

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/09: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100070007-6

9 JULY

1 UP 1

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/8562
9 July 1979
(FOUO 8/79)

Latin America Report

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

For further information on report content
call (703) 351-2643.

COPYRIGHT LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF
MATERIALS REPRODUCED HEREIN REQUIRE THAT DISSEMINATION
OF THIS PUBLICATION BE RESTRICTED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/8562

9 July 1979

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

(FOUO 8/79)

CONTENTS

PAGE

BRAZIL

Briefs

Amazon Aluminum Project 1

CUBA

Cuban Writers in 'Tropical Gulag': Valladares Case
(Carlos Alberto Montaner; CAMBIO 16, 13 May 79)..... 2

ECUADOR

Briefs

Antiship Missiles Purchased 6

NICARAGUA

Madrid Weekly Interviews President Somoza
(Anastasio Somoza Interview; CAMBIO 16, 20 May 79)..... 7

PERU

PDC Congress Takes Progressive Social Reform Stand
(PRELA, 10 May 79)..... 16

URUGUAY

Student Leader Writes on Political Arrests, Repression, Economy
(Jorge Landinelli; CORRIERE DELLA SERA, 5 Apr 79)..... 18

VENEZUELA

Douglas Bravo Discusses Revolutionary Movement
(Douglas Bravo Interview; CAMBIO 16, 27 May 79)..... 20

- a -

[III - LA - 144 FOUO]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

BRAZIL

BRIEFS

AMAZON ALUMINUM PROJECT--Japan and Brazil formally launched a joint project to build the world's largest integrated plant for aluminum and alumina at the mouth of the Amazon River, with Amazon Aluminum of Japan and two Brazilian firms signing a 1979 loan contract on 12 June in Tokyo. Under this contract, Amazon Aluminum of Japan will loan 5.7 billion yen to the Brazilian firms. The funds will be provided by a consortium composed of Japan Export-Import Bank and 23 other banks. The loan will extend over a 10-year period; actual construction will begin in 1 year, with the approval of the Japanese and Brazilian governments. The projected plant will produce 320,000 tons of aluminum and 800,000 tons of alumina annually using low-cost hydroelectricity from the Amazon tributaries. [Tokyo ASAHI SHIMBUN in Japanese 13 Jun 79 Morning Edition p 8 OW]

CSO: 4105

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

CUBA

CUBAN WRITERS IN 'TROPICAL GULAG': VALLADARES CASE

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 13 May 79 pp 101-102

[Article by Carlos Alberto Montaner; passages within slantlines italicized]

[Text] Armando Valladares, poet and painter, dissident, in a wheelchair, prostrated by torture, reveals from the Cuban prison in which he has been for 19 years, what could be a new hardening of the Castro regime.

A few months before Fidel officially visits Spain, Cuban officials seem to have given another turn to the wheel of torments for 15,000 political prisoners who still remain in Cuban prisons, among them, Commandant Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo, Madrilenian, a hero of the revolution condemned to 60 years in prison in two trials for being a "counterrevolutionary."

The latest news from Castro's prisons is that the penitentiary regime is becoming harder. Favorite victims of the new situation seem to be the intellectuals, writers and other dissident artists.

One of these testimonies is that of Armando Valladares, 43-year-old painter and poet, sentenced in 1960 to 30 years in prison by the La Cabana revolutionary tribunals, in Havana Province. Valladares is an invalid who cannot stand up due to a "deficiency polyneuritis" produced by the hunger torture to which he was subjected between 24 June and 12 August 1974.

"I am writing this letter to you in a hurry. I do not have much time," the poet tells his friend, writer Carlos Alberto Montaner (in a letter taken out of the island last month). "As you may know, since last October I have been in a hospital for physical rehabilitation. It is true that until the end of February I was receiving magnificent assistance and medical attention, not only from the scientific point of view but also from the psychological point of view, which is fundamental for cases like mine, where the patient cannot have any worries and must be in good spirits. /It is not so any longer./"

In the month of November it was learned that Armando Valladares was being subjected to intensive recovery treatment. Many of his friends and

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

colleagues in exile, believing Fidel Castro's promises, thought that freedom was at the door for the poet and that these attentions were directed to eliminating the signs of torture.

It is not so any longer. "On 18 February, gravely ill, I was returned to the military hospital; I was accompanied by a military escort and a nurse, I only know her name is Gudelia. During all the trip she was helping me to breathe and giving me support. You can imagine my condition upon arrival at the military hospital, they had to use the "Mark-8" artificial resuscitator with oxygen at positive pressure and provide artificial respiration, medications through intravenous transfusion, etc. Upon my return to the hospital, the one where I am now, the nurse was scolded and criticized for having gone with me, which she declared she had done for humane reasons..."

Armando Valladares is not a unique case. In situations similar to his, though maybe not as dramatic, are Angel Cuadra, 48 years old, in a concentration camp since 1977--before, he had been in prison from 1967 to 1976--and Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez, 40 years old, arrested in 1968 and condemned to 40 years in prison.

The list of dissidents who are wilting away in Fidel Castro's "tropical gulag" is long, but the names of these poets have just been introduced to Spanish readers in the book "Written in Cuba. Five Dissident Poets," published recently by Editorial Playor, of Madrid, with a foreword by Ramon J. Sender. The other two, Heberto Padilla and Miguel Sales, have had better luck than their friends: the former lives in liberty, but cannot leave the island and the latter was set free a few months ago.

"There is less liberty in Cuba than in Europe during the Middle Ages. Less than in Spain under the inquisition," writes Sender in his foreword to the book and something very similar to medieval torture is what Armando Valladares is enduring now: "Every morning they bring me envelopes with the medicines and a piece of cardboard telling me how and when to administer these medicines," he says in his letter. "Since I am asthmatic, they gave me an oxygen bottle and an atomizer, physiological serum ampules and antiasthma liquids in order that whenever a crisis arises I might prepare the aerosol myself and administer it myself. You can imagine how this works when I am awakened in the middle of the night with a strong crisis, and among stertors and rushes of air, asphyxiating, invalid, I have to start breaking ampules and, by guesswork, since I cannot measure the quantity of the liquid, prepare the aerosol, handle the oxygen valves, etc."

Valladares married in prison. His wife, Martha Lopez, met him while visiting her father, a fellow-prisoner of the poet. The wedding took place in the office of the La Cabana prison director, on 28 October 1969. They were allowed to be together only 15 minutes. Today, Martha, 33 years old, travels around the world in search of help to free her husband and to make his poems known in the book "From My Wheelchair," clandestinely taken out of Cuba.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

To his torments, Armando adds his fears that the communist officials might take retaliation against his relatives: "My family was told," he says, "by a State Security official that if I were to leave the hospital now, they would be forbidden to leave the country. I know that the reprisals will come now. I do not know where they are going to take me, you know it does not worry me, but I am prepared for the worst. I would like you to make public the fact that a wheelchair sent to me by the Dutch Red Cross last June through the Cuban Red Cross has not been delivered to me and the Cuban Red Cross impudence goes so far as to inform those who sent me the chair that it was delivered. /That is a lie/ and I need it. Mine belongs to the state, it is broken, rusty, works badly and loses a wheel. My mother was threatened that if I keep on asking for the chair, it would be considered as a counterrevolutionary activity.

"Now they will say that I refuse medical treatment. This is why I am explaining the situation to you. And I will say no more. I do not think I will be set free. I became convinced of this a long time ago."

[Poem by Valladares]

And My Bars Bloom

"To my unforgettable wife"

Fifteen years ago today
they surrounded me with barbed wire,
bayonets and bolts.
They forbade me
time and space
light
sun
air.
For fifteen years
gun butt blows and kicks
have known my body by heart
and the maddening range
of psychic tortures
have shaken each cell
within my brain.
Today
in the darkest corner
of my 15 years in isolation
I close my eyes
and I have sun then
and happiness and love
and my bars bloom with tenderness
for I have you.

27 December 1975
Armando Valladares

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Cuba, Prisoners and Blackmail

Silence: It must not be said that Hubert Matos, Martha Frayde and some 8,000 other Cuban political prisoners remain imprisoned, humiliated and mistreated, because Fidel Castro, through his diplomats, though "kind" travelers and even directly have made it known that any public accusation will be detrimental to the prisoners. If I say, for example, that there are no warranties that the invalid poet Armando Valladares will be freed, a prisoner of conscience, protected by Amnesty International, it is probable that the medical treatment he is undergoing will be withdrawn. Or it is possible that he might be returned to the contaminated cell where he lost movement of his legs. Or that he be placed in solitary confinement. Or that he will never be freed.

If I say that Castro ridiculed Adolfo Suarez by declaring, after the premier had left, the lie that Spain had withdrawn the petition for Gutierrez Menoyo's freedom, it might harm the legendary prisoner. It must not be said that Havana does not care about the Socialist Party's request in Gutierrez Menoyo's favor. And much less coming from Felipe Gonzalez, whose friendship with Romulo Betancourt, has earned him Castro's dislike. And it must not be said because it might harm Menoyo. Maybe he will be kicked again, like the time he was left with one eye. Maybe because of this writing, he will be prohibited from receiving mail. Maybe something monstrous will happen to him.

Maria Luisa Matos, Hubert's unselfish wife, is afraid for her husband. She does not want him to be talked about, because the accusations, maybe, could prolong his unjust imprisonment. Sara, Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo's sister, trembles when she sees her brother's name in print. Martha Valladares, Armando's wife, fruitlessly moved heaven and earth to stop the French publishing house, Grasset, from publishing her husband's painful poems.

The revolution has achieved its objectives: to frighten the poor women who have become old in grief, in distance and in solitude. The revolution has succeeded in terrorizing the sons who have grown without seeing their parents. Sometimes without even knowing them and without being able to recognize their voices. The revolution tries to subject all to the most painful silence: compulsory silence, the one that is kept with tight lips and under blackmail that if we talk there will never be a reunion. If the relatives do not keep silent, never, in any airport, will they embrace, crying, the crushed political prisoners. This is what the government makes known.

There, in that unfortunate country, you have to suffer and die in silence. You have to swallow the kicks and the abuses without shouting, without anybody knowing about it, without international organizations taking note. Without the press echoing it. In Cuba you have to die of madness, alone and in the dark because, even if it seems impossible, it could be worse. It can be worse.

COPYRIGHT: 1979 Informacion y Publicaciones, S.A.

9341
CSO: 3010

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

ECUADOR

BRIEFS

ANTISHIP MISSILES PURCHASED--The Ecuadorean Navy has decided to order some "Exocet" MM 40 long-range antiship missiles from Aerospatiale (France) to arm the new corvettes which it has ordered from the Italian Navy shipyards, Cantieri Navali del Tirreno e Riuniti. [Text] [Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 5 May 79 p 51]

CSO: 3100

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NICARAGUA

MADRID WEEKLY INTERVIEWS PRESIDENT SOMOZA

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 20 May 79 pp 68-69, 71, 73-74

/Interview with President Anastasio Somoza at "Montelimar," Somoza's country estate north of Managua, by Jose Luis Gutierrez; date not given; passages in slantlines are in italics in original/

/Text/ Anastasio Somoza, in Nicaragua, is almost like God. He controls the political and economic life of the country and the most vital of the armed forces: the National Guard. In spite of all this, the Sandinist Front insists that if he lasts 2 more months, it will be a long time. He says, however, that all that is pure braggadocio. And he remains.

The highway north from Managua winds among sugarcane fields. It is a narrow and poorly paved road, which makes the tires screech around the curves. The automobile radio is tiresomely Yankee: all the U.S. "hits" are played over it, without regard for anyone, even Julio Iglesias, the Spanish superstar in Latin America. And the commercials: "Lobo Jack Discotheque. Disco dancing. The discotheque with fee-e-e-e-ling; for ni-i-i-ce people. Managua." But Managua is not for "nice people," or for discotheques with "feeling." Beneath the humid sunshine which caresses the green hills, there is fear and silence. The mountains hide the guerrillas, and the people cross themselves when they hear talk of Esteli or Leon. There are deaths every day, and the Managua newspaper LA PRENSA is like an obituary bulletin, with its daily account of murders at the hands of the "bloody Somozist dictatorship."

And now it is almost September, with the bodies in the sun and the dogs devouring them; or the slaughter at Esteli in April. Now it is Leon, 100 kilometers from Managua. A Guard plane bombs the houses of Leon, looking for guerrilla fighters, and the bishop of that city writes to the president, imploring him to stop "snuffing out the lives of the youth of Leon."

Suddenly the highway widens and a clearing appears, with an impeccable airport. The air is heavy, and the sea is rough, and the beach close to which the estate nestles is very clean, blue and solitary. The place is

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

called "Montelimar" and it was constructed 40 years ago by the first of the Somoza dynasty, don Anastasio, and is now used occasionally by Anastasio Somoza Debayle--"Tacho"--president of Nicaragua and head of the dynasty.

Episcopal supplications apparently do not reach this beautiful place. The house is quiet and old, constructed of wood that has a fragrance of perfumed resin. It is decorated as if for a creole viscount. On the porch, officers of the powerful National Guard and other high officials await the arrival of President Anastasio Somoza.

There is the sound of helicopter blades, and the president arrives. In a yellow shirt and blue pants, tall and with a walk reminiscent of John Wayne, Anastasio Somoza, 53 years old, has lost several kilos because of the strict diet he follows. Recent surgery took him almost to death's door. But who is this man with the sallow complexion and polaroid sunglasses, whom the international press describes as the feudal lord of Nicaragua?

Amnesty International has denounced him for the torture, assassination and systematic disappearance of Nicaraguan political leaders; his fortune is said to be in the millions of dollars, and he is only overcome--they say--by his desire to acquire even more; president of the government in a country which is theoretically democratic, however, his image as murderer, torturer, perpetrator of genocide and dictator make Pinochet and Videla look like sisters of mercy.

His family, the "Somoza clan," has ruled the destinies of the country (2.5 million inhabitants, 130,000 square kilometers) since 1933, and among the latest "favours" ascribed to it are the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a newspaperman and editor of the opposition daily, LA PRENSA, and the continuing murder of innocent Nicaraguans in Somoza's campaign against the Sandinist Front guerrillas.

Yet those who know him, however, insist that he is a "liberal," irreproachable, an affable, "relaxed," "easy-going" man (definitions: relaxed, easy-going)... to whom 40 years of absolute power have given an almost "divine" security in the legitimacy of Somozism.

For many, the secret of Somozism is in a scrupulously democratic political scheme, quick to manipulate from the power position the diverse sociological constants of Latin America, like illiteracy and the near absence of any political formation among the people, also encouraged from the power position. He receives the press with dialogue and flexibility, with spirit. Someone says that is the result of strict orders from one of the Madison Ave., New York, image-makers who advise him. And so he talks with Jose Luis Gutierrez, of CAMBIO 16.

A tense docility, it being only a short time since the freeing of Alfonso Rojo, a DIARIO 16 newsman who was arrested by the National Guard in Esteli, interrogated and verbally mistreated for several hours by Somoza's men. A tiny office, its decor out of date, welcomes the dialog. A table of atrocious

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

design, which might well have belonged to Goldfinger, with a telephone, a television, a magnetophone and other items on it, is mute witness to the dialog, along with the press secretary, Rafael O. Cano. Above the table is a big wooden helicopter with gilded blades.

There is a trace of tropical weariness in his words, pronounced in a Spanish which is somewhat more deficient than the irreproachable English which he uses from time to time. After all, he was educated at West Point and professes to be an "admirer and friend of the American people."

[Anastasio Somoza] The situation? The situation is under control. The dialog with the opposition failed, and the guerrillas, who believed they were in control of the situation, have failed in a big way, except for those isolated murders which they commit against defenseless persons.

We are settling the economic situation, whose deterioration was caused by the strike of the business firms and above all by the attitude of the United States in the International Monetary Fund, an attitude which served to strengthen the Nicaraguan opposition.

Somoza had asked for a "standby" credit of \$40 million from the IMF, that is, conditional on compliance with an economic austerity plan supervised by the IMF. The United States did not support the grant, and the credit was deferred, which has caused a 44 percent devaluation of the cordova, the national currency.

"Even Spain voted against us," Somoza adds, "which surprised us very much, because of the unusual way in which it was done. Spain usually sells goods and equipment to a country like Nicaragua for the construction of highways or dwellings. If the opposition believes that this is against the people, I am not surprised that they are losing so disastrously."

[Question] Losing the guerrilla war, Mr President: It appears that just the opposite is true. The capture of Esteli, the escape from the siege, aircraft shot down by the guerrillas, as LA PRENSA reported, with photographs...

[Answer] For those who are sitting in their homes and who only talk, any sacrifice of lives in Nicaragua appears to be a success. They look at it that way, because it is not their lives. But the organizations which are fighting for power live by counting the deaths, and the guerrillas have had the worst of it. And when one is getting the worst of it, one does not attract volunteers. As for Esteli, it was a strategic defeat. One does not try to take a city without having a line of supply. They had no way to get trained men or equipment. Those who ordered the guerrilla fighters to take Esteli sent them to their deaths.

[Question] Not everyone, however, is of that opinion. Reliable sources tell how the guerrillas, after 7 days in the city, succeeded in breaking the siege of almost 3,000 guardsmen and fleeing to the mountains, with no casualties.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Answer Broke the siege? Those are fairy tales told by foreign correspondents. It was even a propaganda defeat for them. They wanted to get the people up in arms during Holy Week. And Nicaraguans don't even want to work, much less fight, on holidays.

When Somoza speaks of foreign press correspondents, he does so with contained anger, almost with contempt.

Question Are you aware of your international image? Tyrant, assassin, bloody dictator are some of the names you are called...and it is difficult to think that all this is the product of some ill-intentioned newsmen, as you say it is.

Answer First, I will tell you that there is broad freedom of the press here; what is happening is that the newspapers don't publish the good things about Nicaragua. The reporters are sent here by countries interested in destroying this government, predisposed to look only for the bad and not for the good. In September the international press was given total freedom to do as they pleased. And they did it. They presented such a bad image of Nicaragua that the insurance companies refused to pay the poor people whose houses had been destroyed by the Sandinists, saying that it was a civil war. Civil war! I'd like to see what a civil war would be in this country! There is no press policy which would have any value against the general prejudice of newsmen against Somozism. You go and talk with the opposition, and the newsman will be more interested in the morbid side than in what is actually happening. Nobody mentions the welfare programs, nor the fact that in the last 10 years we have doubled the per capita income of the Nicaraguan people.

Question It appears a bit exaggerated to call newspapers like LE MONDE and the NEW YORK TIMES (NYT) as morbid or sensationalist....

Answer The NEW YORK TIMES? The TIMES is the most sensationalist newspaper there is. In addition, I believe its correspondent here, Alan Rayvy, is a Marxist sympathizer....

Question Well, then, you will have to explain why Alfonso Rojo, the Spanish correspondent of DIARIO 16, was arrested....

Answer And why should it be explained?

Question Because, according to you, there is freedom of the press here. And because Rojo is a friend of mine, whose arrest occasioned a good deal of concern in Spain....

Answer Very well, then. According to official information I received, Mr Rojo was found on the other side of the lines, with the guerrillas, and when he was arrested they threw him out of the country.

Question They waited a long time to throw him out. Seven hours of harsh interrogation of a professional who is always "where the action is," or as you would say, "where the fight is," whose photographs and address book were confiscated.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Answer] We have a right to detain any person for 24 hours. Seven hours is not so long, and for a foreigner, an indefinite time.

[For a moment he loses his composure, and a shadow of irritation crosses his face.]

You people think there are no laws here. Listen, I know all about your dear Spain, my friend. In the case of Rojo, it happened that he bypassed the government and went to the guerrillas without consulting the authorities, and he paid the price. If you want to go, I'll give you a safeconduct. But what would have happened if Rojo had been shot?

[We talk again of his image, a subject which does not appear to concern him greatly.]

We have that bad image because we are nationalists, and we put Nicaraguan interest ahead of those of others. We are against capital which exploits. We have been in power for 50 years, and the opposition would like to get it for nothing....

[That about the "capital which exploits" he says with complete conviction, without even blushing. Never mind the hundreds of businesses he owns; never mind that curious legal office, pompously entitled the "Office of Oversight and Control of the Properties of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle," nor that hair-raising figure quoted by the Nicaraguan opposition media: The Somozas control 40 percent of the country's economy; nor the large blocks of stock in Pan Am and other foreign companies.]

[Question] But, listen, if you own half the country...Nicaragua is one of your estates.

[Answer] That is not true. But let me tell you that we use our money to stimulate the country's economic development. Now, if that is wrong, let them condemn me. That shows the faith I have in the Nicaraguan people. Others would keep their money elsewhere.

[Question] You also have some....

[Answer] No, that is not true. I am not ashamed that they accuse me of owning businesses in Nicaragua, because I am stimulating new sources of employment. And the day I die, or leave here, I am not going to take them with me.

[Question] And isn't it true that you are a sort of "money addict?"

[Answer] How's that again? Look: I see the possibilities of this country because I am an engineer. And I go ahead and develop them, that is all.

[Question] And why don't you let others do it? Why not through state-owned enterprises?

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Answer They don't want to do it; the businessmen here don't want to join me for fear of the political risk in doing so. Everyone is concerned about unemployment and denounces it, but nobody does anything to alleviate it. I, on the other hand, since last September have created 2,000 jobs. Do you call that being a money addict?

Question But do you think that it is normal, even half-way serious, to be a businessman and president of the republic at the same time? Does it not appear a bit unorthodox to you?

Answer Look, it is difficult to be like that. Perhaps in a developed society it would not be normal, but here in Nicaragua it is. Besides, I am not ashamed of being a capitalist, or a capitalist politician. That answers all your questions--this funs that you've been making.

/On 10 January 1979, lawyer and newspaperman Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of the opposition morning newspaper LA PRENSA, was machine-gunned to death in Managua. Chamorro, a leader of great personal prestige, was determined to form a common front with the opposition to Somoza. Shortly afterward, the police arrested Harold Cedeno, who admitted the crime, along with Domungo Acevedo Garcia, his son, Ramon, and Silvio Pena, all of them directly or indirectly connected with Somoza's National Guard. However, the principal conspirator, Dr Pedro Ramos, according to the confessions of those arrested, fled to Miami. Ramos, a Cuban physician, financed the attack, they said. Ramos has proven connections with Somoza. He was the director of PLASMAFERESIS, a Dracula-esque firm which purchased blood from Nicaraguans, processed it into plasma and exported it to the United States. Chamorro's widow and sons accused Somoza of being the moral author of the assassination, while Somoza appears to be an associate of Ramos in PLASMAFERESIS. In addition, just a few days ago, two leaders of the moderate opposition organization FAO (Broad Opposition Front), members of the financial bourgeoisie and opponents of Somoza, were arrested. They are Alfonso Robelo and Rafael Cordoba./

Question Have you heard the saying before, Mr President, that if power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely?

Answer Aware of that saying, we have already had 29 years of systematic opposition in the Congress, the Senate, the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals.

Question The trouble is that now the opposition no longer exists...

Answer That is not trouble, my friend, that is the good part. We have done so much good for the country that we have taken the people away from the opposition.

Question Among those "good things," do you count imprisonment, physical elimination and the murder of its leaders?

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Answer No. If you are talking about Chamorro's assassination, it was a vendetta against him as editor of the newspaper. Anyone who says I'm responsible is mistaken. I was in the armed forces of this country for 30 years, and I arrested Pedro Joaquin Chamorro four times. He could just as easily have died then.

Question And what about your relationship with Dr Ramos? He was an associate of yours, wasn't he?

Answer No, no; he was the director of PLASMAFERESIS. The Somoza family rented him the land and the sites for the company, that is all. Besides, you say that this still hasn't been explained. No, sir. It has been explained. As for Ramos' extradition, this is sometimes delayed because the negotiations take so long. It was several years before the Letelier assassination was cleared up.

Question Returning to the subject of the opposition, it appears that large sectors of the people are not represented in the present political forces, that is, in your Liberal Party and in the Conservative Party. For example, the very considerable Sandinist force. Has it not occurred to you that perhaps you are paying now for 40 years of Somozist dictatorship, and that the Sandinists may have had recourse to armed struggle as the only means of political expression?

Answer In the first place, the Sandinists were Marxist-Leninist, outlawed legally by the Nicaraguan Constitution. Now they do not have the electoral force to be registered. When the founder of the front, Carlos Fonseca Amador, died, the democratic forces wanted to steal the name of Sandinist Front. Now there are non-Marxist elements, but if they persist in violence they won't get anywhere.

Question The opposition to Somozism is total and ferocious, from the most moderate to the guerrilla fighters. Your political isolation is complete. What do you feel about this?

Answer Yes, opposition to the Liberal Party has been activated. But we are the majority party. We know our strength. Nothing the newspapers say bothers me.

/And then there is the subject of the Church. Espinosa. Only recently the pastoral letter of the bishop of Leon and president of the Nicaraguan Bishops' Conference, Manuel Salazar, denounced the massacres by the National Guard. A few days later the bishop's house was machine-gunned by unknown persons./

"What is happening with the Church," begins Somoza, "is that we were the ones who separated it from the state. About 10 years ago, our Constitution was laicized. What is happening is that the Nicaraguan Church, like that in other parts of the world, has become politicized. But most of the people of Nicaragua are liberal, and they know which side the sun shines on..."

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

/Then Anastasio Somoza talks about the "Marxist conspiracy" against him, of the countries which support the Sandinist Front guerrillas against him. He talks about Omar Torrijos, Carlos Andres Perez, Costa Rica.../

"The conspiracy started with Castro's rise to power, from 1960 on. We had to ask Che what he meant by sending people from Cuba to Honduras to invade our country."

/When he mentioned Torrijos, his voice showed a slight tone of anger for the first time./

"Torrijos, in my opinion, is a trator. I helped him in the matter of the Canal, and now he has turned his back on me because he thinks I am not popular with the communists. I believe he is a manipulator. He visits Castro, so that they don't rise up against him in Panama, and even flirts with him. And what he is doing is delivering Panama up to communism. And Carlos Andres Perez was just like him. He pressed for the lifting of the embargo against Cuba, for fear that the communists would ruin his administration. How come the country that asked for the blockade against Cuba is now demanding its suspension? And Carlos Andres was the one principally responsible, as minister of the interior, which he was then.

/Question/ And democracy in Nicaragua? It appears that under the guise of formal democracy, all there is is a system dominated in every facet by you, thanks to the National Guard, a few corrupt judges and phony elections, in which the newborn and the dead vote, and always for your Liberal Party, it is clear...

/Answer/ That is because you do not know our electoral law. Because if the dead and the newborn vote, it is the fault of the opposition, who do not have enough people to cover all the inspection posts, and then they throw a fit. As for the judiciary, there have been some bad things, but we corrected them. These things happen everywhere. And the Guard, I must say that it started with half of the officers being Liberals and the other half Conservatives, and the opposition tried to use them to overthrow the government. It didn't work, and because the Guard didn't take part in the coup d'etat, like other national guards in America, it is reviled...

/Question/ How were they supposed to participate, when you are the lord and master of Nicaragua's armies?

/Answer/ And why shouldn't I be, when I was one of its best training officers?

/And he denies the massacres by "his boys" in Esteli, Leon, etc./

"It's possible that there have been unfortunate mistakes. We have accepted this, but we have a very well-trained force which knows how to choose its objectives; we don't destroy cities totally, but rather selectively."

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

/Is Somoza Washington's man? Not exactly, and less so at this time. At least he is not this administration's man./

"I am a friend," he says, of the American people. What is happening is that the administration has fallen into the hands of people who are not sympathetic to me, and that could happen to anybody...."

/A clear allusion to President Carter, whom he has just formally accused of attacking Nicaragua economically. Carter, a scrupulous defender of human rights, believes that these are systematically violated in Nicaragua./

Question Listen, why don't you step down? All the violence, all the murders in your country appear to have one catalyst: Anastasio Somoza. Have you not thought about stepping down in order to put an end to them? Aren't you afraid the same thing will happen to you that happened to the Shah?

Answer We politicians are all exposed to reverses. But seeking the situation, I believe that what happened to the Shah is not going to happen to me. The difference is that I was elected by the people, and I have a commitment to them until 1981. Then I will leave, when my presidential mandate ends. Who will succeed me? Whoever the people elect. Who is going to be my candidate? That is not yet decided. My son cannot be; the people don't know that, but the Constitution prohibits it....

Question The Sandinists say you will fall in 2 or 3 months.

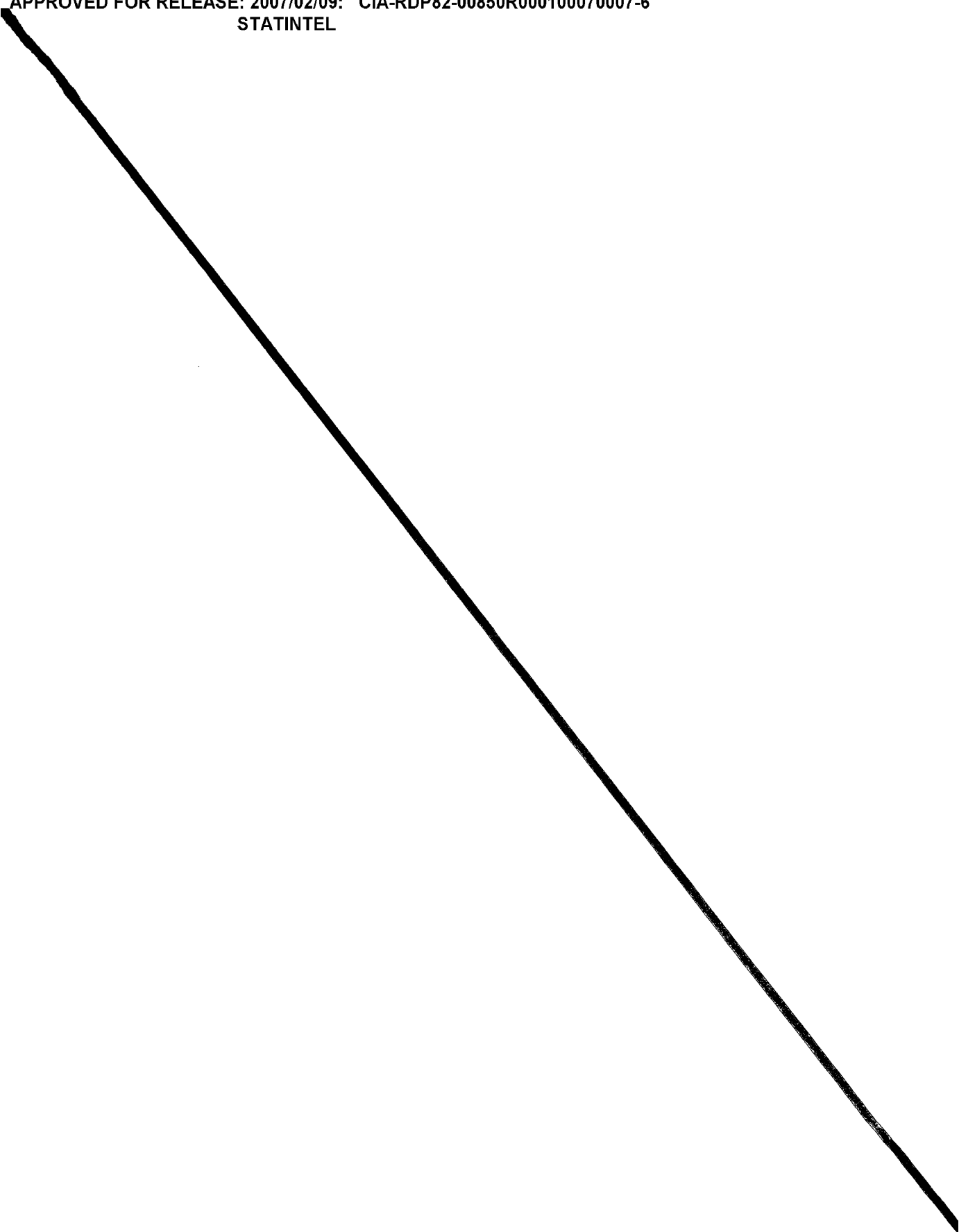
Answer They've been saying that for years. They think that because they have the people terrorized that the people side with them. And they haven't done anything for the people except kill and rob them, attack banks and try to destroy an entire system which has been good for this country.

/He rises courteously and says goodbye, with a suave handshake and a faint smile./

COPYRIGHT: CAMBIO 16, Madrid, 1979

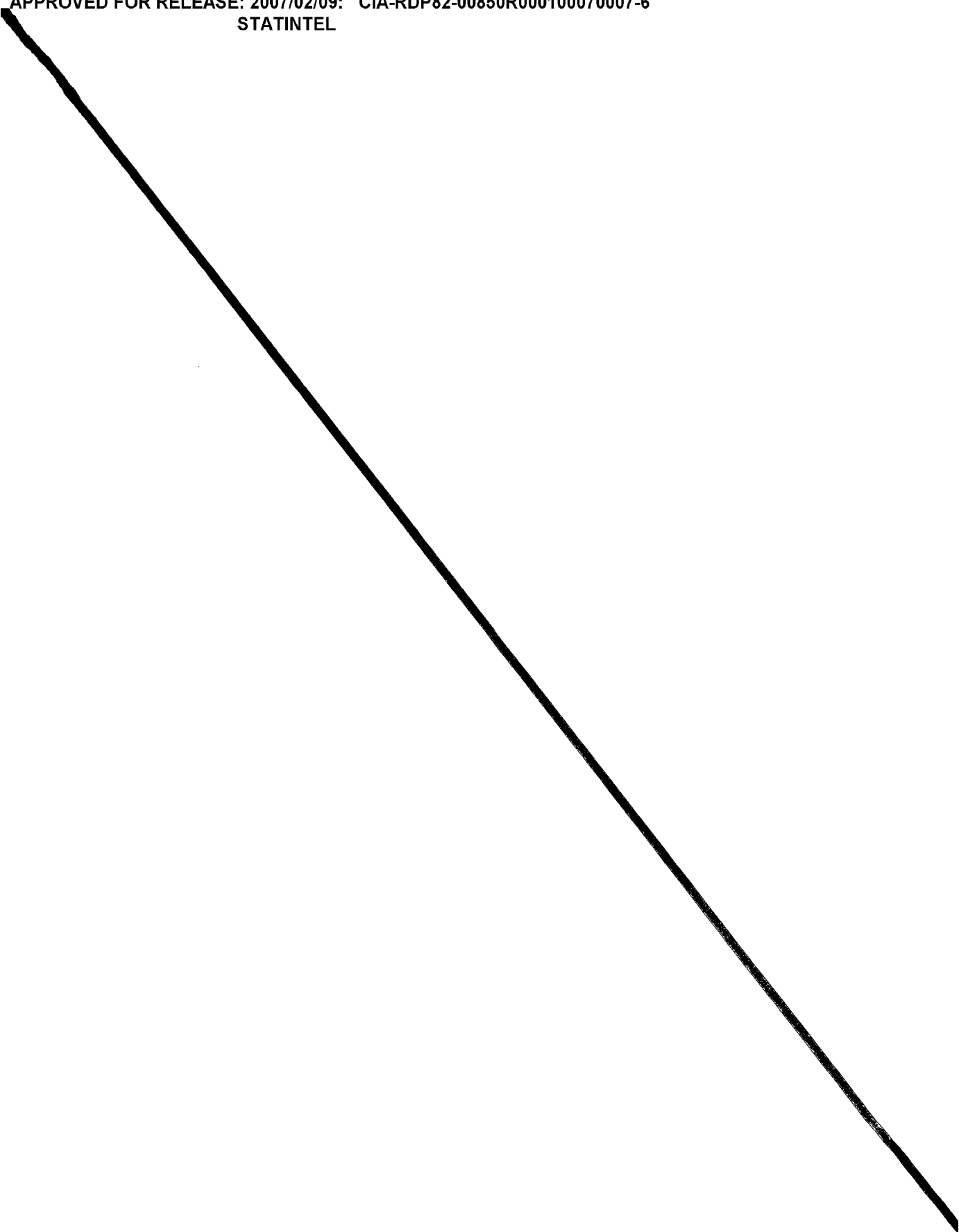
8735
CSO: 3110

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/09: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100070007-6
STATINTEL



APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/09: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100070007-6
STATINTEL

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/09: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100070007-6
STATINTEL



APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/09: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100070007-6
STATINTEL

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

URUGUAY

STUDENT LEADER WRITES ON POLITICAL ARRESTS, REPRESSION, ECONOMY

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 5 Apr 79 p 5

[Article by Jorge Landinelli, secretary general of the FEUU (Federation of University Students of Uruguay): "A Prison Named Uruguay"]

[Text] The fascist regime in Uruguay has launched another brutal repressive campaign. Some 300 democrats have been jailed in recent weeks, bringing to 7,000 the number of those filling jails and barracks in our country. The detention of those 300, taken from their homes by forces of the SID (Military Intelligence Service), has not been made public, and this makes one fear for their lives. We denounce the fact that many of them are subjected to fierce tortures in army and navy units. The first names of the detainees are known: Ruben Abrines, Carlos Gomez, Tomas Rivero, Juan Giacuboni, Miriam Rusomando, Cesar Gomez, Raul Larraya, Roberto Rivero and other workers, trade union leaders and university students.

Uruguay today is a huge jail. Not only for the 7,000 political prisoners, for those who have disappeared, for their families, for the thousands of exiles and banned persons, but also for the vast majority of the people. The armed forces, which are behaving like an occupation army, constitute the world's largest army in proportion to the population. The entire nation is an immense prison.

Police control begins at the age of 5 in the schools and continues throughout one's lifetime. From the time one starts to go to school one is listed in the electronic brain of the Military Intelligence Service. From that moment on every activity and movement will be recorded. To obtain a driver's license or enrollment at a university, to be able to work in a factory or participate in any association--involving sports, blood donation or cooperative activity--a permit is required from the secret services.

The armed forces control the press, television, the courts, the schools, the university, the telephone services; every aspect of civilian life, however insignificant it may be, is under their strict control. But another element should be noted: hundreds of officers, generals and colonels are in jail and have been tortured for their opposition to the dictatorship. One symbol of that reality is Gen Liber Seregni, president of the Broad Front.

18

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

All this is taking place in a country with a long democratic tradition, with a people that for 15 days struck and occupied the factories, the schools and the university at the time of the coup d'etat on 27 June 1973 and which since then has never ceased struggling against fascism.

The Uruguayan regime only appears to be strong but is instead very weak; its isolation in the country is complete. There is not a social or political sector that supports it. The Catholic Church, the parties of the left, the Christian Democratic Party and even the National (White) Party and the main wings of the Colorado Party (the two parties with the largest number of election votes) have expressed their opposition. These forces have refused any support for the plan that the dictatorship is seeking to carry out in order to "wash its face" and which provides for elections with a single candidate in 1981.

Internationally, the dictatorship has reached the apex of its isolation. The countless condemnations by international bodies, the United Nations, OAS, MCE, ILO and others, by parliaments and the protests by governments are a clear demonstration of the worldwide condemnation of the dictatorship.

The economic crisis is hitting the entire population except for the small sectors linked to the large banking capital, to cattle export and to the meat packing industry. The annual inflation rate is over 50 percent, wages have lost over 40 percent of their purchasing power in the past 5 years. The farmers, national industry and commerce are undergoing the worst crisis in the country's history. Whereas 54 percent of the national budget--which has a deficit of more than 30 percent--is allocated to the repressive apparatus, scarcely 2.3 percent is devoted to the educational sector.

The intensification of the repression in Uruguay these past few weeks (begun soon after the appointment of General Queirolo as commander-in-chief of the army--he had scarcely returned from his long mission to the United States) is an attempt by the dictatorship to cope with its deep crisis. While the process of unification of the patriotic and democratic forces is making important strides forward, the contradictions within the armed forces are becoming more acute and the regime is being condemned by the broadcast sectors of world democratic opinion.

The brutal methods of the Uruguayan fascists, who are endangering the lives of thousands of prisoners, necessitate that the solidarity of our people be strengthened. All those in Uruguay who are working tirelessly to regain freedom and democracy, for the freeing of the political prisoners and an end to the tortures, for a wide-ranging political amnesty, are called on to join in that solidarity.

COPYRIGHT: 1979, Editoriale del "Corriere della Sera" s.a.s.

5346
CSO: 3104

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

VENEZUELA

DOUGLAS BRAVO DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 27 May 79 pp 55-56, 59

[Interview with Douglas Bravo, Venezuelan guerrilla leader, by Ricardo Herren; date and place not given]

[Text] Douglas Bravo, "Venezuela's most wanted man" and, along with Che Guevara, the most outstanding South American guerrilla leader of the 1960's, is now 40 years old. He is thin, athletic in build, and calm. The son of a family of landowners in the state of Falcon in western Venezuela, he is refined in manner. He never gives orders, only indications, because he knows that this is enough. He has a prodigious memory. In the war, he discovered that above all, being a revolutionary consists in developing all the possibilities of the human being to the maximum extent. "For us Latins, affection counts a great deal," he told Ricardo Herren from CAMBIO 16, who interviewed Bravo before he resumed being just another Caracas citizen and lived with him in his hideout for 2 days.

[Question] The armed path for instituting a socialist regime has suffered a tremendous defeat in South America. There remain only a handful of groups that are frequently confused with brigandage in Colombia. To what do you attribute this failure?

[Answer] It was truly a tremendous defeat that cost nearly 200,000 lives all over the continent. We made many serious mistakes, mainly political in nature, perhaps, but they had an immediate effect on the military aspect. In Latin America, we have always been ideologically -- not just economically -- dependent on the experience of other countries outside the continent. We have always tried to repeat the schemes used in other places. We tried to wage a revolutionary war for socialism patterned after foreign models. Based on this mistaken planning, the whole concept was erroneous and had an effect on the military aspect.

[Question] Could you be more specific about this mistaken planning?

[Answer] We used as a basis studies on Latin America that did not correspond to the actual situation on the continent and we never learned the true

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

economic situation and the class structure of our nations. Consequently, when we worked out a strategy, we did so as if we were dealing with other nations. Furthermore, we forgot the most important factor: We did not look at Latin America's past and we did not realize that the success of the wars of independence came about through a widespread mobilization of people's forces. We fell into the trap of vanguardism. Insofar as we acted as individuals trying to bring about a great mobilization of the masses from the outside, we isolated ourselves much more. That isolation led to splits among us, the appearance of small groups that were easily beaten by the enemy because they did not have the support of the masses. Finally, there were leftist revolutionary tendencies that ended up by conciliating with the enemy because they were receiving orders from other foreign power centers, which determined when they had to fight and when they had to lay down their arms. Vanguardism and the conciliation of rightists led the revolutionary movement to a great defeat.

[Question] It was a crushing defeat and it would not appear that there will in the near future be the proper conditions that permitted the emergence of uprisings on the continent. Why do you remain underground and why do you not engage in political tasks within the framework of democratic legality that exists in Venezuela?

[Answer] My conduct in recent years has placed me in this position of persecution. A revolutionary movement should develop a clear, classist policy that can evolve in any circumstances permitted by the class struggle, whether legally or illegally. However, experience teaches us something very important. In 1958, when we overthrew the dictatorship of Perez Jimenez, all of us, together with the people, achieved a people's democratic legality. It was not the product of a decree; it was a question of a fact and not of law. Then came the defeat of the uprising in the 1960's and governmental decrees began to be issued releasing certain prisoners, while other leaders who had been underground came out into the open. This is a case diametrically opposed to the previous one: It was not the masses that won their legality, but rather, the government which graciously granted it.

We cannot deny the fact that there are former guerrilla leaders who now walk the streets freely. What concerns us is that the laws are not being used for the development of the people's movement, but rather, the opposite. In order to maintain this legality bestowed by decree, an effort of conciliation must be made because whenever one joins in with the workers' movement, one runs the risk of losing it. It has happened that many revolutionaries, out of a fear of being jailed once again -- after regaining their legal situation -- renounced their principles and conciliated.

Given the current crisis in Venezuelan society, when this year over 1,500 collective bargaining agreements will have to be negotiated, I am sure that the government is going to begin a campaign of conciliation with the leftist forces so that the new agreements will be favorable to the ruling class and so that the crisis will not have a revolutionary solution. Rather, everything will be settled within the bourgeois institutional framework.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Furthermore, it is not I who can decide personally whether or not I am to remain underground. Rather, it is my party, based on the circumstances that exist. For the time being, our illegality does not prevent us from having effective political influence on the workers movement.

[Question] What is your position and that of your party on terrorism?

[Answer] As revolutionaries, in no way do we take the position of engaging in individual terrorism, first of all, because such actions are a sign of weakness of the link between the revolutionary party and the masses. They show that one does not trust the masses or believe that the people can rise up in spectacular actions. Failing to believe in the masses and applying a terroristic, vanguard policy is just as harmful as not believing in the masses and applying a policy of class conciliation. Both are harmful to the revolutionary movement.

Coming Revolution

Nevertheless, it is necessary to clarify that most terrorism comes from the bourgeois state, which has always used it to remain in power, resorting to economic, psychological and police methods. In Venezuela, without need to seek examples elsewhere, during the administration of President Leoní, over 1,000 persons disappeared and an equal number died under torture.

[Question] What is your view of the situation of Latin America at a time when the revolution as you see it is practically seen nowhere?

[Answer] Prospects have varied recently. It would appear that the continent is waking up and I firmly believe that the great defeat that we are experiencing may find its limit, its final expression in the triumph of the Argentine military dictatorship over the people's movement. It did not take long for a new crisis to appear in Latin America, perhaps in the most unexpected spot: Nicaragua.

However, I do not believe that the Latin American revolutionary movement can be viewed as an isolated event in each country. Anyone who attempts a revolutionary plan in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile or Mexico and does so exclusively within national borders is doomed to failure. In order to be successful, it has to be a combined movement.

[Question] The experiences of victorious socialist revolutions in other countries do not allow any sensible, humanistic person to be very optimistic about the results. At least in Europe, the idea of a "socialist regime" is associated with the violation of human rights, imprisonment, deportation or psychiatric confinement for critics and dissidents, elitism on the part of the ruling class and even the inability of the system to solve its economic problems. You speak of revolution, but for what purpose? What kind of society do you want to establish that will not be worse than this one?

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Question] But for what new society are you going to fight in Latin America? In practice, all the revolutions have taken place with the people's participation but a bureaucratic elite has then enthroned itself in power and instituted a dictatorship, often a bloody one. What sensible person can be interested in such a revolutionary prospects?

[Answer] That is true. Any plan has to be based on a critical view of what has happened in the world. It is not enough to socialize the means of production in order to create socialism. That is an important step because it politically and economically disarms the ruling classes. However, it is indispensable to take a second step: to give real power to the great masses of the population as the administrator and owner of capital goods in order to prevent the ruling classes from being replaced by cliques, small groups that will take over the people's goods and turn into social strata or classes while the great majority continues as it was, dreaming about the same objectives for which the revolution took place. When the people are deprived of real power over the means of production, then there is just one more step before man begins to lose his freedom and fall into the hands of a clique.

Freedom: One Conquest

[Question] What place do you give to individual freedom in this new order of which you speak? To date, we have only seen "dictatorships of the proletariat" that rapidly turn into dictatorships of one person or of a new oligarchy that tramples human rights in order to secure power.

[Answer] The freedoms that mankind has achieved were not decreed by the bourgeoisie. It has had to coexist with these freedoms, taking them over as if they were its own creation, but they are the conquest of all mankind. When the bourgeoisie becomes the owner of them, it manipulates them. When the bourgeoisie frees the serfs, it is without a doubt a step forward. But it frees them in order to send them into the factories and another form of slavery begins there. It is not a fundamental question of preserving these conquests, but rather, of dismantling the entire economic, legal, political, social and military apparatus that has taken over these conquests and then releasing them. Within the bourgeois democratic framework, it is impossible to seek to expand and develop these conquests until the bourgeois power structure is broken.

The Eurocommunists advance the idea of expanding democracy within the bourgeois system, but this path has great risks. It makes the people incapable of having the forces necessary in order to impose, under a system of direct democracy, these freedoms. The argument of gradually acquiring powers, as proposed by certain leftists in southern Europe, does have its advantages. But they have gained power only insofar as the bourgeoisie allows the revolutionary parties free space to act. This space is not of much interest to the bourgeoisie because while it grants space in the parliaments and other institutions, the same institutions have lost their

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

influence in the solution of problems. There, the revolutionary movement can evolve for a very long time, believing that it is expanding democracy. But what it is doing is creating a pact that allows them to act in specific spheres and not in others, the fundamental ones. It is the executive power that makes all the major decisions and no revolutionary movement is ever going to arrive there.

As a result, even if it is not in very long-range terms, any revolutionary movement has to prepare to take paths other than the parliamentary path.

[Question] Does that mean that you do not see any peaceful means of transition to socialism?

[Answer] From the time of Marx up to now, all revolutionaries have first of all chosen that path; it is the fundamental objective we seek. But why is it inevitable that there will be a military confrontation between the classes that want to preserve their privileges and those that want to destroy them? It is experience, history itself, that makes it so. From the bourgeois revolutions to the socialist revolutions, it has not been possible to get away from armed confrontations in the dispute over power, not because of man's individual desires, but rather, because the armed struggle becomes inevitable in the course of political struggles, even though it would be much better if one could avoid bloodshed.

[Question] When do you believe that the conditions will be created for a new wave of armed confrontations in Latin America.

[Answer] Nicaragua is the first battle of the second great awakening of the continent in this century. Leaving it along would mean postponing revolutionary possibilities even longer. But if Nicaragua is not abandoned, the possibilities will be different. Guatemala is in the midst of crisis. So are El Salvador and Honduras. Colombia has been in a continuing crisis it cannot solve. Brazil and the countries in the Southern Cone are going through a very serious economic crisis. And the most "resplendent" of them all, as seen from Europe: Venezuela, is filled with artificial things for export, beset by tremendous contradictions and facing the end of the "years of abundance" of the previous government of Carlos Andres Perez. There is a general crisis on the American continent. The task of putting it on a "war footing" is not easy, but it is not impossible either.

Even if we do not obtain an immediate victory, a continental uprising might leave a path marked out for the future and I believe it is worthwhile to embark upon our great utopian adventure.

COPYRIGHT: 1979, CAMBIO 16, Informaciones y Publicaciones, S.A.

11,464
CSO: 3110

END

25

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY