaga.

After the occupation of Grenada, the Jamaican prime minister, a close friend of President Ronald Reagan, was invited to Washington, where he was accorded the major role among the principals who are sharing the spoils of Maurice Bishop's ravaged nation.

Seaga received \$25 million immediately after his return from the United States. The U.S. Agency for International Development said that the money would go to shore up Kingston's deficit-ridden balance of payments and to create jobs. The money was a boost to the brief election campaign of Seaga's JLP. Even so, only one-fourth of Jamaica's slightly more than 1 million voters went to the polls in the six districts in which the sham election was staged.

This is the lowest voter turnout in the island's constitutional history. In 1980, more than 80 percent of registered voters cast ballots.

The JLP ran unopposed for 54 seats in the lower house, as the PNP boycotted the elections. The ballot-box farce was staged in only six districts, where the JLP pretended that it was running against tiny parties of little consequence and shady backgrounds.

One was the Republican Party, which few people had even heard of, and another was the United Front of Jamaica, led by Charles Johnson, who in 1979 apparently instigated an unsuccessful military coup against the Manley government.

On Monday 19 December, Seaga appointed a 17-member cabinet with the same faces as in the previous one, which the respondents in a poll conducted by Stone in October had taken to task for doing an obviously ineffective job over the past 3 years.

Manley said that he would continue to represent the opposition through the PNP outside Parliament and through "people's forums," which are nonpartisan meetings held twice a month. He described Seaga's spurious elections as a "violation of democracy" and a "parliamentary fraud."

The former Jamaican prime minister promised to challenge Seaga at the polls once the updated voting list was ready.



## BRIGHT FUTURE FOR RELATIONS WITH GHANA PREDICTED

Havana PRISMA LATINOAMERICANO in Spanish Dec 83 p 26

[Text] Relations between Cuba and Ghana have continued to expand over the past 2 years, as the countries have exchanged numerous delegations at various levels and in various fields. For example, Kojo Tsikata, special adviser to Ghana's Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), headed up a delegation that just recently visited Havana.

Tsikata himself voiced his agreement with this assessment during an interview that he granted to PRISMA in the Cuban capital and in which he also talked about the current situation in Ghana, particularly the plans that the United States and its Central Intelligence Agency are engaged in against the Ghanaian revolution.

"We are certain that all of the attacks on our revolution have been organized by the CIA with the participation of our enemies overseas," the PNDC special adviser categorically asserted.

"I think that the CIA is not through with its plans yet, that there will be more in the future. That is the history of all revolutionary processes, but we are taking steps to combat such activities," he added.

Since December 1981, when Air Force Lt Jerry Rawlings took power in Accra, the Ghanaian Government has been the target of several attacks and destabilization efforts, foremost among which were the attempted coups in November 1982 and February and June 1983.

In every case the participants in the coups themselves told of the involvement of the CIA and other foreign intelligence and subversion agencies, mainly the British and Israeli organizations.

In the face of these threats, Tsikata explained that the Accra authorities are rallying the populace behind the revolutionary process and are succeeding in boosting grassroots involvement in the country's development.

"We are in complete control of the current situation in Ghana," the special adviser underscored confidently.

Prior to Tsikata's trip to Cuba, Havana was host to several delegations headed by other members of the PNDC and of other Ghanaian Government organizations. These contacts led to, among other things, the signing of various cooperation agreements and pacts.

The successful beginning of our bilateral relations has just been sealed, as some 600 Ghanaian children have arrived in Cuba and are now studying in a school that was made available to Ghana on the Isle of Youth.

Ghana has thus joined the list of African nations that receive Cuban cooperation in the training of future cadres and technicians, a list that includes Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Namibia, the Congo, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea Bissau, South Africa (participants sent by the African National Congress) and the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic.

Tsikata stated that the purpose of his recent visit to Cuba was to exchange opinions on a number of important issues. "I traveled to Cuba particularly to follow up on the economic agreements that we have signed," he said.

Another aim was to exchange views on the world situation, particularly in Latin America and Africa.

"Relations between Ghana and Cuba are very good. I am satisfied with the agreements we have signed and the way in which they have been implemented. I am very optimistic about the future of our ties."

The outlook for our relations was the focus of the talks that Tsikata held in Havana and was included on the agenda of a meeting that the PNDC special adviser had with Cuban President Fidel Castro.

The high-level Ghanaian delegation also conducted several work sessions with various well-known figures in the Cuban Government and Communist Party as part of the wideranging program of activities that it undertook on this Caribbean island.

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CSO: 3248/441

## MUSICIANS UNION CONDEMNS CONTRACT, PAYMENT ABUSES

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Gladys Hernandez and Joaquin Oramas: "Culture Union and Workers Condemn Violations Detected in Popular Music Payment Methods in Aggressive Meeting"]

[Text] In a fighting meeting, the culture union and workers denounced and condemned certain violations detected in the implementation of the new forms of payment for popular music.

The general meeting, which was chaired by Roberto Veiga, member, Political Bureau, and Secretary-General, CTC [Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions], and Jacinto Viamonte, secretary-general, SNTC [National Trade Union of Culture Workers], charted the union's policy line regarding the elimination of these harmful actions which run counter to artistic quality. Musicians, orchestra conductors, singers, and soloists unanimously approved a series of resolutions condemning these violations during this artistic meeting.

It was agreed, among other things, to demand that the various government agencies fully discharge their responsibility, that they exercise more control and that they eliminate these violations; the participants also demanded compliance with socialist legislation and it was resolved that violators of these laws be turned over to the courts.

The participants unanimously resolved not to accept a single penny above the amount due to the quantity and quality of work done and they agreed to denounce those who ask for unauthorized payments.

It was also agreed not to incur any expenditures for allowances for family members and friends and to denounce those who, in the name of artists, seek to spread this practice.

Viamonte announced that violations are occurring in popular music and among them he mentioned payment for complicated technical procedures higher than those authorized; devoting less time for a particular activity than specified; paying for performances that are not given; irregularities in double hiring; making payments higher than specified in line with the particular place of the performance.

Statements of condemnation and denunciation were made during the general meeting by Jose Gonzalez, conductor of the Rumbavana Orchestra; concert prize winner Cecilio Tieves; Marta Santalices, and Adolfo Alfonso, among others.

Viamonte pointed out that general meetings such as this one would be held throughout the land.

The head table furthermore included Enrique Gutierrez and Gonzalo Carne, vice ministers of the CETSS [State Committee for Labor and Social Security] and of culture, respectively.

#### Veiga Speaks

In closing the meeting, Roberto Veiga talked about the results of the new forms of payment and said that, listing some positive aspects, involving the application of the new forms of payment, does not mean that it is not indispensable to revise some standards which, in the light of everyday practice, have to be adjusted. He then said:

"In this sector, as in all of the other sectors throughout the land, the standards are elementary prior to their application and we have therefore proposed the principle of revising them in accordance with the way they work out." He warned that this is a continuous process which calls for rigorous and systematic control and analysis.

In another part of his speech, he said that there is good reason to doubt that the problem arising in connection with certain standards basically is not due to the lack of objectivity in their preparation but rather to the countless number of violations and distortions that arise in the course of their practical implementation.

He thus said that "in this sector we clearly detect the presence of some leaders who are very generous with the people's money. We are sure," he emphasized, "that, if this came out of their own pockets, they would not be so generous." In concluding, he added that it is necessary to fight against those irresponsible individuals without quarter.

The CTC secretary-general added the following on this matter: "We have information as to reprehensible conduct, expressions of favoritism, the buddy system, and other attitudes which have nothing to do with our ethics and with our principles and which are reminiscent of the vices and old schemes that must be wiped out once and for all."

After warning that nobody must be allowed to introduce practices that promote corruption among our artists, he repeated in conclusion: "Nothing and nobody shall corrupt our artists. No, a thousand times no! This has to be a battle which we are sure the union and all of our artists will fight and in that fight they will be backed up by the workers of all of the country's sectors."

He pointed out that these bad practices involve some workers who, in some cases, promote such practices while others simply go along and--he said--those are the workers whom the labor union movement must guide and educate and whom it will never be able to support, as a matter of principle.

He then said:

"Our Culture Union must work so that this will come true because the labor union movement, under our socialist conditions, must not just stand by and watch those problems develop, nor must it merely denounce them; instead it must primarily fight them without letup until they have been solved. The unions in Cuba are here not only to report events, the unions in our revolutionary and socialist Cuba, with the support of the party and of all workers, are basically here to transform events and to provide impetus for our upward march toward the shining future of socialism and communism. We must fight until we achieve repudiation, indignation, and total rejection of all those who manipulate and plunder the people's resources--regardless of whether they are government officials or workers."

Veiga also said that, in the midst of the current struggle which is being fought throughout the country for economic efficiency and profitability, our artistic enterprises must actively develop their sales management, promotion, and programming activities with an awareness of what their value means to the people.

He stressed that we must not be unaware and "we must not forget that, not too long ago, there were lots of unscrupulous individuals who, with a false artistic air and invested with a responsibility that nobody conferred upon them, simply went too far and speculated on the need for greater recreation that was supposed to exist in certain places throughout the country." He emphasized that remnants of those anachronistic habits perhaps still exist in relations between artists and agents and that there are still people who are making a profit from this but who are not being detected.

After agreeing that, in tackling these problems of programming, promotion, and hiring, the union must continue to insist on preventing the repetition of other ills, Veiga expressed his approval of the union's decision to hold meetings, such as this one, throughout the land, with the correct intention of going into the 15th CTC Congress with these violations abolished and with the renewed adherence of the musicians and artists to the values that are contained in the cultural line of the Revolution.

"The union must continue to be the eyes and ears," he emphasized, "and it must forcefully promote not only that which is in the legitimate interest of a worker or a group but it must also fight against the attitude of those who place their interests above those of society as a whole." He expressed the opinion that this is "a long struggle which requires intelligence, determination, and tact, a struggle which will clearly bring out the class consciousness, the revolutionary spirit, and the superior personality of the socialist man."

"This is a struggle," he stated specifically, "in which our twin status as workers and as custodians of the country's wealth and destiny is materialized. And let us recall Fidel when, in his enlightening words, he told us during the 14th Congress: 'We must say to the manager: Tell me what you demand of me; and we must tell him: Tell me what you demand of me because that is your duty. And if you do not tell me what you demand of me, you are not a good manager.' The working class, the worker, the working individual does not need buddies to run the management setup for him."

In the last part of his remarks, Veiga said that socialist society, the ethics of our artists, the cultural policy of the revolution will continue to shine with all of their splendor. Nothing can detract from the successes of the cultural revolution. And if yesterday, in the midst of slavery, in the midst of colonial status, in the midst of the phony republic, Cuban culture was born virile and combative, then today, after 25 beautiful years of socialist construction, our triumphs are irreversible.

He expressed the conviction and certainty that Cuba's artists were characterized and will be characterized by their fighting spirit, honesty, simplicity, discipline, and readiness to give their all for the just cause which they have presented with so much love and duty in their books, paintings, dances, and songs, the just cause which they have sworn to defend at the price of their own lives if circumstances so require.

In conclusion he said: "It may be that somebody was not pleased by the things that were said here; but we are sure that the overwhelming majority--which is honest and revolutionary--did share these criteria; but that does not worry us. The party and Fidel have taught us that we labor union leaders do not always have to say what might be most pleasing to the ears of our listeners; instead we have to say what is best for the interests of the country, the interests of the Revolution which, in the final analysis, are the interests of all workers.

"Many thanks, comrades, and we are very pleased by the vigorous and positive reaction you produced during this meeting. Once again we want to say that we have confidence in the class spirit and revolutionary consciousness of the workers and once again you did not let us down."

5058

CSO: 3248/449

## 'HUMOR CRISIS,' IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS DISCUSSED

Havana EL CAIMAN BARBUDO in Spanish Jan 84 pp 16-18

[Interview with Zumbado, Nunez Rodriguez, Hector Quintero, Ajubel, and Virulo by Lourdes Pasalodos: "The Blame for All This Rests With..."]

[Text] It is not without good reason that the public frequently is irritated when it gets ready to enjoy the humorous programs on TV and when the programs fail to make the audience laugh because the situations that are presented are generally rather naive and lack hilarity and sharpness.

There is therefore much talk about a crisis in humor and there is even more discussion about the obvious stagnation of what we get from the little screen. EL CAIMAN therefore decided to assemble a group of humorists. The following attended our gathering: Enrique Nunez Rodriguez (writer), Hector Quintero (director and playwright), Ajubel (caricaturist), Hector Zumbado (writer), and Virulo (director and composer). We asked them for their judgment on this matter but it so happened that they also needed some answers so that this effort does not constitute the last word but rather only the beginning of the dialogue.

Zumbado: It has been said in absolute terms that there is a crisis in humor; but that is not true; what is happening is that, among the strongest media, that is, radio and TV, there are problems and that gives you the impression that there is a general crisis in humor. Looking back, our humor has been present in almost all artistic expression, in the theater, in music, in the graphic arts, on radio and TV. That tradition has been maintained ever since the triumph of the Revolution and it has been further enriched. There are factors which unfavorably influence the development of the new type of humor which we must come out with: The economic humor and the prestige humor. TV scripts command a very low price, something like 30 pesos and that is very little. The other problem is the lack of social recognition; the humorist is looked down upon.

Nunez Rodriguez: Prestige on the popular level continues unaltered and that is one special aspect here. We can feel the affection and respect of the public. I believe that Zumbado was talking about a different type of recognition.

Newsman: Institutional recognition, Zumbado?

Zumbado: Of course, as a matter of policy! The low esteem is manifested in various ways, in the pay we get for humoristic works, which I mentioned earlier, in the scant possibilities for exchange with the humor they have in other languages, in the scarce frequency of exhibits and meetings. Something similar is happening in the theater.

Hector Quintero: No, that is absolutely not true in the case of the theater; we do have festivals and the theatrical groups do travel.

Zumbado: There is another matter: Almost all humorists on radio and TV left at the beginning of the Revolution and there was virtually no younger generation to take over from them. Today it is much more difficult to produce humor because there are essential differences between the old society and the new society. You cannot make opposition humor; custom acquires a different dimension which is not precisely what it was before.

Newsman: But the public is also more demanding, is it not?

Hector Quintero: A certain taste level is being maintained; the humor of social criticism is not being rejected; what is happening is that the people are asking for something more, that there be criticism, that our problems be reflected. We humorists engage in a lot of self-censorship; at least in my case, this is a limitation but I do not censor myself just because I like it; I have been the victim of misinterpretation which springs from the excessive sensitivity of some comrades. The limitations are not political but rather personal. The political aspect is very clear and it requires that something which is badly done be criticized; but there are sectors that react, that are opposed, that do not want this.

Nunez Rodriguez: That is one of the difficulties that most interferes with humor, that is, hypersensitivity. It has gotten to the point that, if you satirize an arbitrary government official, the vast majority of other government officials will believe that the criticism is directed at them; they confuse humor with disparagement, without realizing that the category of the comical is a very important Marxist-Leninist category. The joke which the particular government official permits himself to make in his office, on closed circuit, triggers a complaint from at least ten government managers when it is telecast over TV. So there is a certain inhibition which impairs humor.

Newsman: Nunez, in the specific case of TV there is however an absence of criticism and the situations are just plain naive.

Nunez Rodriguez: We were talking about hypersensitivity and Hector also mentioned self-censorship; that is a heavy burden but we humorists on TV must also govern ourselves with the help of some guidelines and that narrows the leeway we have rather considerably.



Hector Quintero: I agree with the character of absolute naiveness which we find in what little humor you get on TV; however, we are all witnesses of the tremendous development of graphic humor. This is why I think that there is a problem of conception and of definition for the various different media which must be solved.

Newsman: Nunez, to clarify some concepts, you were talking about limitations.

Nunez Rodriguez: No, I was talking about guidelines and that is not the same thing.

Newsman: What are those guidelines based on?

Nunez Rodriguez: They spring from the Program Platform and from the resolutions of the Party Congress.

Newsman: The Program Platform and the resolutions of the I and II Party congresses chart a policy to be followed, the most essential ideas; but it is evident that, in this case, the application--not the policy--is not correct, in other words, that it is necessary to compare the form of application of those work guidelines with the results and to correct the course if necessary. Do you not think so?

Nunez Rodriguez: Well, it says...Look, for example, sex is a topic which supposedly has been taken out of the humoristic programs on TV; in exchange, we get programs such as "George and Mildred," and that is a contradiction! It is correct to say that the party pursues a policy of supporting television humor. A humor workshop has been established in the ICRT [Cuban Institute of Radio and Television] to prepare new values; and then we have the Marcos Behemaras competition.

Ajubel: It is said that the task of the humorist was easier under capitalism and more complicated under socialism. In our society, it is more difficult: It is not directed against the individual but in favor of him; the idea is not to make fun of him but rather to guide him. We have been working for the people 25 years and we have demonstrated ability, audacity, and depth. I believe that the time has come for us to give us a vote of confidence so that we can do a more profound job without any of that self-censorship. The positive aspect of humor resides in its critical essence.

Nunez Rodriguez: But satire is not the only form of humor.

Hector Quintero: Yes, but, thinking of our public and the necessities of the new society, you know that criticism is decisive.

Zumbado: For example, "Algo muy serio" [something very serious], 'DDT', "Reflexiones" [reflections] and the compositions by Virulo--these were successful because they criticize and this is where TV falls down. You have to have some more open guidelines in that outfit.

Newsman: Nunez, you were talking about a workshop, about a competition, and I say this: Every 2 years, we stage the Humor Biennial in San Antonio de los Banos; you, however, do not periodically exchange opinions, you do not chart common objectives. It would be beneficial if Hector would stage a humoristic show, the scenery would be taken care of by the graphic artists, or something of yours could be published in DDT, or Zumbado would write a script for television. In this way there would be a real and effective exchange on the theoretical and practical levels. What is your opinion?

Nunez Rodriguez: This is something we have been working on. We had an initial meeting in the Union of Newsmen. In my particular case, I worked with Virulo and Zumbado and the comrades from DDT participated likewise; but we did not generalize this type of experience although we should. It is true that the festivals of humor should also include a theoretical section in their content.

Newsman: You are scattered all over the place; perhaps the Biennial could be the cementing center.

Nunez Rodriguez: The UPEC [Union of Cuban Journalists] was the site for meetings that were being held with the party and that were then suddenly postponed.

Ajubel: We have to unite. It is impossible for people in the graphic arts field to be on one side and for television to be on the other side. It seems to me that one way to organize ourselves is the Biennial; what happens is that it has been turned into a beer-drinking fiesta, whereas it could be held in the Cuba Pavilion, in the theaters; and San Antonio could be a symbolical secondary place because conditions are not the best there. I believe that this has to be analyzed.

Nunez Rodriguez: Getting back to television, the humor workshop for possible writers is not enough; it seems to me that TV must make sure that funny programs are directed by comrades who specialize in this subject. We must also think of humorist advisors and directors.

Hector Quintero: Enrique, we have touched the essence of the problem in the field of television here and I believe that the first thing is to try to broaden those limited frameworks in addition to creating some ways of stimulation for the offer.

Nunez Rodriguez: We have the idea of eliminating the fixed programs. "Detras de la fachada," [Behind the Facade] has been on the air for 25 years; "San Nicolas del Peladero" has been on for 20 years; "Si no fuera por mama" [If It Were Not for Mother] is already 2 years old. We want to eliminate the programs that keep running on and on and we want to open up more possibilities for authors and actors likewise.

Zumbado: Between 75 and 80 percent of the homes have a television set in Cuba. Those 75 percent out of 10 million inhabitants constitute a potential of 7.5 million television viewers; that is the public at large. This is why a greater effort must be made to solve the problem of humor on television.

Newsman: Nunez, these things which, as you yourself said, "are being worked on," do they really have any short-term, medium-term, or long-term chances?

Nunez Rodriguez: Immediate possibilities, with medium-term results.

Newsman: I would like to go back a little bit: The idea of the workshop for aspiring humorists is very good but I think that the first workshop we ought to have is a workshop for those who have been in this business already for some time. What do you think?

Hector Quintero: Of course! I do not know about the other comrades, but as far as I'm concerned, TV did not ask me to collaborate for the past 14 years and I think that the workshop for participants should bear fruit in long-range terms. We now have a good number of comrades with experience who must be employed.

Virulo: It is quite obvious that we have to unite, that we have to look to the Biennial, that we have to exchange experiences; but I think that the solution to the problems of humor on TV cannot be worked out overnight. On the other hand, I think that there is one aspect on which we all can work: Anti-imperialist humor. The graphic arts workers have taken up that topic quite successfully; but the rest of us have straggled behind. I propose that we get together and that we tackle this as the first aspect, without worrying much about the situation of humor on television. And I offer you the Circle of Humor of Karl Marx as a place where we can meet and talk about these things. I believe that we have much to analyze and much to define.

(At the end of the dialogue--not because the topic had been exhausted but because the guests had other duties to perform--some of them remained behind for a short time in our editorial offices to organize the next meeting in the place offered by Virulo.)

During the conversation, the guests agreed that:

Policy regarding humor, as outlined in the Program Platform and the agreements and resolutions of the I and II Party congresses, is correct and calls for the exercise of criticism; but its practical application is not always adequate in some media and institutions.

All creative workers are not working with the same intensity which is why their talent and initiatives are not being properly utilized and the exchange of experiences has not become general practice.

The Biennial and the festivals of humor call for a study of their structure so as to obtain broader objectives.

The rather shaky situation of television humor calls for urgent solution since this involves the most widely disseminated mass medium and provides a great penetration capacity; it is therefore absolutely necessary to compare the form of application of guidelines governing the practice of this type of program in TV with the results.

Who is primarily responsible for solving these problems?

EL CAIMAN believes that much remains to be said since all humorists have the duty to give their opinions. This is why, in public and in these pages, we urge the following to join this debate: Nuez, Carballido Rey, Luberta, Miguelito, Virgilio, Urra, Manuel, Tomy, Lillo, Carlos Ruiz de la Tejera, Juan Padron, Blanco, Val, Evora, Felo, Pittin, the comrades of Melaito, and those we forgot to mention.

We will see each other in February.

5058

CSO: 3248/449

## BRIEFS

TRADE WITH GDR--Trade between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba has increased 11-fold since the first trade agreement was signed between the two countries on 17 December 1960, Comrade Kurt Bransch, the commercial adviser to the GDR Embassy in this capital, has told us. In an interview with BOHEMIA, Kurt Bransch recalled that the first pact was signed by Commander Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Heinrich Rau, the foreign trade ministers of Cuba and the GDR at the time. When we asked him what the GDR's main exports to Cuba were, he mentioned the following, among 350 in all: equipment for cement plants, publishing houses, oxygen plants, the sugar industry, flour mills, bakeries and breweries, as well as machine tools. The list also includes construction equipment, steam and electric power generating equipment, computers, communications equipment, farm and textile machinery, pesticides, films, paints, textiles, foodstuffs and other items. Bransch noted that over the years the GDR has shipped Cuba more than 100 complete industrial plants and pieces of equipment, foremost among which are the "Karl Marx" cement plant in Cienfuegos, the "Juan Marinello" printed fabrics complex in Guantanamo, the oxygen plant in Marianao, the flour mill in Cienfuegos (which can process up to 600 metric tons a day) and the Alquitex textile factory in Alquizar. With regard to Cuba's exports to the GDR, he mentioned the following main items: sugar, fresh and processed citrus fruits, honey, candy, alcoholic beverages, planks made of sugar cane bagasse for the furniture industry, torula yeast and nickel. As evidence of the rapid increase in trade, he underscored that it rose from just 35.3 million rubles in 1961 to 327 million rubles in 1983, reflecting the strong fraternal relations between the two countries in all areas. "The positive and dynamic development of trade relations will continue. Trade expanded by 214 percent in the 1976-1980 period and is expected to increase by 45 percent in the 5-year period from 1980 to 1985. This amounts to an average annual rise of about nine percent; in other words, we expect that sort of increase in the years 1984 and 1985 as well." Before concluding our friendly conversation, we asked the GDR's commercial adviser how relations were between the foreign trade enterprises of the two nations. Bransch replied emphatically, with obvious satisfaction: "They are very good. Many of their managers have had friendly contacts for years now. I don't think that this is at all exceptional. It is in keeping with the close fraternal relations between the two governments and peoples and forms the basis for trust and cooperation for the welfare of the two countries." [Text] [Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish No 51, 23 Dec 83 p 35] 8743

COUNTRY SECTION

HAITI

OPEN LETTERS TO DUVALIER INQUIRE INTO FATE OF MISSING RELATIVES

Retired Army Captain Arrested

Port-au-Prince LE PETIT SAMEDI SOIR in French 24 Dec 83-6 Jan 84 p 21

/Text/ H E Jean-Claude Duvalier, President of the Republic for Life,  
H E Michèle B Duvalier, First Lady of the Republic, Palais National,  
Port-au-Prince, 19 Dec 83

Excellencies,

In the name of my children and in my own name, I am writing this letter to beg you to consider the case of my husband who has been missing for 3 months and of whom I have had no official news, in spite of my efforts.

A retired captain in the Armed Forces of Haiti, Marcelin Belice was still in the service of Your Excellencies' progressive government of social justice as Chief of Security at Teleco when he was arrested by two officers from the Dessalines barracks on 23 September 1983.

What is he accused of? I do not know. He was never brought before his rightful judges and I have not been able to visit him. Since October, my husband being absent, our children have been staying at home. They are young adults whom my husband raised with love to serve our nation and Your government:

Reynald Marcelin Delice, Jr and Westa Delice, who have just completed the academic high school program, have not been able to enter the university. Marie Michele Delice (Rheto /translation unknown/) and Geraldine (Moyen /translation unknown/) remain at home. The eldest, Max Delice, who worked at Teleco, was fired on the same day as his father.

I am a mother and wife who cannot be consoled, caring for a family in a state of shock.

Your Excellency, President for Life, Honorable First Lady,

On this Christmas Eve, I turn to you with immense hope. You are our last recourse. Whatever it is that my husband and the father of my

children might be accused of, I know that You could be magnanimous in his case and pardon him. Return our beloved Marcelin to our distressed and lifeless home, and God will bless you. I know that You are capable of great things. Free Captain Marcelin so that he may at least be able to continue his children's education which the nation needs in order for Your economic revolution to triumph.

It is with these feelings, Excellencies, that I ask You to accept my unflinching gratitude and thanks, with my wishes for Health, Longevity and Prosperity in 1984 from my children and from myself.

For: Herold, Max, Reynold, Westa, Marie Michele and Geraldine Delice,

(Signed) Mrs Michele Marcelin Delice, 2eme Cite St Martin, Tel 6-4960

#### Restaurant Owner Disappears

Port-au-Prince LE PETIT SAMEDI SOIR in French 24 Dec 83-6 Jan 84 p 23

/Text/ Mr President of the Republic for Life, Palais National, Port-au-Prince, 22 Dec 83

Mr President for Life,

In writing this letter, we wish to draw your attention, as Chief of State and Protector of all Haitian citizens, to the case of our father, Mr Frid Esper, who mysteriously disappeared: On 15 January of this year, at 10 o'clock in the evening, armed civilians burst into "Monsieur Burger," the restaurant owned by our father, and asked him to follow them, on orders from the Dessaline barracks.

Since then, our father has not come back and every night, we cry over his absence and every day, we wait for his return. All the efforts made by our desperate mother have met with silence and the most total indifference.

In this Christmas season, when Your Excellency and the Honorable First Lady magnanimously go forth to bring joy to homes and specially to children, we ask you not to forget us. What a beautiful and precious gift you would give to us, Excellency, if you were to give us the opportunity to have news of our father, to see him and to receive once more his fatherly affection and care. And he, too, has a right to the protection of the Head of State and the laws of this country.

In the hope that you will not turn a deaf ear to our cry, we beg you, Mr President for Life, to accept our respectful greetings and our wishes for Health and Happiness to You, the First Lady and your Beloved Son.  
(Signed) Fridjho Esper, 9 years old; (Signed) Andy Esper, 7 years old;  
(Signed) Jonathan Esper, 3 years old

12413

CSO: 3219/13

## AREVALO G. EMPHASIZES MILITARY'S NONPOLITICAL ROLE

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 19 Jan 84 pp 1-A, 20-A

[Text] Yesterday, Gen Juan Arevalo Gardoqui declared that our Armed Forces "are not a destructive machine, but rather an Army which constructs and safeguards the institutions," wherein there is no room for politics nor policing activities.

He denied that there is division among their members, explaining that the Army's presence in the elections "is only to ensure the handling and transfer of the documentation, as well as to give the citizen confidence."

During the "20 Women and a Man" breakfast, the secretary of national defense reiterated that the country is living in peace and calm, and that this claim is based on the fact that, since the Army stems from the people and serves the people, its personnel may be distributed among workers, farmers and civil servants, thus enabling it to comprise a profile of the general situation.

He said that, in view of the country's pacifist policy, it is impossible for the Central American conflict to reach our borders, explaining that, at the present time, there are about 28,000 Guatemalan refugees being sheltered by us, 85 percent of whom are women and children, and 15 percent men, the majority being sick and aged. And he noted that the Health Secretariat is responsible for their medical treatment, while the UN is in charge of feeding them.

He remarked: "With all the truthfulness of a member of the military, I can claim that the Guatemalan Army has not set foot on national territory, although the borders between Guatemala and Mexico are lost in the underbrush."

With respect to the guerrillas, he gave assurance that there are none in the republic, "or if they exist, they must be well hidden."

And, commenting on the assistance that the forces under his command are rendering "to their unfortunate brothers," with endeavors of a social nature, he said that "an army bears a direct relationship to the doctrine on war that each country has." Then he added: "We have always been in full view of the people, because we appear only as a result of phenomena caused by the work of man or nature, or when there is a need to commemorate a date. And we are cheered by a people who have often been a part of this Army."



## The Attackers' Weapons

At another juncture in the talk, he agreed that the attackers have weapons with high technology, and explained that they are smuggled into the country, often on the basis of the "ant operation," which makes it very difficult to detect them.

And on the topic of the checkpoints, he reported that those in the state of Guerrero are annoying to the tourists, but that, in exchange for this, they have brought magnificent results, both in the search for weapons and in the battle against the drug traffic, an area in which our Army has chalked up great victories on the international level. And he disclosed that, at its Nurses' School, a group of women have been trained to inspect the vehicles occupied by ladies.

Laura Garcia inquired, "with all due respect," whether the Army might at any time take control of the country. There was a long silence and, after breathing deeply, the defense secretary stated that the military may be active in politics only when they have been separated from the Army.

And going down directly to this female reporter, he declared:

"Under no circumstances would the Army seize power. We now have a different mentality. Our purpose is that of safeguarding the institutions and being absolutely loyal to our supreme commander."

2909

CSO: 3248/453

## ALL BUT ONE OF LOPEZ PORTILLO FAMILY RESIDENCES STAND EMPTY

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 378, 30 Jan 84 pp 10-15

[Article by Francisco Ortiz Pinchetti]

[Text] There they are. Ostentatious, offensive, and also solitary. They are cared for and maintained, so that no one will occupy them, no one will enjoy them and no one will live in them.

The mansions of the Lopez Portillos (the other houses involved in the scandal) have an owner, but they are empty, like mausoleums.

Paulina Lopez Portillo, one of the former president's daughters, with her husband, is the only resident of the immense area of Cuajimalpa Hill. The couple live in one of the four residences, the most highly situated of the group now being guarded by 11 soldiers. All the rest is solitude.

The houses in Lomas Altas ravine are also uninhabited. Neither Margarita Lopez Portillo nor her mother, Dona Refugio, occupies either of their two mansions linked by charming Andalusian walks.

In Acapulco, Jose Lopez Portillo's hideaway at Pichilingue beach (which was an exclusive enclave of the Alemanists) has not been visited in over a year by either him or any member of his family. The large white house is unfurnished, and the former president's office, adjoining the sea, has its mahogany bookshelves completely empty.

Nor has Carmen Romano returned to his penthouse in Acapulco, since her husband left the government. The two-story condominium facing the bay, with a pool and a thousand luxuries, is a carefully preserved, always clean sepulchre.

Not even Refugio, JLP's other sister, has returned to her country house, built completely of wood, on the Mexico City-Cuernavaca highway, for months. The mother of Roberto Martinez Vara Lopez Portillo, a fugitive from justice, has chosen to cloister herself in her home in Coyoacan, and has given up the pleasure of that total view of the capital that the select privileged site affords.

All for nothing.

When in power, they desired everything. With power, they reached the peaks, the luxuries, the whims and the sea; and they arrived at delirium, waste and effrontery.

And they cannot enjoy it. Far removed and scattered, the family is now exiled in Europe: Lopez Portillo resides in Rome, where his son, Jose Ramon, also lives; Carmen Romano is in Paris, as is her daughter, Carmen Beatriz; and Margarita and Alicia, with Dona Cuquita, the mother, live in Spain.

But the houses, the houses are there; they are eloquent evidence. And they have not yet been touched.

### Stormy Peaks

In its No 306 issue, on 13 September 1982, PROCESO published the first evidence: On a hill in Bosques de las Lomas, in Cuajimalpa, four mansions were being built with resources and machinery from the federal government, for the then still president of the republic and his family. Five months later, in issue No 329, the weekly publication went into detail on the architectural plans, providing the particulars on a project of hallucinating dimensions: On an area of 122,881 square meters, at the top of the hill, the four residences separated by spaces were being constructed, with a construction area amounting to 15,563 square meters. The approximate value of all this was estimated at the time at 1.855 billion pesos.

Today, three of the four mansions are completely finished. The construction on the fourth one was stopped 10 months ago, when the underground structure had been completed.

The first house, facing west, on the highest part of the hill, is the one occupied by Paulina Lopez Portillo and her husband, Pascual Ortiz Rubio. A total of 2,250 meters of it have been built, on an expanse of nearly 30,000 square meters. It is a two-story mansion, in Mexican colonial style, all orange-colored. It is L-shaped, and has an archway about 80 meters long in front; which gives an idea of its size. In its upper section, in the middle of the house, the reddish dome of a chapel juts out. It is surrounded by well cared for gardens, in which the English grass is green and where hundreds of small, still young trees have been planted.

Another one of the houses is of Mediterranean style, with a four-slope roof covered with red tiles. It has 2,600 meters of construction, also on two floors. The residence is painted pale pink, with the window frames trimmed in brown. The drafts of five fireplaces face one another. Gardens with neglected yellowish grass surround the mansion.

The third one is the house meant for Jose Lopez Portillo. It is actually a group of structures totaling 4,400 meters. It consists of the former president's residence and office, all in a daring, modernist style, on several levels and with large windows.

In the rear section, which faces the ravine toward the south, there is the cylindrical library, with an enormous acrylic dome on the roof and vertical windows three stories high. In the center, the silver-plated dome of the observatory shines beneath the sun, among the dry foliage on the sloping roof. In fact, the former president has not even used his combination residence and office, in which there are rooms paneled with fine woods, marble terraces, sitting rooms and other rooms carpeted with imported material and other unimaginable luxuries. The walks that are also there appear neglected and deserted.

Finally, the unfinished mansion is the largest of all: 6,240 square meters of construction. It has three floors, which are missing their surfacing, windows and finishing. The roof was covered with flat green tiles. According to the neighbors' claim, the project was stopped last April and since then no movement has been seen. Heaps of material, gravel and dirt are still around.

One is struck by the solitude, silence and sadness observed at the famous Hill. Just as one is also struck by its dimensions, when the complex is viewed panoramically from the Mexico City-Toluca highway or from the upper sections of the Bosques de las Lomas development, west of the capital. Even several kilometers distant, one must turn his head from side to side in order to cover all the Lopez Portillo property.

All of it is protected by high walls made of stone and cement, and, in the rear, by metal fencing 3 meters high. The front wall alone measures over 400 meters in a straight line. One has the feeling that it is impregnable.

A platoon of presidential guards, armed and in uniform, is responsible for maintaining surveillance over the entire surroundings. At all times, day and night, there is a soldier stationed at the door of each of the four houses. Five other military men occupy individual sentry-boxes installed in the rear section of the property, on the side of the ravine. The detachment is housed in a white building located at the northwest corner of the vast lot.

The soldiers watch and exercise caution; they give no information, nor do they know anything, they claim; but they do not prevent traffic from circulating along Paseo de los Laureles Avenue (not yet finished), which affords access to the four residences, either. The one occupied by Paulina has a main door 5 meters wide by 3 meters high, all made of black, carved cedar.

"Madame Paulina is not at home," we are told kindly by the caretaker who acts as the doorkeeper, a tall young man wearing a Texas-style hat. "She is the only one living here, with her husband, Don Pascual; but they are not at home just now, they went out. There is no one here."

When faced with our insistence, he loses his amiable manner, saying only that the other houses are uninhabited, that neither Lopez Portillo nor Dona Carmen has been at the Hill for many months, and that he knows nothing about them. And with that, he closes the heavy main door.

Outside the house, beside the walk, there is a car parked: a semi-new maroon LTD. It is all covered with dust, with the four tires flat, abandoned.

## From the Summit to the Abyss

Not far from the Hill, in the area known as Lomas Altas (behind the Dolores civil cemetery) there are other residences without inhabitants: those of Margarita Lopez Portillo and Dona Cuquita, the former president's sister and mother.

Instead of the summits, they selected a beautiful ravine to build the mansions in which they had intended to live. To fulfill their desires, it was necessary to move thousands of tons of earth in order to refill the depression. That work was done while Lopez Portillo was still president of the republic, with equipment and personnel from the capital government (PROCESO No 326).

And the result was successful: The architectural complex built there occupies a beautiful landscape that affords an enviable view of the stream flowing down toward the east.

There are two joined mansions in an amazing combination of styles, with the air of an Andalusian hamlet, but with shapes and sizes of a fairytale castle: roofs with two and four slopes, balconies looking out over the ravine, eight chimneys, inner yards and gardens. Both mansions have three floors, although Margarita's also has a sun room covered by a skylight in the middle and with a terrace full of plants.

The houses in the ravine are numbered 303 and 309 Cumbres de Acultzingo Street, a kind of winding road that makes it possible to drive between Paseo de la Reforma and Constituyentes Avenue. For many months, the neighbors suffered countless inconveniences resulting from the coming and going of dirt carriers and the noise of the construction. Now, on the other hand, everything is peaceful there.

Even the tour guides, who kept a constant watch inside a minitaxi that is still located there, at the door of one of the houses, have gone. There is no longer anyone to keep watch.

The houses, however uninhabited they are, are nevertheless in perfect condition. Responsible for their care are three servants, whose tasks include taking care of the two beautiful collie dogs belonging to Dona Margarita. The animals are free to roam through the yards and arcades in which there are large numbers of pots containing plants.

In the garage of one of the houses there is a brand-new silver LTD. It still has vanity plates: 908-AAA. In the yard there are other cars: a black Classic, a blue Caribe and a green Volkswagen.

The house of the former director of RTC has a sitting room on three levels which literally opens up onto an open vestibule with a garden. There are six bedrooms and, in the upper part of the house, a large office with a view of the stream.

Apparently smaller, Dona Cuquita's residence appears facing a rectangular yard surrounded by arcades and with a fountain in the center. On one of the sides, the large balcony outside JLP's mother's sewing room juts out.

However, no one is currently enjoying all these lovely things, on which no less than 500 million pesos, not yet devaluated, were spent.

Somewhat the same holds true of the country house of Refugio Lopez Portillo de Martinez Vara, over on the road to Cuernavaca. Although she continues to live in Mexico, her son, Roberto, former deputy director of the National Commission of the Sugar Industry, accused of embezzlement, is a fugitive. Her husband, Adolfo Martinez Vara, has just received protection (it has been months since he has enjoyed, with his children and grandchildren, as he used to previously, the covered pool, the terraced gardens, the house built of imported lumber and, particularly, the incomparable view of the city that one has from there.)

A pity, especially when one considers the difficulties and costs entailed in the construction on such an irregular slope that looks like a natural balcony. Of course, to accomplish it Refugio (like her son, Adolfo, who has an adjoining large house) had all the support of the various government entities, such as the Federal District Department, SAHOP [Secretariat for Human Settlements and Public Workers], and the Federal Electricity Commission, of which her husband was deputy administrative director under the Lopez Portillo regime.

And they could afford an unusual luxury: having, by way of a well, two railroad tank cars taken there on special vehicles and buried under the outside parking-terrace area.

But the abandonment is by now noticeable. In the garden, the grass is parched. No one uses the covered pool the opening of which is recorded on a bronze plaque. The paving stones on the terrace have been broken, and one notes cave-ins. Only the night watchman can be seen, from one evening to the next.

#### Acapulco Without You

Both Jose Lopez Portillo and his wife, Carmen Romano, wanted to have their hideaway in Acapulco. At the end of 1979, she bought herself a luxurious penthouse in the Loric Building on El Morro beach, from which one can look out onto the entire bay. He preferred an oceanside retreat at Pichilingue beach, in Puerto Marques.

Dona Carmen, however, enjoyed her condominium for 3 years, on occasional visits. She even had an upper story built, which she outfitted with every luxury.

Nevertheless, she has never returned since JLP left the presidency. Her penthouse, on the 13th and 14th floors of the condominium, has remained closed and concealed since then, although it is perfectly maintained. Officially, the apartment does not exist either in the building directory or on the panel in its elevator. But Blanca Velez, the manager of the Loric, takes diligent care of its maintenance.

"When she would come, the whole street was filled with cars and tour guides," recalls Carlos Noriega Castillo, who is in charge of an adjacent condominium. "It was a nuisance, God knows, but that is all over now."

Lopez Portillo, for his part, enjoyed his hideaway in Pichilingue, for which someone paid \$2 million in January 1982, very little.

The house, called "Villa Marga Mar," belonged to Melchor Perusquia Villarreal, who was a prominent member of the Alemanist group. The transaction was carried out through a United States realty company, Previews, Inc, with headquarters in Los Angeles.

As soon as JLP took over the house, he decided to renovate it and built an office on the private beach, virtually jutting out over the ocean. Another 40 million pesos was spent on that work, headed by architect Eduardo Luna Traill (then director of airports for SAHOP), in which Fidecomiso of Acapulco cooperated generously.

JLP was seldom seen there. While still president, he paid about three or four visits. He liked to ski at Puerto Marques bay, or to ride on his blue sailboat, the "Quetzalcoatl," currently anchored and protected on one of the docks of the Icacos naval base. He sometimes walked along the beach with one of his grandchildren. At times, very early in the morning, he would swim a couple of kilometers at a time.

To fulfill another one of his great pleasures, he had a regulation-size tennis court built behind the house. To do so, it was necessary to cut down a hill, remove tons and tons of rock and prepare a level area. Mercury lighting was installed and a chain-link fence 20 meters tall was put up.

The court has not been used yet. Lopez Portillo has not returned to Pichilingue for a year and a half.

The mansion looks brand-new, all painted white, clean and well cared for; but it is completely empty. There is not a bed, a table or a picture in the entire residence. The furniture, which was included in the sale of the property, was removed when the renovation began. The work ended nearly a year ago, but the furnishings have not been returned. The new floors have not even been polished.

The office is also finished, with its large polarized glass windows which capture the entire bay. It is an intimate, pleasant, ideal refuge in which to engage, unhurriedly, in writing and painting, as was the desire of the former president. Nevertheless, no one is using it. The only furniture there consists of a few enormous mahogany bookcases...in which there is not a single book. And the waterpipes for the bathroom are not yet connected.

The gardens which abound down the hill, on terraces and stairways, are as beautiful as they are deserted: No one enjoys the verdure of their plants and lawns, nor the multicolored symphony of their bougainvillaea, royal poincianas, roses and jasmine.

A second lieutenant from the Navy, Oscar Velela, is responsible for the house. He has been assigned there since JLP took over the 3,325 square meter property, with a private beach. There are only three employees, besides the seaman: Adelino, the Perusquias' old gardener, and two servants who do the cleaning.

Every 2 weeks, Velela receives a draft to pay the personnel their wages. Apparently the one responsible for sending it is Lopez Portillo's son-in-law, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, who has been at Villa Marga Mar on three occasions.

His have been the only visits in 18 months. No one else has come, and the bored employees have not even received a present from the owner.

**Sheer solitude.**

2909

CSO: 3248/453



## MILK, WATER THEFTS BY NEEDY IN COAHUILA, VALLEY OF MEXICO

## Milk Taken in Saltillo

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 22 Jan 84 p 12-A

[Text] Saltillo, Coahuila, 21 January--Today, groups of individuals with low income, incited by PST [Socialist Workers Party] members, hijacked five milk distribution trucks and seized about 1,000 liters of milk, which they later divided up among residents of the town's housing developments.

The manager of the La Saltillera pasteurizing firm, Guadalupe Trejo Quiroz, complained about the incident to the Judicial Police, and requested the authorities' protection to prevent the continuation of the hijacking of vehicles carrying milk.

Meanwhile, Humberto Carrillo Martinez, representative of SECOFIN [Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Development] stated that pressure from the merchants to continue raising milk prices would not be tolerated, and announced that the new price of milk for this capital and the region would be 53 pesos per liter.

He also remarked that, in order to protect the workers' purchasing power to the maximum extent, there would be no increase in the prices of rolls and tortillas; while reporting that the milk sold in CONASUPO [National Company for Basic Commodities] would have a price increase of 15 pesos (it used to cost 35.50 pesos).

## Reactions to Milk Prices

The increase in milk prices evoked various reactions from labor and business leaders in the states of Coahuila, Baja California Norte, Jalisco, Guerrero, Chihuahua, Michoacan and Sonora.

The CTM [Confederation of Mexican Workers] leader in Saltillo, Jacobo Charles Ruiz, commented that milk producers must comply with what has been agreed upon with respect to their increasing milk production.

## 'Harsh Blow to the Working Class'

Whereas the CROC [Revolutionary Confederation of Workers and Peasants] leader in Mexicali, Daniel Rivera Araujo, told our correspondent, Jesus Victor Ferrer, that the new increase in milk prices is a harsh blow to the working class, so that this product has gradually become a luxury item.

In Acapulco, the labor leaders of various organizations expressed opposition to the hike, noting that it would give reason to demand an emergency wage or an increase in the percentages in contract revisions, according to representative Enrique Diaz Clavel.

Meanwhile, the head of the Jalisco Regional Cattlemen's Union, Hugo Barragan Hermosillo, told our correspondent, Eduardo Chimely, that, with the increase in the price of milk, "now production will be promoted, and food will not be lacking."

The chief of the livestock program of SARH [Secretariat of Agriculture and Water Resources] in Chihuahua, Raul Terrazas, told this firm's correspondent, Alejandro Irigoyen, that, with the importing of 30,000 milk cows with a high yield from the United States this year, by the Federal Government, the takeoff of the milk industry will begin and the important industry will be consolidated in the country.

The manager of the BANRURAL [Rural Credit Bank] branch in Uruapan, Michoacan, Salvador Moreno Castaneda, in turn, told our correspondent, Angel Sanchez, that, owing to the losses in the Purepero plateau wheat crops, the South Pacific BANRURAL will stop planting the grain and will develop a dairy program with 1,900 cows which will produce about 38,000 liters per day.

Finally, Juan Manuel Mandujano Estrada told our correspondent, Francisco Santacruz Meza, that the SECOFIN agency in Sonora would exercise strict control over products, pasteurizers and retail dealers to prevent changes in the new milk price.

## Water Seized in Netzahualcoyotl, Chimalhuacan

Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 22 Jan 84 p 23

[Excerpt] Tlalnepantla, Mexico, 21 January--Water is in short supply in 163 housing developments in the Valley of Mexico, and the supply of the fluid has been stopped completely in another 42, affecting over 3 million persons. On the other hand, there is even enough water to afford wasting it in the industries and residential sections.

The situation has reached such lengths that, in Netzahualcoyotl and Chimalhuacan, the settlers "are seizing the tank trucks by assault" according to the representative of the Proletarian Settlers Union, Alberto Duran Nunez.

These "assaults" are caused by the tank truck owners themselves, who are speculating with the water, selling it for 150 pesos per 200-liter drum in the most needy areas, such as Atizapan, Chalco and Nezahualcoyotl.

The leader added, moreover, that the para-municipal distributors of water in tank trucks created to distribute the liquid at low prices (35 pesos per 200-liter drum) in the settlements of Naucalpan, Cuautitlan, Izcalli, Los Reyes, Villa Nicolas Romero and Texcoco, "are not sufficient to meet the needs."

The crux of the unequal distribution of the liquid is commented on by Gumer-sindo Ruiz, head of the Confederation of Low-Income Housing Developments, who notes that "there is an urgent need to control the drinking water for its better utilization," because although the industries, residential sections and public baths have an adequate supply, the residents of the low-income housing developments "are suffering from an acute shortage of the liquid."

The low-income group's representative declares: "The industries and the public baths should use treated water."

Duran Nunez, representative of the Low-Income Housing Developments Union stressed, for his part, that the dissatisfaction among the residents of those underprivileged areas "is great," and that, on this very day, over 20,000 residents of Atisapan held a demonstration in front of the municipal palace to protest, because "they have not had any water for the past 20 days."

In addition to these problems (remarked one of the representatives of the Naucalpan settlers, Federico Sanchez), there is the looting of the liquid in the state of Mexico by tank truck owners from the Federal District, as well as the limited supply to sections of the state, in comparison with that sent to the state capital.

2909

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## CORDOVA RIVAS COMMENTS ON DEMOCRACY, ELECTIONS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 7 Jan 84 p 5

[Report on 6 January interview with Dr Rafael Cordova Rivas, by Alberto Reyes]

[Text] "They even kicked him out of the Conservative Party at a meeting in Ocotol, but he always maintained his fight for party unity, unity of opposition against Somoza," Dr Rafael Cordova Rivas said yesterday, commenting on the figure of the martyr of public freedoms.

Public men are always highly controversial and everyone wants to claim them: "I, his brother and the person closest to him when they abandoned him, can testify to the fact that Pedro would be with this republic."

Behind Dr Cordova Rivas is a large portrait of Dr Pedro Joaquin Chamorro in his office in the Government House, but another wall bears many other souvenirs, such as a small poster of General Sandino that Cordova Rivas pointed out to back his statement.

"I can tell you that I was among the first Sandinists. He had that picture in his office. I was with them since 1944, so that when they closed the University Weekly on 21 February of 1946, with the pronouncement of Pedro and Ernesto Cardenal on Sandino, a new evaluation was made of the hero."

Some politicians use the thought of Dr Chamorro that "Nicaragua will once again be a republic," which he coined in his fight against the Somoza dictatorship, to attack the revolutionary process. "What do you think?"

Cordova Rivas explained: "Assimilating and directing a revolution is very difficult. It is a problem for those who cannot digest it or assimilate it, as well as for those having authority within the revolution. After 45 years under a dictatorship, it is extremely difficult -- especially for older persons -- to assimilate these revolutionary times."

#### Cultural Question

"We need more time so that the revolution may reach all social strata, but it has been vindicated," Cordova Rivas answered when asked if the attachment to the defense of the humble and deprived of Dr Chamorro had been redeemed by the revolution.

He continued: "Dr Chamorro said several times in his speeches: Livestock are given vitamins, are vaccinated, kept in barns with cement floors, roofs. They are overfed, but those who take care of the livestock are not given vitamins, are not vaccinated, are not overfed. They don't even have a place to live or water. When we can improve the health and education of the great masses is when we shall be complying with the revolutionary principles and the thought of Pedro Joaquin."

He added that the matter of the revolution is basically a cultural problem because its appreciation also lies in the difference of ideological concepts and in whether the people believe that it is a democracy or a republic.

"There is an American, a Costa Rican, a Brazilian democracy. There is a democracy of the Vatican because they elect the Pope, and there is also democracy in the Soviet Union. What then is the concept of modern times? There is no absolute definition of democracy," he added.

#### Elections and Candidates

An important subject of the interview was elections. "There are candidates and the candid. The candid are those who believe they can be candidates, but actually, the candidates for the highest office in the land always emerge spontaneously, however much people talk of them."

He related the anecdotes of Dr Mejia Colindres, former president of Honduras, who was chosen at a spiritualist table out of a list of 27 candidates, and that of Romulo Betancourt, who was president of Venezuela after several officials managed to take him to a place from which his friends thought they were taking him prisoner.

"What do you think the people aspire to elect?" we asked. "Well, the people like armed revolutions and elections. I suppose that in this election, we are going to elect a president of the republic," he answered.

When we asked whether he believed there would be a constituent assembly, he answered that naturally, it could come together with the election of the president or be held first. "It is not an easy as choosing a pair of shoes size 9 or 10. There has to be flexibility."

#### Party and Candidacy

Cordova Rivas said that the Conservative Party has not joined the Ramiro Sacasa Democratic Coordinating Committee because "we have given many people to the Social Christians, to the Social Democrats, to the socialists and to the Sandinist Front."

"But are you going to go into the elections alone?" "We have lost a lot of people, but the Conservative Party is willing to go it alone to see whether it recovers part of the people it has lost in this generous 'handing over' of its followers to other political groups."

Would he accept if his party should pick him as a candidate? "Frankly, that is a very difficult question to answer. The problem is that, based on my political experience, I cannot be a candidate of the Conservative Party, but I can be a candidate for other political group."

For example? "For example, of the Democratic Coordinating Committee," he answered seriously.

"Then you would accept such an offer from the Coordinating Committee?" we asked him, somewhat surprised.

"That would depend on the circumstances. But I have always said that the business about the candidacy is not a plum that sets my teeth on edge. You know what that means as a Nicaraguan."

#### Division and Aggression

Referring to the division in his party, Cordova Rivas said that he views it as the vitality which that political group has always had. "Several times, they have tried to say 'Rest in peace, Conservative Party,' but I compare it with the Pacific Railroad of Nicaragua, which they said every year would cease operations and shut down, but which was always whistling at Masaya every afternoon at 5."

"The ruling of the Supreme Court of Justice must be obeyed and not only that of the Conservative Party. They all have to obey," he added, agreeing that there is a group of individuals promoting abstentionism.

"I would have to take myself off the Government Junta to say that," he commented with good humor when he asked him his opinions about how aggression against our country could be avoided.

"I do not believe that the American Government is going to cease its aggression against Nicaragua. There has always been an evil presence of the Americans in changes of power in Nicaragua. When the Conservative Party fell in '93, the Yankee ambassador was involved. Zelaya fell and the Knox note came into play, also in the Espino Negro affair. What they want is for the revolution to leave power and the revolution is not going to leave power, he emphasized.

"The elections will fulfill certain ways of thinking of political groups, but, as they say, they are just a Calmatol, nothing more," he concluded.

11,464

CSO: 3248/435

## MIDDLE CLASS REVILED FOR ALLEGED CONTEMPT FOR MASSES

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 28 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] The term "rabble" [turbas] has been constantly used in recent years by the bourgeois in COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprise], their reactionary parties and their official spokesman LA PRENSA, in referring to the Nicaraguan people, meaning the workers and peasants making up most of this country's population.

By using the term, which in the mouths of these fine gentlemen takes on a highly pejorative connotation, the reactionaries demonstrate the profound class contempt they hold for the humbler people, the workers they have exploited for centuries.

Why do the reactionaries now outwardly express their hatred of the workers and peasants when in the past under Somoza, they did not even trouble themselves to give them a scornful name and only humiliated and exploited them, forcing them into poverty?

The simple reason is that from the very beginning, they realized that in an authentic revolution such as the one now taking place in Nicaragua, the ragged followers of Sandino, the deprived and eternally downtrodden would be the ones to take power into their own hands at the expense of their ouster as the old ruling class.

Born to rule and believing that they would live forever in the paradise on earth bequeathed to them by their ancestors, it is somewhat logical that they should feel a pathological and visceral resentment toward the working people who ousted them from power on 19 July 1979, men who knew how to fight to beat the tyranny once and for all and win the right to be free.

That is why, with all their class scorn, they call them the rabble, trying to show that these are ineducated, malnourished, smelly, ignorant people who can therefore never be their equals in that society in which the exploiters were kings and gentlemen.

Naturally, that is also why they now tell us that "democracy is the opposite of the rabble" because in their opinion, "democracy is the people exercising people."

It is understandable that they should think in that manner because for reactionaries, democracy can only be conceived if political, economic and social power is in the hands of the privileged minorities that they represent and who, in the past, governed in the name of a people they never even knew, just like what happened under the reign of Somoza.

Nevertheless, despite the hatred and scorn they feel for the people and even though it hurts them in the deepest part of their class arrogance, the rabble will continue to hold political power irreversibly in this country, building their own destiny and being the main protagonists of the history we are making.

It is of no importance therefore that they should call the people rabble because the masses know that this term is no more than another of the many adjectives that appear in the new political dictionary of the ousted to signify their profound contempt for the people.

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## ARCHBISHOP DEFERS TO POLITICIANS ON KISSINGER REPORT

San Jose LA NACION INTERNACIONAL in Spanish 9-15 Feb 84 p 7

[Text] Although Monsignor Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Nicaragua, admires the efforts of the Contadora Group (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama) in the search for a solution to the Central American conflict, he believes, with respect to the report of the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, headed by American former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, that it is the politicians who should express themselves.

In a visit to Costa Rica in mid January of this year, the prelate said that "one has to admire the effort, the time wasted," in analyzing whether the Contadora Group is truly effective in achieving peace on the isthmus.

According to the report of the Kissinger Commission on Central America, he said: "I believe that it is the political parties that have the last word on this matter."

The Contadora Group has been working since January 1983, seeking pacification of Central America, and it has disagreed with the American document proposing a military solution.

Obando y Bravo also spoke about relations between his country's church and the Sandinist Government, saying that since November 1983, tension has decreased.

He also commented on aspects having to do with solutions to the problem of Nicaragua and indicated that he has always believed that conflicts should be solved by civilized means and therefore recommended dialogue.

Asked whether violence could be used in the final resort as a possible solution, the archbishop referred to a conference given a few months ago in Nicaragua.

He explained that when he concluded his lecture, he was asked about certain thoughts expressed by Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) in the Medellin Document and the Populorum Progressio Encyclical in which it is stated that violence can be used when "there is tyranny, when all means have been exhausted, when it is believed that it would be the best solution," Obando y Bravo emphasized.

He added that this was misinterpreted by certain communications media and for this reason, the matter was analyzed in Rome.

#### Politics

The archbishop of Nicaragua also expressed his faith in elections "when they are honest and held within a climate of freedom, when publicity is truly objective and within the reach of everyone because information is an instrument making it possible to know the feelings of the people," he added.

During his speech, the prelate emphasized that his views are based on the fact that he is a clergyman wishing to spread the Gospel.

He added that politics in the broader sense means seeking the common good and from that angle, all citizens are involved in politics.

Nevertheless, he said, "when it is a matter of partisan politics, I believe that neither the priests nor the bishops should be involved because they must perform their apostolic duties and if they do so, they run the risk of dividing the community."

He warned that as a citizen, there would be no absolute, but only a relative, incompatibility with respect to such participation.

Another of the topics taken up by the archbishop was the return of the bishop of Bluefields, Monsignor Salvador Schlaefer, to Nicaragua.

He said: "I admire him because he is a man who has worked hard and I would like to see him work there with no problems."

In conclusion, he said that there should be profound reflection in his country on the problems faced, but that he would like to see "harmony so that the war tanks could become tractors and the bayonets hoes in order to have abundance, because peace also means abundance."

11,464

CSO: 3248/435

## SWEDISH AID FOR 1983-84 TO REACH OVER \$9 MILLION

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 9 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] After the victory of July 1979, Sweden contributed 25 million Swedish kronor (approximately \$5.8 million dollars) in aid for the reconstruction of Nicaragua.

For the budget year of 1983-84, the Swedish Government has made available a sum of 75 million Swedish kronor (approximately \$9.4 million) for the government's cooperation with Nicaragua. The total amount of the contributions from the Swedish Government accumulated up until January 1984 is 230 million Swedish kronor (approximately \$38 million). This amount consists of donations and a soft loan of 35 million Swedish kronor.

At first, the aid was aimed primarily at the health and forestry areas, and it was later directed more toward productive sectors, such as mining, forestry and energy, while the health area gradually declined as a recipient.

The programs for mining and forest development, and for administration of fiscal revenue are being carried out in close cooperation between Swedish consulting firms and the Nicaraguan authorities. At the present time, 24 Swedish consultants have been contracted for this inter-institutional cooperation, and the experience with this type of cooperation has been highly positive.

In accordance with the increase in the cooperation, there has been more direct involvement by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). During 1983, a cooperation office was opened next to the Swedish Embassy in Managua.

The distribution of the funds provided by the Swedish cooperation, based on category, amount and year, may be observed in the following table:

Technical Cooperation, Fiscal Years 1982-83 and 1983-84  
(in thousands of Swedish kronor)

| Sector                | 1982-83 | 1983-84 | Total  |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|--------|
| Mining                | 17,230  | 47,540  | 64,770 |
| Forestry              | 10,010  | 23,390  | 33,400 |
| Health Administration | 11,912  | -       | 11,912 |

(continued)

| Sector      | 1982-83      | 1983-84       | Total          |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| SAT Project | 4,200        | 4,762         | 8,962          |
| FIR Study   | 348          | 348           | 696            |
| Energy      | 1,500        | 2,500         | 4,000          |
| Reserve     | <u>1,260</u> | -             | <u>1,260</u>   |
|             | 46,460       | <u>78,540</u> | <u>125,000</u> |

#### Mining

The program includes prospecting for ores, training of personnel on various levels, advice to the responsible authorities, and equipment and installation of a geological analysis laboratory. Also being financed is equipment for the expansion of the processing plants at the El Limon and La Libertad mines. The purpose is to record information on the country's mineral resources so as to ensure the current mining production and to provide a base for long-term planning.

#### Health

The contributions to the health area have been used to complete and equip the Children's Hospital in Managua, to build a new regional hospital in Rivas, to renovate and equip various health centers and to build a cold storage facility for vaccines and medicines. It is estimated that the completion of projects with Swedish contributions in the health field in Nicaragua will occur during fiscal year 1983-84.

#### Forestry

The program includes an inventory of Nicaragua's forest resources, the opening of a laboratory for the technical analysis of wood, training of forestry technicians, reforestation and the rehabilitation of seven sawmills and a plywood factory (PLYNIC).

#### Miscellaneous

In the energy area, the Swedish assistance is being channeled toward the preparation of plans for small hydroelectric plants in the rural areas, sections which have not been reached by the national electricity system.

The fiscal tax project, SAT, which was started in 1980, is aimed at increasing the effectiveness and efficiency in tax collections, among other things, through the introduction of a single system for tabulation and identification (RUC).

A study sponsored by Sweden on donors for cooperation with Nicaragua has evoked the interest of other countries, which have also subsequently contributed toward the extension of the study.

## Nongovernmental and Special Cooperation

The Swedish Government Agency for Scientific Cooperation (SAREC) has decided on a continuation for fiscal year 1983-84 of the agreement on scientific cooperation with Nicaragua, involving a sum of 4.8 million Swedish kronor (approximately \$600,000).

During the budget year 1983-84, the Swedish Government has granted 4.5 million Swedish kronor (approximately \$560,000) to private Swedish organizations, for cooperation with Nicaragua. The largest contributions have been channeled through Swedish Technical Cooperation (UBV) to nearly 25 volunteers, the Swedish Ecumenical Action group, the Swedish Volunteer Service and the Confederation of Metal Workers of Sweden. The new agency for volunteer technicians, Swedish Volunteer Service, estimates that it will have about 20 technicians working actively in Nicaragua during 1984.

During fiscal year 1982-83, Sweden delivered nearly 10,000 tons of wheat to Nicaragua, representing a cost of 10.9 million Swedish kronor (approximately \$1.8 million). In mid-February 1984 an additional 7,100 tons of Swedish wheat, valued at approximately 10 million Swedish kronor (about \$1.25 million) will be delivered in the port of Corinto.

2909

CSO: 3248/464

## MINSA ANNOUNCES PILOT PLAN FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 15 Feb 84 p 7

[Text] Among the basic features of the government program to be executed during the national reconstruction period, JGRN [Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction] mentioned the establishment of a policy in the social area aimed at implementing the right to health for all Nicaraguans.

For this purpose, the Single National Health System was created, the programs and projects of which would be guaranteed by means of the active training of technicians on the various levels, including the preparation of paramedical and auxiliary personnel. How is the training of health personnel being achieved, after 4 years of government, with serious economic limitations and amid severe military aggression?

"Our main task is to restore to the health personnel the academic, moral and social rights that were denied them by the Somozists." With this response, Dr Guillermo Molina, director of human resources and instruction for the Ministry of Health [MINSA], began an interview with BARRICADA.

With the aid of a small blackboard and documents, the physician answered the questions in the office that occupies a small module in the Concepcion Palacios Complex.

"This department sees to the formal education of specialists and the technical training of health aides," adds the director of instruction on the national level. There are 15 surgical-clinical special fields in higher medical education.

A total of 13 teaching units have been created for the paramedical personnel. The question arises: How many special fields existed before? And Dr Molina immediately responds:

"Before the victory, no medical specialization was offered. The saddest part about it was that, after his social service was finished, the doctor did not have guaranteed employment; and if he received the opportunity to enter as a resident, when the 3 years were completed he was dismissed, or continued working with more economic benefits, but without academic recognition," he explained.

## Major Changes

Starting in 1980, the course in medicine in Leon and Managua consisted of 5 years of theoretical training and practice in hospitals. It was followed by a year of university internship and ended with 2 years of Compulsory Rural Social Service. When this period was completed, the doctor was entitled to specialize, with 15 optional fields, namely:

General surgery, internal medicine, gynecology and obstetrics, pediatric surgery, orthopedics, urology, otorhinolaryngology, ophthalmology, pathological anatomy, radiology, anaesthesia, psychiatry, dermatology and maxillo-facial medicine, the latter in the special field of odontology.

Also to be included within a few years are the special fields of neurosurgery and cardiology which, owing to academic limitations in the country, will have to be completed in countries such as Mexico and Cuba.

Dr Molina explains that the continuous education and training of health personnel are aimed at improving and updating the health professionals and technicians, for example, dentists, pharmacists, physiotherapists and others. Part of this training is also associated with any professional person without a course in health; in other words, for training a business administrator in hospital administration, an electrical engineer as an electromedical specialist, or an architect as a hospital designer.

While the subject of our interview was preparing to show us the many programs in health education, we interrupted him to ask another one of our questions, inquiring about MINSA's resources for promoting these projects. "We are completing the decentralization of training for technicians and aides in the various parts of the country, and in 1985 we shall begin decentralizing the training of medical specialists," was his reply.

## Four Polytechnical Schools

This year, 1984, four polytechnical schools for health will start operating: in Carazo, with 250 students for five technical and auxiliary courses; in Leon, with 360 students in seven technical and auxiliary courses, and two nursing schools, based on the requirements of the First Region and the Third Special Zone of Rio San Juan, with enrollments of 40 and 20 students, respectively.

As part of the higher medical educational plan, it is hoped that other hospitals in the regions will have the capacity to train specialists. In this connection, Molina explained that the first steps have already been taken in the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Regions of the country.

## Pilot Plan

The pilot plan is under way, with 84 Cuban comrades who are taking the first year of residence in those regional hospitals. They have Cuban instructors

and Nicaraguan specialists who are simultaneously being trained as medical instructors as well.

He added: "Next year, there will be 420 more resident physicians entering. The purpose is to create the conditions for their specialization to be carried out in their place of origin." At present, owing to the lack of slots in the Second and Third Regions for training specialists, 24 applications from general physicians and 12 from dentists who completed their social service were refused.

#### First Textbooks

Concurrently with the expansion of health education, these locations will be provided with libraries, journals, audiovisual equipment and everything necessary for backing and medical records that will make it possible for them to form their own educational material. Dr Molina remarked: "We have economic limitations, but we also have assistance and cooperation through international agreements."

The first experiment has been based on the preparation of textbooks, the one on nursing and the one on anaesthesia, for technicians. The first one, which was prepared in cooperation with Cuba and the Pan-American Health Organization, consists of seven volumes and, this year, will serve as study material for the first year of medicine and the course in nursing. The second one was prepared entirely in Nicaragua. The three volumes are on: 1. physiology; 2. specific operations; and, 3. pharmacology.

#### The Costs

After a brief pause, Dr Molina asked us to include in our interview the costs of this education. He noted that MINSA's Department of Human Resources and Instruction has an annual budget of 28 million cordobas; and, with the decentralization, each region will attempt to optimize its own material and economic resources. In the polytechnical schools, the courses are free of charge, plus 80 percent who receive grants with financial appropriations of between 250 and 900 cordobas per month, depending on their needs.

Upon entering, the resident physicians give up part of the salary of 7,200 cordobas paid them as general physicians, to pay the cost of their specialization. The resident enters with a salary of 5,500 cordobas which, at the end of his third year, ends up as 6,400 cordobas. In the past, these salaries were 3,500 and 4,200 cordobas.

Among the health workers, as in other professions, there is also empirical personnel with many years of experience, but lacking academic training. For this reason, we asked Dr Molina about these workers. He replied: "The most important mission in the training is the certification of empirical personnel."

Giving a little of the history of the training of such personnel, Molina recalled the so-called "scabs" created by the Somozists to make the hospital



workers' strikes fail. In this way, hundreds of graduates, aides, nurses and technicians were forced into unemployment, while others were being trained, in time and with practice. Upon the victory, those who had been dismissed were immediately called back to work, and steps were taken to certify the empirical personnel by means of short courses given in each one of the existing technical areas, namely: general nursing, medical records and statistical technician, clinical laboratory technician, physiotherapy, dental technician, operating room aide, clinical laboratory aide, health worker and others.

The theoretical and practical courses are given by personnel who have already been qualified. Thus, academic recognition for the nonprofessionals will be granted at a special ceremony, marking the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Single Health System. Many of these academic certificates will be received by health workers with 15 and even 20 years of service in that field.

2909

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## SANDINIST EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OUTLINED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 6 Jan 84 pp 1, 5

[Text] "In 1984 we will stress to teachers the need to deal properly with the ideology of Sandino," Comrade Evenor Garcia, director of educational programming, told BARRICADA yesterday.

This will not only be done to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the assassination of the Father of the Anti-Imperialist People's Revolution, since it is already a part of the educational program on various levels, and clearly reflected in deeds, Garcia stressed. He added that "this means that we will have to go to the schools to see how this is being done, to investigate further in order to provide bibliographic material, and therefore we will commit ourselves fully to the ideological struggle."

He noted that the Sandinist ideology is reflected in everything from habits on the preschool level, where patriotism already takes on meaning, to the nationalism of Sandino, with whom the people become familiar thanks to representations of him in the Civic Corners and murals.

The training campaigns which will be offered for Nicaraguan teachers in 1984 will be dedicated to the memory of Gen Augusto C. Sandino, and also the thinking of the Father of the Anti-Imperialist People's Revolution will be studied in all the seminars and workshops, Comrade Luz Danelia Talavera, from the Ministry of Education, said.

Comrade Evenor Garcia, director of educational programming, said for his part that themes are included in the current programs involving the popularization of the thinking of General Sandino.

He said that on the preschool level, for example, the children can already identify Sandino on posters, and are learning habits of respect for the General of Free Men.

In May, the month in which his birth is commemorated, they are told stories in connection with this event, which they discuss. Also in the month of November, under the theme Experiences in Social Life, there is discussion of the life and works of Commander Carlos Fonseca, because of his links with the Sandinist ideology. It was stressed that Civic Corners will be provided with wall decorations setting forth the ideas and messages pertaining to Sandinist thought.

## Orientation To Be Stressed

Although this is in fact already being done, in 1984 "we will add emphasis through methodological orientation for the teachers," this official added. He said that on the primary level, reading subjects will be included pertaining to the guidelines of our revolution, the Hero of Las Segovias, and Sandino in the mountains, and in the social sciences classes, outstanding events in Nicaraguan history, such as the U.S. interventions, the actions of Gen Benjamin Zeledon, Commander Carlos Fonseca, General Sandino and the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] will be studied. In this way, Garcia said, aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle will be taken up.

He explained that throughout the various campaigns scheduled to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Sandino, other undertakings will be launched with a view to enriching the work of popularizing his thinking. This will also shape the awareness of the teachers in the country, Garcia commented.

5157

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## SANDINISM LINKED TO INTERESTS OF WORLD TRADE UNIONISTS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 30 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by Leonel Urbano: "International Projection of Nicaraguan Labor Union Movement"]

[Text] The call to the First International Labor Union Meeting for Peace, issued by the CSN (National Trade Union Coordinating Board) is a salutary revolutionary initiative which puts the role and the projection of the worker movement in the domestic and international policy of the Sandinist revolution on the agenda.

The rural and industrial working class is the principal social force which moves our revolution in close alliance with the peasant class. Among the new phenomena which the revolution brought out we have precisely the organized labor union movement, since this form of organization and struggle of the workers was condemned to underground operation or to semilegality already during the long night of Somoza dictatorship.

Labor unionism is a real practical school of struggle where we can and must have the broadest possible participation of the workers. The role of labor unionism grew further during the revolutionary stage which began on 19 July. This is no longer a partial struggle against a particular boss, nor is it even a generalized struggle for the defeat of the exploiter class, as was the case during the general strike that preceded and necessarily accompanied the highest form of struggle which is insurrection.

In addition to creating and expanding unionization, we are now facing the new struggle aimed at involving the workers in the management and direction of the economic process whose craftsmen they are daily. In other words, this is a political task which is intimately tied to labor union activities.

In our specific circumstances, the defense of the power we conquer is a task of the first order; this is the power from which all future conquests can be developed and guaranteed.

This is where we inevitably come to the problem of the war. Nicaragua is at war because imperialism has unleashed it, using as its shock troops those same guardsmen who, for more than 4 decades, served as the army of the exploiter class. Imperialism did not refrain from using its own army either.

For the working class--the pillar of the nation--the objective of the war now is not to achieve insurrection but rather to defend the power that was conquered and to achieve peace.

While the Sandinist Revolution has its broad base among the workers and the peasants, it has its leadership in the political vanguard party--the Sandinist National Liberation Front--and its armed adjunct in the People's Army and the Sandinist People's Militia; to complete the strength of this pillar, it needs international solidarity.

Although the bourgeois and imperialists may be disgusted by it--and although they may try to turn the facts upside down with slogans such as the "exporting of the revolution"--internationalism and solidarity are rooted in the very existence of the workers, far beyond borders, races, and languages.

The world's present political reality showed us that there is no unification in the international worker movement, not only on the political level but also on the labor union level. But this reality does not exclude the necessity and desire of millions of workers throughout the world to rally around their common interests.

The moral force and the enthusiasm which the Sandinist Revolution achieved are so great that we can say that the defense of this process is already a matter of universal interest to the workers.

And if this Revolution is threatened by a war, the call for a worldwide labor union meeting for peace in Nicaragua is a timely political initiative.

We have asked ourselves many times how it might be possible to stop the aggressive claws of imperialism. To mention a bold idea, let us imagine what would happen if the millions and hundreds of millions of workers throughout the planet were, for just a minute, to cross their arms as a sign of repudiation and rejection of imperialist war. For just a minute!

Mankind would come to a halt. In the mines of South Africa or Bolivia, in the rice fields of the Far East, or in the petroleum wells of the Middle East, in the factories of industrialized Europe and in the ports along all oceans.

And the world would listen to the workers and to the echo of this remark by Sandino: "My cause is the cause of my people, the cause of America, the cause of all oppressed peoples of the world."

There are many forms of struggle. The dissemination of the truth, the dissemination of what the Nicaraguan workers are doing and defending--that is the support and the moving force of that struggle.

The call for this meeting for 24 April places the labor union movement of Nicaragua in the front line of this international political struggle.

## NICARAGUAN, SALVADORAN TRADE UNION CONDITIONS COMPARED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 28 Jan 84 p 3

[Commentary by Juan G. Santamaria of NOTISAL: "Democracy or Dictatorship?"]

[Text] The propaganda of the capitalist countries usually calls their systems "democratic" and applies the term "totalitarian," "dictatorships," etc., to the governments representing and defending the interests of the people.

According to this concept, all countries, in Central America, with the exception of Nicaragua, have democratic governments that guarantee the free enterprise system as well as freedom of the press, expression, travel, organization, etc. On the other hand, it is said that Nicaragua supports a "dictatorship" which is called Marxist-Leninist and that keeps its people in chains.

However, objective facts demonstrate the reality of things. This is true of the freedom of organization and, in particular, free labor union organization. Let us see what the situation is in Nicaragua and in El Salvador.

Before the victory of the Sandinist People's Revolution, there was no difference on this score. In both countries, the organized workers were equally massacred, repressed, and persecuted. Since the triumph of the revolution, the Sandinist government has been promoting and fully guaranteeing the operation of the existing labor unions and guilds and the new ones that spring up, independently of the ideology which their leaders follow.

There is not a single case of official persecution of labor unionists, labor unions, guilds, or worker headquarters in Nicaragua. There is full freedom of labor union operation, of recruiting and propaganda as desired. In their capacity as people's organizations, the labor union headquarters also have the right to representation in the Council of State which is the name of the legislative assembly in Nicaragua.

In El Salvador, where they have a "democracy" which the governments of the United States and El Salvador are trying very hard to preserve from "communism's totalitarian" virus, the situation is the exact opposite. Let us take a look.

This century, so far, we can record the noteworthy and constant fact of the cruel confrontation between the organized workers and the governments, the police forces, and the armies that defend the interests of the ruling class. With but a few short exceptions, the results have always been bad for the people and their frustrated aspirations.

Between April and May 1944, 13 years after the defeat in 1932, the workers organized in the UNT (National Union of Workers) generated a powerful popular movement which defeated the tyranny of Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez.

Once again, in 1960, along with other popular sectors, the workers ousted the dictatorship of Col Jose Maria Lemus, briefly installing a democratic government.

Starting in 1968, the labor union movement launched major rallies in support of political, economic, and social demands which covered the entire country and extended to all sectors; these activities were always accompanied by ferocious repression. The list of labor unionists who fell defending the popular interest is painfully long; outstanding among that list is the name of Rafael Aguinada Carranza who, at the time he was murdered in 1975, was secretary-general of the worker headquarters (FUSS [Single Federation of Salvadoran Trade Unions]) of the UDN [Nationalist Democratic Union] Party (belonging to the FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front]); he was one of that party's deputies in the legislative assembly.

Along with the rest of the Salvadoran people, the organized workers had to rise up in arms against their oppressors as the only alternative to defend themselves and to claim their rights. The labor unions that are still operating in a kind of semi-secret status are persecuted and their members are jailed, they have disappeared, or they have been murdered.

The leaders of the FENASTRAS [Salvadoran Workers National Union Federation] Union have been in jail since August 1981 without ever having been tried or sentenced; Santiago Hernandez, the FUSS secretary-general, was murdered on 7 November 1983 and on that occasion a list of FUSS members was published--virtually signifying a death sentence; on 20 January, the Salvadoran government gave further evidence of how it views the implementation of human rights and freedom of labor union organization.

On that day, combined army and police units burst into the building where the FSR (Revolutionary Labor Union Federation) was holding its congress. More than 80 persons present were photographed and their personal data were recorded in that place. Government forces detained and took along 15 persons, including observers, such as Maria Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar, a Mexican citizen who was expelled from the country on 23 January.

The reasons for repressing the labor union congress of the FSR as well as the charges made against the arrested individuals were not published even though it is to be expected that they will include the usual charges of "subversion." On the other hand, in "democracies" such as the Salvadoran one, there was never any need for legal pretexts to repress the people.

The differences between a "democracy" in the Salvadoran style and a "dictatorship," such as the one in Nicaragua, are quite obvious and it will not be propaganda that will determine the correctness of that term. It will be the peoples with their militant acceptance or rejection who will do that.

5058

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## MIXED ECONOMY POLICY GIVEN CREDIT FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Jan 84 p 3

[Text] Ten Percent Growth in Farm Sector in 1983

Nineteen eighty-three was another year of economic crisis for Latin America, and for the majority of the central and Third World countries. The Latin American continent showed negative economic growth of -3.3 percent in comparison to the preceding year. The large countries in the region, with the exception of Argentina, showed negative rates of growth. The same picture can be seen in Central America and for the participants in the Contadora Group. However, there is one important exception--Nicaragua. In fact, with a rate of 5 percent, we were one of the few countries in Latin America to achieve a positive growth rate, probably the highest anywhere in the Latin American region (see Table No 1).

There is some point in recalling under what conditions a country such as ours --poor, small and underdeveloped--achieved these results: economic, political and military aggression by the imperialists, total and open confrontation with the pro-Somoza counterrevolutionaries and the sold-out bourgeoisie. This was achieved thanks to the sustained effort made by the workers, technicians, producers and the state. For the economic policy of the revolution involves above all supporting the production sectors with credit, infrastructure, prices and supplies. It involves orienting investments to the productive sectors first of all, and to agriculture and the agroindustrial sector, as much as possible. It is a question also of using the limited foreign exchange to purchase capital goods for the productive sectors, as well as supplies and replacement parts, thus guaranteeing the basic consumption of the working population.

While in the balance of Central America, dependence on the United States, instability on the part of businessmen and poverty and repression of the popular classes predominate, Nicaragua is on the contrary increasing its productive investments, expanding the cultivated and production areas, and agriculture has shown growth here of 15 percent in 1983 and 1982, according to preliminary MIPLAN [Ministry of Planning] estimates.

The achievements of the farm sector in 1983, which are examined in this issue, are not, as will be seen, exclusively to the credit of any sector in the country. The credit goes to the national-popular alliance as reflected in the small, average and large producers and the APP [People's Ownership Sector].

## Historic Planting Levels Surpassed

1983 saw the consolidation of the efforts begun earlier to regain and surpass the historic levels for the basic export products and those for domestic consumption. This was seen first of all in the expansion of the cultivated area from the level of 800,200 manzanas in 1982-83 to 932,000 during the 1983-84 farm year.

Since the farm sector suffered in 1982-83 from the double effect of floods and drought, a comparison with the average for the first 3 farm years of the revolution (1980 to 1982) shows that while a total of 831,000 manzanas was reached in those years, the expansion by 1983-84 came to 101,000 additional manzanas. This increase in area was due to the recovery of the area planted to cotton, as well as substantial increases in the area planted to sesame, and a substantial increase for basic grains.

It is important to stress that the APP, the peasant sector and also private business sectors participated in this productive effort, although the state area and the small individual and cooperative producers made an outstanding contribution.

### Area Cultivated

In 1983, we had a substantial increase in the planting levels, both for agroexport products and basic grains, as we can see in Table No 2. It was possible to exceed the levels for the preceding year and the other years in the revolutionary period, as well as those reached during the decade of the 1970s. Between 1980-82 and 1983-84, the APP increased its area 36.8 percent, while private producers as a whole increased theirs by 7.7 percent.

As to the gross production values, we also see a recovery and generalized expansion, mainly for farm products. Table 3 shows us that the increase in the GDP for the farm sector came to 10 percent 1983. The aggregate farm value exceeds the average for recent years. Cattle breeding continues to suffer from the effects of the liberation war, aggravated by the droughts in recent years and counterrevolutionary activity. This is not the case for swine and poultry breeding.

### The APP and Agricultural Investment

Various questions about the function of the state as a producer have been asked from various viewpoints. The fact is that the agricultural and agro-industrial APP have, in the 4 farm years of the revolution, developed expansively both on the production and investment thrust levels, as we can see in Table No 4.

The figures are more than eloquent. So is the development of investments, which increased from 557,300,000 cordobas in 1981-82 to 790,400,000 in 1982-1983, and about 2 billion cordobas in the 1983-84 cycle, according to the MIDINRA planning figures.

This shows us sustained development in the business capacity of the public sector, which is not always easily achieved under the conditions of underdevelopment and extreme revolution, which cause upsets in all social relations. Nonetheless, the APP must further deepen its administrative capacity, while at the same time incorporating the workers more massively in enterprise management.

#### The Contribution of the Private Sector

The private sector controls more than three-quarters of the country's production in the agricultural sector. Within it, it is important to distinguish among three sectors with their own characteristics. On the one hand, the large producers (some of them represented in the UPANIC [Agricultural and Livestock Producers Union of Nicaragua]) control about 25 percent of the farm production of the country. The broad small and average producers' sector, in which those belonging to the UNAG play a prominent role, accounts for about 54 percent of the production value of the sector. The remaining 21 percent falls to the state area.

The leading crops in the 1983 farm area recovery resulting from the expansion of annual crops were cotton, sesame, corn, beans, and sorghum. The greatest thrust, of all three socioeconomic sectors, resulted from the efforts of the small and average farmers, along with the APP. In fact, Table No 5 shows us the changes which occurred in cotton production. The role of the small farmers, for their part, was absolute where the other crops mentioned were concerned, which confirms the thought that in the 1983 recovery, the vitality of its small and average farmers was notable in the private sector.

#### Success in Mixed Economic Sector

Within the framework of the Somoza and imperialist aggression, both in the political-military and economic sectors, along with the situation of economic crisis on the Latin American continent, the Nicaraguan farm sector has succeeded in expanding to the largest agricultural area in the entire revolutionary period, exceeding the historic average in the 1970s. At the same time, it has succeeded in consolidating an investment thrust which will give new potential to the production and export levels in the coming years.

Agrarian reform, for its part, has made significant advances, demonstrating, unlike the other experience in Latin America, that it is possible to progress in production by changing the socioeconomic profile of the agricultural sector. Simultaneously, it has demonstrated that the traditional farming for export and the domestic market can contribute to recovery and expansion of the product and exports, and finally, to better use of the existing installed capacity in the sector--area, machinery and labor force, while the new projects are experiencing a process of maturing which will have an impact on production levels in the coming agricultural seasons.

How can the successes of 1983 be explained? First, in terms of the development of an economic policy of support for the priority productive sectors, through price and credit incentives, exemptions and the reorganization of

debts, machinery, agrarian reform and new investments in the irrigation infrastructure and agricultural and agroindustrial construction. The path remaining, in terms of increases in production, productivity and administrative efficiency, an improved standard of living for the workers and peasants and participation in decision-making, is still a long one. However, the path covered in 1983 is a clear indication of the future.

Secondly, we would stress that the crucial element in 1983 was the consolidation of a mixed economy in the farm sector, governed by the principles and practice of national unity based on the participation of various strata in the private sector, including wage earners, under state-revolutionary hegemony. This is precisely what explains that, despite the difficulties of all kinds, good results were achieved in the sector, spreading to the whole of the national economy. And this pains the imperialists. They cannot tolerate the fact that at the time of greatest aggression, the cotton growers of Chinandega and substantial sectors of the coffee growers in Matagalpa and Jinotega gave the JGRN [Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction] a vote of confidence, and openly opposed North American interference in the domestic affairs of the country.

At the same time, the revolutionary state made agrarian reform more profound, to the benefit of the peasantry, and won alternative markets for the export products denied access to the U.S. market. The imperialists then are pained by the fact that Nicaragua is one of the few countries in North America where a model of unity, a mixed economy with popular hegemony, has been achieved.

#### Economic Policy for the Farm Sector in 1983

These advances are also the result of state support for the productive sectors, mainly through the policy on prices, supplies, credit and public investment.

On the one hand, the guarantee prices for export products have increased significantly in relation to the preceding year, thus preventing a decline in international prices from affecting the producers. Secondly, the maintenance of a preferential foreign exchange rate for supplies of 10 cordobas on the dollar has made it possible to keep supplies for the sector at prices which are relatively low in value. In the wage sector, in turn, practically the same levels as the preceding year were maintained to avoid increases in production cost levels, although this led to a decline in the real wages of the rural workers.

This shows us the responsibility and the effort made by the rural workers class to maintain the current productive expansion, while at the same time creating the foundations for a profound change moving in the direction of consolidation of the power of the popular classes.

Finally, but no less important, the state sector has supported investment, reflected in part by the massive contribution of support tractors, mainly for the small and average production sectors, as well as the new projects in the sector.

Table No 1--GDP [Gross Domestic Product] Growth Rates  
in Latin America in 1983  
(figures as published)

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Percentage</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|
| Latin America  | -3.3              |
| Guatemala      | -2.5              |
| El Salvador    | -1.5              |
| Honduras       | -0.5              |
| Nicaragua      | +5.0              |
| Costa Rica     | -0.5              |
| Panama         | 0.5               |
| Mexico         | -4.0              |
| Venezuela      | -2.0              |
| Colombia       | 0.5               |
| Cuba           | 4.0               |

Source: For Nicaragua, MIPLAN [Ministry of Planning] figures; for Latin America, preliminary ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America] figures.

Table No 2--Development of the Farm Sector by Ownership Area  
(thousands of block plots)

|                 | <u>1970/77</u> | <u>1980/82</u> | <u>1982/83</u> | <u>1983/84</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Farm area       | 898            | 831            | 800            | 932            |
| Agroexport      | 408            | 349            | 341            | 383            |
| Domestic market | 490            | 482            | 459            | 549            |
| APP             | --             | 106            | 119            | 145            |
| Private sector  | --             | 725            | 681            | 787            |

Source: MIDINRA [Ministry of Agricultural-Livestock Development and Agrarian Reform] and Central Bank of Nicaragua data.

Table No 3--Development of Farm Sector Production Values

|                              | <u>Growth Rate</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1982-1983                    |                    |
| Crop-raising subsector       | 15.1               |
| Livestock-breeding subsector | 1.0                |
| Total                        | 10.0               |

Source: Preliminary MIPLAN data.

Table No 4--Productive and Investment Development  
of the Agricultural APP

|   | <u>1980-81</u> | <u>Index</u> | <u>1981-82</u> | <u>1982-83</u> | <u>1983-84</u> | <u>Index</u> |
|---|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| Farm area                               |                |              |                |                |                |              |
| (1,000 block plots)                     | 97.5           | 100          | 103            | 118.7          | 145.4          | 149          |
| Coffee production                       |                |              |                |                |                |              |
| (1,000 quintals)                        | 182.3          | 100          | 211.1          | 326.5          | 320            | 176          |
| Cotton (raw)                            | 874.8          | 100          | 885.6          | 1,253.7        | 1,728.5        | 198          |
| Sugar cane                              |                |              |                |                |                |              |
| (1,000 T.C.)                            | 829.5          | 100          | 977.6          | 1,176.9        | 964.4          | 116          |
| Havana tobacco                          | 29             | 100          | 24.5           | 24.3           | 33.5           | 115          |
| Rice                                    | 801            | 100          | 1,093.7        | 1,659.2        | 1,770.9        | 221          |
| Corn                                    | 239.5          | 100          | 288.9          | 363            | 682.8          | 285          |
| Beef (1,000 head)                       | 25.7           | 100          | 34.0           | 61.2           | 77.5           | 302          |
| Pork (1,000 head)                       | 25.6           | 100          | 29.3           | 38.2           | 38.5           | 150          |
| Poultry (1,000 birds)                   | 519.3          | 100          | 1,220.4        | 1,906.4        | 1,978.3        | 574          |
| Investments (mil-<br>lions of cordobas) | --             |              | 557.3          | 790.4          | 2,000.0        |              |
|   |                |              | 100            | 142            | 359            |              |

Source: MIDINRA statistics, preliminary data for 1983-1984.

Table No 5--Cotton Planting by Socioeconomic Sector  
(thousands of block plots)

|                 | <u>1982-83</u> | <u>1983-84</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| APP             | 32.9           | 47.2           |
| Large producers | 77.2           | 77.6           |
| Small producers | 19.1           | 41.4           |
| Total           | 129.2          | 166.2          |

Source: CORFIN [Nicaraguan Financial Corporation].

5157

CSO: 3248/440

## MECHANISM OF, FLAWS IN COMMODITY SUBSIDY SYSTEM EXPLAINED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 9 Jan 84 p 3

[Text] Subsidies in Defense of Real Wages

The subsidy is one of the main planning tools used by the government in order to dynamize production and defend the real wages of the popular sectors. This makes it possible to achieve higher levels of production, income and consumption.

There are various kinds of subsidies, utilizing a variety of mechanisms, for lowering the production costs to the producer or the sale prices to the consumer through a direct expenditure by the government, or through the undervaluation of the foreign exchange or interest rate.

In this issue of the Lunes Socio-Economico (Socioeconomic Monday) section, we will evaluate the government policy of direct subsidies for a group of products of first necessity, such as basic grains, pasteurized milk and sugar. It is these products which receive the greater part of the subsidies, which exceeded a billion cordobas in 1983.

Under the preceding regime, there were no subsidies for foodstuffs, and as a result the producers and popular consumers were vulnerable to the inequitable and unstable trends in and characteristics of the free market.

The current policy seeks to strengthen the position of these sectors. However, it is not an easy policy to implement, and in practice, various contradictory effects have been seen. We will analyze the content and effectiveness of the subsidy policy with regard to basic foodstuffs in this article.

#### Assessment of the Subsidy Policy

The subsidy policy has been the subject of commentary and discussion from various points of view, because of the variety of the effects it has had in practice. On the one hand, this policy produces a series of positive and predictable results and effects, both of an economic and a social or political nature.

Where the economic effects are concerned, subsidies, to the extent that they allow the producer to lower his production or marketing costs, can become a tool for encouraging the production of certain products.

Perhaps the main contribution of the subsidies in the macroeconomic realm has to do with their effectiveness as a mechanism for the containment of inflation. This becomes possible to the extent that the policy functions such as directly to lower the prices of foodstuffs and other services, such as transportation, or indirectly, through the maintenance of an undervalued foreign exchange rate, which reduces the cost of imports.

However, there is another way in which subsidies may serve to contain inflation. The fact that they defend the real wages of the workers means that they may be regarded as an integral element in the wage policy. Thus subsidies provide an alternative to increases in nominal wages, thus avoiding the inflationary pressures such increases would exert.

This brings with it another advantage, since it allows orientation of the purchasing pattern of the popular sectors such as to encourage the purchase of certain basic elements in the diet in a way which cannot be achieved through wage increases, since greater income readily leads to the purchase of nonessential products such as beverages or tobacco.

Where the social aspect is concerned, the advantages of the subsidy policy have to do with the defense of the real wages of the popular sectors and the possibility it gives them to increase their level of consumption of certain important dietary elements.

The following table shows how subsidies make it possible to maintain official sale prices which are substantially lower than unregulated market prices, or the prices which would be found in certain channels if they were not subsidized.

As to the political aspect, subsidies represent a key mechanism for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, which is the social base of the revolution. Without subsidies, this alliance would be subject to greater tensions, due to the fact that the economic interests of the two sectors are contradictory. While the farm producer wants higher prices for his product, the worker wants lower prices for the products he consumes. Subsidies constitute a key mechanism making it possible to serve the interests of both the sectors at the same time.

Comparative Table Showing Official Prices, Nonsubsidized Prices  
and Market Prices for Basic Foodstuffs  
(in cordobas)

| <u>Price to<br/>the Consumer</u>                         | <u>Corn<br/>(1b)</u> | <u>Rice<br/>(1b)</u> | <u>Beans<br/>(1b)</u> | <u>Milk<br/>(liter)</u> | <u>Sugar<br/>(1b)</u> |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Official price   | 1.00                 | 2.90                 | 2.85                  | 3.00                    | 1.70                  |
| Price if not<br>subsidized (Official<br>price + subsidy) | *                    | *                    | *                     | **                      | **                    |
| Market price***  | 1.67                 | 4.48                 | 4.84                  | 5.89                    | 2.87                  |
|  | 5.50                 | 8.00                 | 8.00                  | 7.00                    | 8.00                  |



- \* Calculation based on the 1982 subsidy.
- \*\* Calculation based on the 1983 subsidy.
- \*\*\* Prices during the month of September 1983 at the Eastern Market.

Source: Drafted by the CIERA.

### Difficulties in the Subsidy Policy

Providing certain productive and consumer sectors with benefits through subsidies requires a significant expenditure by the state. This expenditure is in competition with other government programs in the realms of health, education, defense, etc., so that it is important to assess whether subsidies are really serving the purposes intended. Below we will set forth some problems which have emerged with the implementation of the subsidy policy. In production, one paradoxical effect of the subsidy policy is that it discourages the production of certain basic grains. This happens with certain business producers who have traditionally planted grains to meet the food requirements of their workers. Now the latter prefer to buy corn and beans at the low ENABAS [National Enterprise for Staple Foods] sale prices rather than raising them. Another anomaly emerges when grain producers utilize subsidies to sell their grain to the ENABAS at high prices, in order later to buy what they need at low prices, while the ENABAS has to cover all of the costs of drying, cleaning, storage, etc. Obviously, this substantially increases ENABAS costs.

In distribution and consumption, there is a problem in that subsidies do not discriminate between well-off sectors and the poor. As a result, several million cordobas are oriented to the benefit of sectors which do not need aid. The most problematical product in this connection is milk, which is sold for the most part to the supermarkets in Managua, where the main clientele comes from the middle strata of society.

The way to resolve this problem would involve the distribution of the subsidized products through channels reaching the needy consumer directly. The safest methods here would involve rationing cards and sales through the employment centers and shops and retailers in the popular sectors. However, where milk is concerned, and also corn, throughout the country, and where all products are concerned in many rural areas where rationing cards are not yet used, the distribution of these products is done through unreliable channels.

When distribution of a subsidized product is not direct to the final consumer, problems of another nature having to do with the resale of foodstuffs arise. Prior to the introduction of rationing cards, the supermarkets and shops and other retailers in the popular sectors became supply channels for basic products at official prices, which were then circulated through private channels at speculative prices. With the rationing cards, these anomalies in the distribution of rice and sugar have been successfully reduced, but problems continue to exist here, above all in the rural areas. Problems also arise with the leakage of rationed foodstuffs from the state system, in such a way that they reach markets where there are greater price control problems.

Where milk is concerned, the problem is different. In this connection, sale prices have been successfully controlled, but many of the general stores and

shops selling milk limit sales to certain individuals regarded as their best customers.

Where corn and sorghum are concerned, the sales are made to small industrial and animal feed processing industrial enterprises. In the balanced food industry, where production and distribution are concentrated in large units, it is easier to control sale prices. However, major problems arise with corn, because it is in the hands of thousands of small traditional processors who sell their products through channels which are subject to few controls.

Another problem has to do with the criteria for the selection of the products to be subsidized. From the point of view of diet, the present food subsidy structure has been criticized because of the fact that the most heavily subsidized product is sugar, the nutritional qualities of which have been challenged, and for which the demand is excessive, since the per capita consumption level is much higher than the recommended level. While health establishments such as the MINSA [Ministry of Health] recommend a consumption level of 28.5 kilograms per capita per year, the current figure is approximately 51 kilograms. An increase in the price to the consumer could reduce this level, while at the same time releasing a larger volume for export and making greater financial resources available to the state. However, it is necessary at the same time to assess the impact of the reduction in sugar consumption would have on calorie requirements and on employment in the small industries which process sugar.

Where the contradictory effects resulting from the subsidy policy are concerned, there are others pertaining to the problem of rural consumption. The subsidy policy providing the producer with a better price than the consumer is one of the main mechanisms for restructuring rural trade, such as to eliminate the hoarding of basic grains by the private merchants who previously controlled these activities. While many grain producers are benefitting from the ENABAS guarantee prices, the situation remains difficult for other rural producers and consumers. This is the case when the ENABAS does not succeed in taking over a whole series of functions the private trade sector carries out.

For some producers, the expenditures incurred in marketing their product have increased. Earlier, these expenditures were covered by the merchants who went to the farms or productive zones to purchase grain. The lack of ENABAS resources is such that today, the producer must cover these costs if he wants to get his product to the collection centers.

The elimination of these agents also has had an effect on rural supply problems. The intermediary who purchased grain played a double role, supplying the rural population with a series of products or basic supplies. Although the ENABAS has been expanding the ERCAI network and rural retail outlets, the coverage is still very partial. Thus there are numerous zones in the country which have neither the intermediary nor the ENABAS infrastructure, and as a result they suffer from major supply problems. The new ENABAS policy of working together with the middlemen represents a possible solution to these difficulties, provided that an effective price policy is a main ingredient of the coordination.

## The Food Subsidy

Over a 4-year period, the government has been increasing subsidies for basic foodstuffs, so that they come to about 10 percent of the subsidy total, and almost 6 percent of total government expenditures.

The table below shows that basic grains account for the largest part of the subsidy, followed by sugar.

Despite the fact that the state has ceased to subsidize oil, the annual amount of the subsidy showed an upward pattern in the last 3 years, while it was the milk category which saw the most rapid rise. Both in 1982 and 1983, the milk subsidy doubled.

## Subsidized Products

The nature of the subsidy varies with the product. While basic grains are subsidized in the marketing phase, other products are subsidized in production, since the sale price the processing plant receives does not cover the costs. A part of the subsidy goes for final consumer products, while another part goes for products used as raw materials in the food industry. In this way, the popular consumption category of products which benefit from subsidies is much broader. The next table shows the main products which receive benefit either directly or indirectly.

So that the ENABAS can sell at low prices retail or to the food industry, the state subsidizes the operational, administrative and financial expenditures of that enterprise, plus the price differential between the purchase price to the producer and the ENABAS sale price. Where rice and beans are concerned, the subsidy is directed basically to the retailer and final consumer. For corn and sorghum, the subsidy goes directly to the small corn-processing industry and the animal feed-producing plants.

The amount of the subsidy for basic grains has been increasing in recent years. In the 1983-84 agricultural year, the state contribution in terms of subsidies will increase substantially because the gap between purchase prices paid to the producer and the ENABAS sale prices to the retailer is broadening.

In 1979, the producer or middleman who sold milk to the pasteurizing plants received 9 cordobas and 47 centavos per gallon. At the end of 1980, a 2-cordoba subsidy per gallon delivered was introduced, so that the plants paid the producers 11 cordobas and 47 centavos per gallon, while the Ministry of Finance reimbursed the plants for the 2 cordobas.

In 1982 and 1983, there were further substantial increases in the guarantee prices to the producer. While the prices to the producer have been increasing over a period of 4 years, the sale prices to the plants remain fixed, such that the subsidy per gallon for the price differential is about 10 cordobas.

The subsidy for the sale of sugar intended for the domestic market began with the 1981-82 harvest, when it was established that the sugar mills' production

costs per quintal of sugar substantially exceeded the sale prices. In order to cover the costs of the mills, a guaranteed price of 200 cordobas per quintal for raw and sulfited sugar and 201 cordobas per quintal of refined sugar was established, which would cover the average costs for the six mills.

The subsidy allows the sugar mills to continue selling to CANSA, the state marketing agency, at the same price. To date the same guarantee prices have been maintained, although production costs have increased.

Purchase Prices to the Producer (c)  
and Sale Price to the Retailer (v)  
(1981-1983/84)

|         | Beginning<br>of 1981 | 1981-82 | (farm season)<br>1982-83 | 1983-84 |
|---------|----------------------|---------|--------------------------|---------|
| Corn    | c 80                 | 100     | 130                      | 180     |
|         | v 115                | 90      | 90                       | 90      |
| Rice    | c 230                | 323     | 323                      | 366     |
|         | v 250                | 270     | 270                      | 270     |
| Beans   | c 400                | 320     | 350                      | 380     |
|         | v 300                | 260     | 260                      | 260     |
| Sorghum | c 70                 | 85      | 85                       | 128     |
|         | v 80                 | 80      | 80                       | 80      |

Source: MICOIN [Ministry of Domestic Trade], PAN [National Food Program].

Sugar Price and Subsidy Differential

|  | 1982              | 1983              |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| Guaranteed price to the mill<br>(cordobas per quintal) | 200*<br>201**     | 200*<br>201**     |
| Sale price to CANSA<br>(cordobas per quintal)          | 119.5*<br>133.0** | 119.5*<br>133.0** |
| Amount of the subsidy<br>(millions of cordobas)        | 273.8             | 239.5             |

\* Crude and sulfited

\*\* Refined

Milk Subsidy and Producer Prices to the Consumer  
(in cordobas for 1979-1983)

|   | <u>1979</u> | <u>1980</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>1982</u> | <u>1983</u>     |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Subsidy (millions of cordobas)                      |             | 2.30        | 20.80       | 68.2        | 119.6           |
| Price to the producer<br>(highest price per gallon) | 8.05        | 9.47        | 11.47       | 15.15       | v<br>22.00<br>i |
| Price to the consumer                               | 3.00        | 3.00        | 3.00        | 3.00        | 3.00            |
| April price: v--Summer<br>i--Winter                 |             |             |             |             |                 |

Source: MIDINRA [Ministry of Agricultural-Livestock Development and Agrarian Reform], MICOIN.

Development of Subsidies Between 1980 and 1983  
(in millions of cordobas)

|                               | <u>1980</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>1982</u> | <u>1983*</u> |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Total government subsidies | 499         | 569.8       | 1,003.7     | 1,355.3      |
| 2. Food subsidies             | 356.9       | 363.6       | 746.2       | 943.8        |
| No 2 as percentage of No 1    | 71.5        | 63.8        | 74.3        | 69.8         |

Source: Ministry of Finance, MIDINRA, ENABAS, MICOIN, MIPLAN [Ministry of Planning].

Development of Subsidies Between 1979 and 1983  
(in millions of cordobas)

| <u>Product</u> | <u>1979</u> | <u>1980</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>1982</u> | <u>1983*</u> |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Basic grains   | 3.8         | 280         | 3.25        | 404.2       | 548.6        |
| Milk           | --          | 2.3         | 20.8        | 68.2        | -119.6       |
| Sugar          | --          | --          | --          | 273.8       | 239.5        |
| Oil            | --          | 74.6        | 17.8        | --          | --           |
| Total          | 3.8         | 356.9       | 363.6       | 746.2       | 943.8        |

Source: Drafted on the basis of statistics from the Ministry of Finance, MIDINRA, MICOIN, JGRN [Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction], and the sugar industry.

\* Preliminary figures.

## INPESCA PROCESSING CENTER SERVES FISHING COOPERATIVES

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 31 Jan 84 p 8

[Text] The first unit as part of an ambitious undertaking to establish six collection centers for small-scale fishing is producing 1,500 pounds of processed and refrigerated fish per day, it was announced by Nicolas Valdes, the man in charge of the project.

The total cost of this first phase exceeds 800,000 cordobas which will be recovered due to the fact that the fishing capacity can attain as much as 9,000 pounds of fish per day. The center is in the bay of Astillero [shipyard], 180 kilometers from Managua, in the country's south.

Comrade Valdes also said that the collection center, promoted and financed by INPESCA [Nicaraguan Institute of Fisheries] is part of a network that will include similar units in Morrito, San Carlos, and Solentiname in the Great Lake, Aserradores and Astillero, on the Pacific, and the Lagoon of Pearls on the Atlantic.

The Astillero Collection Center will purchase the output of three fishing cooperatives: Ricardo Morales Aviles, of La Boquita; Comandante Ezequiel of Ostional; and Barolo Ruiz, of Gigante; it is furthermore hoped that other individual fishermen and cooperative members will soon join together to form a federation.

The prices--7.50 cordobas per pound of first-grade fish, and 5 cordobas per class B fish or "junk," as the fishermen call it--constitute only one of the claims which the Revolution offers to the cooperative fishermen who in the past had to sell their output to the middlemen who paid 4 cordobas per pound.

When the project was begun, these merchants--who had become rich at the expense of the work of the fishermen--tried to boycott the project, raising prices up to 3 cordobas per pound in less than 2 months, according to management personnel from the Ricardo Morales Aviles Cooperative.

The fishermen of La Boquita, for example, sold their fish in Masachapa to the shop owners who neither paid them cash and who did not pay them for the entire volume received. In addition to this, there was no transportation, there was a shortage of ice, and a large part of the fish was lost.

While being exploited in the purchase of the product, they also fell "into other traps"--such as the high prices of the production equipment imposed by the transportation companies.

#### Assured Output

At this time, SUMIPESCA (fishing industry supply enterprise), which is under INPESCA (National Fishing Institute), supplies the fishermen with fishing equipment and, for example, they can get a roll of fishing line for 120 cordobas and a net for 3,000 cordobas, whereas in the past they had to pay as much as 1,000 for the line and 5,000 cordobas for the net.

The center will also provide housing for the fishermen who, in the past, had to make little thatched huts for themselves to spend the night. Plans call for the construction of a modern kitchen and more housing units to put up the families.

What about guard duty? we asked. "We are on the alert here," the fishermen replied, "because of the attacks at Potosi and Masachapa by the contras and we are constantly on the alert with our AK [rifles]."

Development possibilities have also been expanded since the fishermen now do not have to worry about anything other than producing. The collection center supplies them with fuel at the same price as it is sold in Managua; it advises them and it sells them the means of production and the "fishing gear" at a highly favorable price. In addition, there is a training program on the maintenance of ship engines, organization of cooperatives, and fishing techniques.

The system employed now involves the use of nets and motor boats. Three cooperative members work in each boat and they then...[rest of article missing in original].

5058

CSO: 3248/438

## BRIEFS

GARMENT WORKERS FEDERATION ESTABLISHED--"Although there may be elections in Nicaragua, there will be no end to the acts of aggression and this is why the working class must unite in order to consolidate, maintain, and project the revolution," said the Commander of the Revolution Victor Tirado Lopez this Saturday on closing the "National Constituent Assembly of the Textile and Clothing Workers Union, Sandino lives in the unity of the working class." Before more than 50 delegates from 29 unions in the country's textile industry, the member of the National Directorate issued a call for the unpostponable unity of the worker movement "to remove the threats of aggression." Commander Victor Tirado proposed to the workers that they hold the first great meeting of the worker movement which must include workers from all of the national economy's branches. The textile union movement in Nicaragua is a solid base for the unity of the worker movement and you have the obligation to provide impetus for the organization of the workers every day, he said. On the other hand, the workers who participated in the constituent assembly on that same day approved the principles that will govern the national union in the textile industry in Nicaragua. They also discussed the general and immediate tasks for 1984. Among the latter we have the drafting, discussion, and approval of the national system of work and wage organization. They also approved the leadership agencies of the national labor union made up of the National Assembly (the highest leadership body), as well as the National Executive Committee (the executive agency for the policy lines approved by the Assembly). The National Executive Committee was made up of comrades Cristobal Espinoza, secretary-general; Oscar Romero, secretary of organization; Matilde Cony, secretary of labor affairs; Jose Dolores Sequeira, in charge of propaganda and political education; Luz Marina Vasquez, in charge of production; Rosa Talayera, in charge of defense; and Donald Barahona, in charge of culture and sports. [Excerpts] [Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Jan 84 p 7] 5058

CSO: 3248/438



## SITAL RETURNS TO PARAMARIBO AFTER 8 MONTHS IN CUBA

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 20 Feb 84 p 5

[Article: "Sital Returned to Suriname From Havana"]

[Text] Amsterdam/Havana, 20 Feb--Badrissimein Sital, the former Suriname Minister of People's Mobilization, Culture, Youth and Sport, returned to Paramaribo yesterday after a voluntary exile in Cuba of over 8 months, according to reliable sources in Havana.

Sital, who belongs to the group of 16 non-commissioned officers who carried out a coup in February 1980, became involved in a conflict with army leader Desi Bouterse in June of last year. This led to his resignation as minister. Shortly thereafter, rumors circulated in Paramaribo that Sital was being detained at Fort Zeelandia or had been put on a plane to Havana by Bouterse.

In an interview printed in the HAAGSE POST at the beginning of last month, Sital himself explained that his trip to Cuba and his temporary stay there had taken place in complete communication with Bouterse.

According to friends in Havana, the reason for Sital's return has to do in part with the fact that there are no longer any ministers from the PALU (Progressive Workers and Farmers Union) in the newly-formed Udenhout government.

In the interview in the HAAGSE POST, Sital fiercely disassociates himself from the PALU, which he describes as "a purely opportunistic group with no ideology."

A second reason for Sital's decision to return, according to the same sources in Havana, has to do with his concern about the possibility that the same thing will happen in Suriname as in Grenada last year. There, internal political discord from the Left and the shooting of Prime Minister Bishop led to an American military invasion. Sital thinks that everything must now be done to strengthen the unity of progressive forces in Suriname.

His return has apparently been arranged in complete agreement with the Policy Center in Paramaribo, of which Bouterse is the leader. Sital, who has always belonged to the most progressive wing of the group that took power in 1980, has been busy studying leftist revolutionary and Marxist theory during his stay in Cuba.

Sital left Havana on Thursday and made a stopover in Georgetown, the capital of Guyana, Suriname's neighbor to the west. There he spoke with the leftist former prime minister of the nation, G. Jagan.

12271

CSO: 3214/25

## UNION LEADERS ADDRESS LABOR CONGRESS ON INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Paramaribo DE WARE TIJD in Dutch 30 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Union Leaders Give Congress Information on Interim Government"]

[Text] An interim government is necessary, Hendrik Sylvester, president of the Central Public Servants Organization, said Sunday morning during a congress held by the four labor union federations to provide more information to the governing boards of the various member unions.

## Interim Government Necessary

The formation of an interim government now in these difficult times is necessary in order to be able to make proper and suitable decisions for the country and for the people, said Sylvester, who was announced as speaking on behalf of the entire labor movement.

If there is no interim government present in a country, this means only decline.

During the next 6 months, every worker will have to devote himself entirely to the achievement of a permanent government within 6 months.

We invited you here, Sylvester continued, in order to tell you what the conditions are for the participation of the labor movement in this interim government.

## Interim Government Decree

The labor movement has been offered a draft decree, Sylvester said, by the military authorities so that it can study how the interim government will come about and what the tasks of this interim cabinet are.

In order to be able to thoroughly study it, the labor movement has asked the military authorities to postpone the appointment of this cabinet for a week.

After studying it, we came across several points with which the labor movement does not agree, or, to put it better, which it would like to see changed.

The labor movement does not agree with the military authorities that ministers should be named or dismissed on the recommendation of the military authorities.

The labor movement set as a condition that the naming or dismissing of ministers in the interim cabinet must take place in cooperation with the labor movement, since the labor movement will designate those ministers intended for posts given to the labor movement.

If the labor movement is to participate in the cabinet, then there must be good cooperation between the labor movement and the military authorities in order to arrive at lasting democratic structures.

The think group (the word think tank does not sound as nice, according to Sylvester) will have to be a legitimate organ.

These conditions have been presented by the entire labor movement as a stipulation for the participation of the labor movement in the interim cabinet that is to be formed, Sylvester said.

#### Solid Cooperation Labor Movement

Sylvester added that, after 12 years, there is once again solid cooperation within the labor movement.

The internal battle is over, Sylvester said. Good cooperation is necessary for the workers and the nation.

Accordingly, the Council of Labor Union Federations in Suriname, Ravak-sur for short, was established on 19 August 1983.

The labor movement can think not only about how the government should get cash in hand, but rather the labor movement will also have to know how national finances are spent.

The inadequacy of attention paid to the people led to the beginning of a struggle by the workers last year for an improvement of their lot.

It was not a political struggle that the workers were leading, but a struggle against increased taxes.

The labor movement was involved in negotiations with the government on this point, no agreement had yet been reached, and the minister sends instructions to employers to deduct from the workers in keeping with a new draft tax plan.

#### Workers No Confidence in the Labor Movement

The result of this, Sylvester continued, was that the workers no longer had confidence in the labor movement and no longer wanted to recognize the leadership of the various unions.

The labor movement has never done anything to the detriment of the workers.

The labor movement will also not cooperate on anything without a mandate from the workers.

Through this mistrust, the workers made their own decisions, and several clever people made thorough use of this to misuse the workers, just as they had misused the workers earlier in 1971 and in 1973 to safeguard their own interests, Sylvester said.

#### Division of Power in the Country

The labor movement, Sylvester continued, made it clear that the labor movement must know how the division of power stands if it is to participate.

Laws must first be approved by the people before these laws are adopted by the government.

Sylvester gave information on the difficulties that have existed over nearly the past 4 years and on what sorts of governments are possible with a takeover of power by the military. In various countries where the military has control of power, we see a government of only the military. In other countries we also see a government of all citizens under the direction of the military, and there are governments in which the military and civilians hold office.

In Suriname, the governments formed since 1980 have always paid too little attention to the people, whereby the people had no input into governmental policy.

All governments thus far have too often forgotten "the great idea" of the revolution, and have thus given the counterrevolution an opportunity to try to regain power.

The labor movement has always had an influence on developments in every country.

Every worker must dedicate himself entirely to achieving a better Suriname, that is the idea of the entire labor movement, and for that reason the labor movement will also participate in the interim cabinet which is being formed, in order to help bear the responsibility for the country and the people, if the conditions of the labor movement are accepted by the military authorities, Hendrik Sylvester said.

#### Calm and Development

Fred Derby, president of C-47 [Federation 47], who together with Romeo van Russel represents the labor movement in the think tank, presented the following:

The governing of a country means calm and development for the people, not unrest and uncertainty.

The request made of the labor movement to participate in the interim cabinet is a political question and the labor movement must give a political answer to it.

The reasons for unrest in the country are of a deep-seated origin, the causes are many.

Every state, Derby said, has essential characteristics. A state has clearly defined borders, national connections and national direction.

National direction is necessary for these national concepts, because not everyone in the country can do or allow whatever he wants.

C-47 is an organization for its criticism of all governments, but also for its support of all governments when necessary.

#### Armed Forces Alone Not Enough

The armed forces never lead the country and the people to development alone. Every country needs workers in order to develop, there must be armed forces in order to protect the country, but production, which provides development, comes from the workers, the farmers and all who actively dedicate themselves to helping build the country.

It has been obvious in the past that the persecution of the workers has never been successful.

The labor movement which acts and furthers interests is seriously at work whenever the labor movement actually furthers the interests of the workers.

And in this case, it is the task of the labor movement to contribute and to participate.

#### Tasks of the Labor Movement

The labor movement has several tasks, Derby said.

The labor movement is responsible for production, without production there is no society.

Governing over the workers but without the workers is impossible.

The labor movement also bears joint responsibility concerning the leadership of the country. The labor movement must be able to take stock of the problems of the people and arrive at national goals through national discussions.

No new goals can be achieved with old structures, new structures are necessary in order to achieve new goals.

All these changes which must come are among the tasks of the labor movement. This is accordingly why the labor movement decided unanimously to participate in the interim cabinet, Derby said.

#### The Press is a Functional Institution

The press is a functional institution, Derby continued, but that does not mean that anyone with a typewriter can go throwing garbage around.

The press gives voice to what is alive in the people, and information in the press must be as comprehensive as possible.

The possibility must exist that the press will be able to work using both statement and response.

The labor movement is one of the most structured institutions in the country, and its contribution to the development of the country and of its people is accordingly very large.

#### Democracy is Means of Achieving Greater Goals

The democracy of a country and people, Derby continued, is a means of achieving greater goals. The labor movement will gladly exert its strength in order to arrive at democracy in Suriname.

But it should certainly not be a Germanic democracy.

We had that for 300 years, and we are still in debt.

The laws of the new democracy should apply not only for the citizens, but also for the state.

The military is a political factor in Suriname.

Whether we return to the past or we get a new democracy, the military is an indelible concept in our society.

The struggle of the workers among themselves must stop, because capital is exploiting us whenever we fight internally with one another.

The military has shown that the will is present to realize a new democracy through cooperation.

Previous governments since 1980 were named by resolution, this interim cabinet was appointed by decree.

The participation of the labor movement is dependent on the acceptance of the conditions put forth by the labor movement, Fred Derby said.

## United We Stand, Divided We Fall

United we stand, divided we fall, PWO [Progressive Employees Organization] president Ramon Cruden said to the members of the congress.

The unity which has returned to the labor movement must remain in force. Lack of information resulted in much misunderstanding between the workers and the governing boards of the various labor union federations.

The labor movement is now in a new phase. The labor movement will be jointly responsible for governing the country. The labor movement believes in justice and confidence.

The workers must also have faith in their leaders and confidence in one another.

## The Moederbond [General Association of Labor Unions in Suriname] Works With All Organizations

Mr Freddy van Russel, president of the Moederbond, put forward that the Moederbond is prepared to cooperate with all organizations.

Accordingly, the Moederbond did not hesitate to make a contribution when the proposal was made to the labor movement. Indeed, the Moederbond set several conditions:

- Honesty and trustworthiness are the first basic ideas;
- Equal treatment;
- The governing boards of the labor movement must not learn later that definite, important decisions have already been made without having been notified in advance;
- There must be respect for one another's opinion;
- The free labor movement must continue to exist;
- A good understanding in cooperation between the Netherlands and Suriname;
- Restoration of developmental aid from the Netherlands.

Mr Van Russel brought out that Mr Derby recently traveled to the Netherlands in order to make contacts concerning the restoration of developmental aid to Suriname, but because of social unrest in Suriname, Derby was not yet able to deliver a report.

On a happy note, Van Russel concluded his speech by saying that he would very much like to again listen to the stories of Uncle Harry Jong Loy on the radio.



## Questions

After the four presidents had spoken, the moderator, Mr Frans Menckenberg, gave the congress members a chance to ask questions, an opportunity of which extensive and critical use was made. One congress member asked what would happen if the military authorities do not accept the labor movement's conditions.

The answer given was that it had already been noted that the military authorities have already shown their will and readiness to work with the labor movement.

And should it happen that the conditions are not accepted, the labor movement will indeed continue to contribute to the development of the country and the people.

An ensuing question dealt with the tax increase.

As an answer, it was pointed out to the members that every worker will have to pay taxes, but the way in which to do it and the amount of taxes that the workers must pay will have to be subject to a study.

It was also pointed out to the members that the interim cabinet is not a political cabinet.

The interim cabinet certainly has a clear task and a specified length of its session.

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## PROSPECTS FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH CUBA VIEWED

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 11 Feb 84 p D-19

[Article by Ludmila Vinogradoff: "The Internationalists and the Airplane Bombing"]

[Text] The possibility that the Judiciary may acquit those on trial in the case of the bombing of the Cuban airliner will have negative effects on relations between Venezuela and Cuba, according to the opinion of internationalists.

Over the last few days the District Attorney's Office has been seeking the acquittal of the defendants in the case of the Cuban airliner, a court case which has already taken 7 years to be settled and which promises to come to a conclusion soon.

Because of the political implications which surround the case, the internationalists have recognized the difficulties involved in the judicial act of pronouncing a sentence, whatever it might be, in favor or against the defendants. It is a delicate matter of dealing out justice in a case having foreign policy repercussions.

#### Why Were the Defendants Not Acquitted Sooner?

The president of the Venezuelan College of Internationalists, Thais Rodriguez, took into account the long time required for the trial and asked if they decided to acquit the defendants now, why wasn't the decision reached sooner and why was so much time allowed to elapse?

She regretted that a case such as this, of a legal character, should have such foreign policy consequences. She preferred to remain impartial on a verdict for acquittal, but did not conceal her concern over the possibility that such a sentence would seriously affect the already deteriorated relations with Cuba, at a time when a new government is making its debut in Venezuela.

#### This Will Not Aid Rapprochement With Cuba

Alonso Perez Marchelli, also an internationalist, has indicated that the acquittal will deteriorate relations with Cuba because the Cuban regime has let it be known that any resumption of relations with Venezuela would be tied to the trial of the suspects thought to be responsible for blowing up the Cuban jet, which resulted in the death of 73 athletes in 1976.

He felt that a solution such as that being sought by the District Attorney's Office, "will not aid a needed rapprochement with the Cuban regime."

Perez Marchelli pointed out that whatever the decision of the judge on this case may be, "I hope the strictest judicial criterion will prevail as the result of the most carefully weighed decisions based on the most thorough and objective investigations." In his opinion the desirable thing would be that those responsible for "such an abominable act of collective murder should receive the most severe sentence and not even be pardoned by God. I don't know if Bosch and his colleagues are responsible. But if they are, and the judges knew and recognized this, there should be no hesitation by the judges in administering the most severe penalty allowable under the appropriate legal ordinance."

#### It Is Obvious That Relations Will Be Affected

According to the former president of the Venezuelan College of Internationalists, Rafael Sureda, the airliner case must be seen from two angles.

The first is the domestic angle and whatever the decision may be, "it is the sentence of a Venezuelan tribunal. Those who might consider themselves offended by such a decision, will have the opportunity to go to the Supreme Court of Justice. It is a sovereign decision of a tribunal of the Republic."

But from the foreign point of view, "since Cuba has stipulated as a condition for improved relations that the defendants be found guilty, it is obvious that this will affect any policy for improving relations which the administration of Jaime Lusinchi might adopt."

Sureda said that if that stipulation is definite, then "obviously the Cuban attitude would be an intervention in Venezuela's internal affairs. Moreover, if a guilty verdict is not handed down, it is very probable that this will affect the situation of the Cubans seeking asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy in Havana, since the Cuban Government has denied them safe-conduct even though Venezuela, exercising its sovereign right, has granted them asylum."

He indicated that in the event of a guilty verdict, "the most certain result will be an improvement in relations, which could also be interpreted as evidence that Venezuelan justice is subject to foreign interests."

Finally, he felt that, "everything will rest with the ability of the national government to handle the case favorably for the two countries."

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## PROMPT SOLUTION TO TERRITORIAL DISPUTES URGED

Caracas EL UNIVERSAL in Spanish 11 Feb 84 pp 1-4

[Article by Gilberto Moros Rodriguez]

[Text] Venezuela's foreign policy has not succeeded in resolving two rather significant problems involving relations with two neighboring countries, with which, in the interest of the requisite coexistence which should exist between neighbors, these problems ought to be settled without compromising our sovereignty, while at the same time avoiding confrontations in the diplomatic sphere as well as in the sphere of political relations which might degenerate into military conflicts.

The first of those problems is that relating to the demarcation of maritime regions (both surface and undersea) with the Republic of Colombia in the Gulf of Venezuela. The solution is not an easy one, since the controversy is surrounded by several questions which are difficult to answer. Those which come to mind are indicated below:

Does Colombia have the rights to maritime regions in the Gulf, given that the part of the Guajira Peninsula belonging to Colombia has a coastline on the Gulf in the region bordered on either side by Castilletes and Cape Chichivacoa and that, therefore, any coast engenders the rights to the waters which wash its shore? If we responded in the negative to this question, we would be faced with a confirmation of "the dry coast thesis," which up until now Colombia has not accepted. To the previous matter there needs to be added the geopolitical and geoeconomic aspects of the problem which are as follows:

On the seabed of the Gulf of Venezuela, according to technical reports, there exists more than 20 billion barrels of light crude oil to which Colombia wants access, in order to jointly exploit this resource with Venezuela, for the purpose of obtaining foreign exchange which would permit it, to some extent, to resolve the economic problems from which the country suffers, and thus, to a certain degree, to halt the advance of the extremist forces, particularly the M-19 [19 April Movement] and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC]. These forces are attempting to capitalize on the popular discontent caused by the lack of employment, by inflation and by the scarcity of housing, etc., and apart from this, it is well to emphasize that those subversive movements are financed, advised and supported directly by Cuba, and indirectly by the Soviet Union and Libya.

Having viewed the previous situation, one might ask: To what extent is it advisable for the triangular configuration of Venezuela, Colombia and Central America, which make up the vital vanguard of the Americas in the matter of defending the democratic system, to permit a major incursion of "Castroite communism," without letting this compromise the entire line of defense for democracy and freedom in the Americas? The answer to this question, as the question itself indicates, must be given within the framework of a global approach in Venezuela's policy toward Central America and the Caribbean, taking proper note of the geopolitical intentions of Fidel Castro who, after his adventures in Ethiopia, Angola, South Yemen, Grenada, Nicaragua and El Salvador, now wants to stick "his beard" in the Latin American stew. In other words, I think that in the matter of the Gulf of Venezuela, Colombia should be seen as a strategic ally in confronting the communist penetration of the Caribbean and Central America.

The other problem, which is still unresolved and which has created innumerable expectations which spring from the time of the retired Division General, Marcos Perez Jimenez, by virtue of the fact that this former dictator bragged around the year 1957 that "he would occupy the disputed area located in the Essequibo territory by means of a military command and staff action." [sentence as published] Such rhetoric was nothing more than "empty words," since at that time, Guyana was not independent, but rather was a colony of the Royal British Empire, and therefore the confrontation was not going to be with an Imperial British Colony, but rather with the United Kingdom itself, a U.S. cold war ally and NATO member. At the present time, following the Geneva Accord signed on 17 February 1966 and the Protocol of Port of Spain, dated 18 June 1970, an armed confrontation with that small nation (with an area of 214,970 square kilometers, a population of 903,000 inhabitants, an annual per capita income of \$690 and a literacy rate of 94 percent) no longer remains a valid solution. And we are saying this because Venezuela, nowadays, is the standard-bearer of democracy and freedom in Latin America and that, therefore, to attempt to resolve a border dispute by violent means with a small country that, in addition, has the backing of the entire English-speaking Caribbean, made up of former British colonies, which are related by linguistic, racial, religious and sociological factors and that, moreover, is allied with Fidel Castro, who uses the Georgetown airport for "technical stopovers" by his air force planes going to Africa and Asia. [sentence as published] If to that we add that Guyana is a target for the Brazilian expansionist offensive and that both countries have signed very important agreements which have permitted the interconnection of their highway systems and the establishment of Georgetown as a free port for Brazil, who can ignore Brazil's geopolitical intentions, expressed by General Golbery do Cuoto e Silva, aimed at securing ports in the Caribbean, using the Republic of Guyana as a launching pad? Let us conclude, then, with the following:

Guyana is not readily going to return to Venezuela the Essequibo, which constitutes 75 percent of its territory, which it already occupies and which is constitutionally incorporated into its national territory. The other two methods

of achieving the return of the disputed area would be: First, military occupation, which might have as a consequence that that peaceful region would become another Lebanon where eventually fighting could break out among Venezuelans, Guyanese, Cubans, Brazilians, English-speaking Antilleans, and perhaps, things being as they are, Libyan and Soviet "volunteers," which would force the "gringos" to send their "boys" and then the storm would break loose.... Second, the other alternative is a practical arrangement with mutual concessions which could go so far as to include the loan of technical and financial assistance by our country, attempting, thereby, to come to a negotiable solution.

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## BRIEFS

COPEI SPOKESMAN ON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS--Orlando Contreras Pulido, secretary for municipal affairs of COPEI [Social Christian Party], thinks that there is currently a climate of uncertainty with respect to the municipal elections. He says that there are reasons of a legal and technical nature which appear to preclude their being held on 27 May. The Supreme Electoral Counsel [CSE] is hindered from making the final call for municipal elections because the legislative assemblies have not set up the autonomous municipalities called for by the Constitution and the Organic Law for Municipal Policy. Until this is done, the call for elections is null and void, unless the Congress of the Republic legislates on the matter, he said, demonstrating in this way his agreement with Allan Brewer Carrias, who has introduced the idea. He added that COPEI's position is that of proposing as soon as possible in the Chamber of Deputies the total reform of the Organic Law for Municipal Policy. Through debate and parliamentary approval the aforementioned problem concerning the "illegal" call for elections will be settled. Contreras Pulido later explained that what is happening has the positive effect of forcing Congress to discuss reform. He says that all the opposition parties and neighborhood associations agree on the need to modify the law. There are also negative consequences, since if the call for elections is not made, there will be delays in the opening of the permanent electoral registry, in the nomination of candidates and in other aspects which will definitely force the CSE to fix a date other than 27 May. Although Orlando Contreras Pulido did not say so, COPEI sources have let it be known, that if Congress has to intervene and discuss reforms, the green party will gain time in its favor. For this reason it is supporting the delay in the call for elections. [Text] [Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 17 Feb 84 p D-3]

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