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The Worst-Kept Secret War

When asked the other day if he could confirm a report in The Times that the C.I.A. is mobilizing a secret war against Nicaragua, President Reagan replied: "No, and I don't think The New York Times can." But the growing evidence of American involvement can't be shrugged off so blandly. There's nothing secret any more about the training of exile armies in Florida and the recurrent border raids into Nicaragua by insurgents claiming C.I.A. help; all this has been widely reported for months.

Whatever American agents may be doing to help Honduras prevent the use of its territory for arms smuggling to El Salvador, it seems beyond doubt that they are also engaged in some direct actions in Nicaragua. The manifest purpose is to threaten a frontal assault on the leftist Sandinist regime. Undeniably, some of the leaders of the insurgent force are Nicaraguans associated with the discredited Somoza dictatorship.

These are, to begin with, illegal activities. The Neutrality Act expressly forbids the raising of secret armies to unseat a regime that the United States recognizes as lawful. Flouting that law is no way to rally the hemisphere against meddling by Cuba and Nicaragua in other nations' conflicts.

Even if these secret armies were never meant to be used in a big way, they are a dangerous instrument of diplomacy. Give people with a political grudge a gun and they maneuver to fire it. If they do, they are impossible to disown. Even if they don't, they are extremely difficult to disband.

If the idea here was to use the threat of insurgency to win bargaining concessions from Nicaragua, the idea is bound to misfire. Such threats tend

to confirm the darkest fears of suspicious adversaries and make them more truculent, not accommodating.

It is perfectly true that an acceptable doctrine of non-intervention has to be respected by all parties. If it were proven that Nicaragua is indeed violating the territory of Honduras to funnel weapons to El Salvador, some reprisal in kind might be justifiable. But the evidence suggests that it is Nicaraguan territory, not Honduran, that is being systematically violated.

A final justification for covert warfare might be a clear showing that truly vital American interests are at risk, and beyond the reach of diplomacy. No such showing has been made, either to the American people or to our Latin friends. To the contrary, President Betancur of Colombia, an independent-minded conservative, last week risked Mr. Reagan's displeasure by appealing for negotiations with both Nicaragua and Cuba.

That was a foretaste of how Latin America would react to unilateral United States interventions. Mr. Reagan, by way of polite reply, expressed his wish to see "the withdrawal of all — I repeat all — foreign military advisers in Central America."

Nicaragua contends that it is prepared to negotiate. A proper response would find Washington testing that claim, documenting its charges of Nicaragua's interference in other countries and persuading other Latin nations to join in condemning the import of Communist arms. The improper response is to deny the undeniable, in the false hope that the C.I.A. hand can somehow be hidden. That illusion should have died at the Bay of Pigs.

Death, Purified

Death row inmates call lethal injection "the ultimate high." Instead of suffering electric shock and burns or gagging on poison gas, the victim simply drifts off in a trance. That is how the state of Texas executed Charles Brooks, a murderer, and so marked another advance in the technology of death.

But the new method hardly obscures the underlying issue: the morality of state-sanctioned killing. Over the centuries, civilized governments have tried to limit and reject it. In the United States, execution ceased altogether by the 1960's.

Its resurgence reflects the thirst of a frustrated public for vengeance against criminals. Some members of a Texas college fraternity actually showed up at the prison to cheer Mr. Brooks's execution. Politicians are swept along by the emotional tide despite their better judgment. New York's Governor-elect Mario Cuomo, who won election despite morally based opposition to the death penalty, is a notable exception.

The fever now sweeping the state Supreme Court. On Monday a majority of the justices turned aside Mr. Brooks's final appeals in a way that suggests they are impatient with taking the blame for

fessed concern over detail in capital cases and despite three clear dissents, ignored that failure.

To a lot of people, the death penalty presents a contradiction. They may favor it in the abstract, or when they talk to poll-takers. But the brutal reality repels most people close enough to carry it out. Judges, corrections officials and legislators don't like to think of themselves as killers. Neither do most citizens. So they look for ways to purify an indecent duty. Society favored the electric chair and the gas chamber as cleaner and more dependable than the noose. Lethal injection is yet another way to make the task look humane.

The result, however, is the same. That is why the American Medical Association opposes participation by physicians in lethal drug executions. In Idaho, the Legislature had to re-authorize the firing squad when no doctors would agree to perform lethal injections. No such inhibition troubled the Texas prison doctor, who drew a wondrously thin line between medicine and execution. He helped with preparations but left it to medical technicians to administer the lethal doses.

Such temporizing only underlines the real point:

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'Politburo'

To the Editor:

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The Genuine

To the Editor:

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The seizures involved abnormal bursts of electrical activity in the brain, similar to those experienced by an epileptic.

Peterson told reporters that the cause of Clark's major seizure at dawn is not known. That was followed by several localized seizures in the left leg.

Peterson said brain tests provided some reassurance that development of a major brain hemorrhage or blood clots, which could cut oxygen to Clark's brain and cause brain damage, was "less likely" than doctors had feared earlier in the day.

This possibility had "not completely been ruled out," he added.

Instead, Peterson said, it seemed more likely that the seizures may have come from a chemical imbalance developed in Clark's body during recovery from implant surgery last week. This would not do permanent harm, "nothing more than the bad dream we've all had," he said.

Tonight, medical center officials said no briefings on Clark's condition were planned until 11 a.m. EST Wednesday.

This afternoon, Peterson was cautiously optimistic, a contrast to the

somber mood earlier in the day when he said that the "potential of this being very significant, very significant."

"This could be catastrophic.... We don't know yet if this is just a complication. If it's a metabolic imbalance, that's just a complication. But if it's a hemorrhage or a blood clot, that's a disaster."

He emphasized that such changes are encountered normally but that conducting Clark's case in the glare of publicity tends to accentuate any changes.

See HEART, A2, Col. 1

Book All Events

ills Curbs on Center

have been proposed, but the ultimate shame would be to put this into federal law," Eagleton said. "It would be a national disgrace."

Sen. Warren Rudman (R-N.H.), another opponent, said the proposed restrictions were tailored to benefit the Capital Centre, which "would like to have as little competition as possible" in booking professional athletic events and rock concerts.

"I can understand that, but I don't agree with it," Rudman said.

By a voice vote, the Senate struck the restrictive language, which had been contained in the District's \$1.9-billion spending bill for 1983 and virtually would have prevented the

See CENTER, A10, Col. 1

Exiles Opposing Managua Seek Wider Support

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Foreign Service

FT. LAUDERDALE, Fla. Dec. 7—The paramount Nicaraguan opposition group, which has claimed numerous commando raids against the Sandinista government, reportedly with covert U.S. backing, today announced a new political leadership designed to attract rival anti-Sandinista subversives and create a more palatable public image.

The announcement marked a public relations debut for the group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (NDF). Although well known to the press and public around Miami, it previously had maintained a technically underground status while seeking political support in this country. Its armed forces have operated from camps just inside Honduras, harassing Sandinista forces in Nicaragua with raids reportedly supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

But the group has always had image problems, particularly among other groups of Nicaraguan exiles who have left the country since the Sandinistas took over, because many of its members were supporters of former dictator Anastasio Somoza or members of his National Guard.

The Reagan administration, according to U.S. officials, while openly opposing the leftist Sandinista government, has recognized the unpopularity of the former Somoza soldiers among most Nicaraguans—even those who now are dissatisfied with

See EXILES, A14, Col. 1

'A Long, Deep Yawn... He Execution in Tex

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Dec. 7—Dressed in gold pants, a brown shirt open to the waist and black cloth shoes, convicted murderer Charlie Brooks Jr. lay strapped to a stretcher early this morning as two dozen witnesses entered the small death chamber in Huntsville, Tex.

Asked if he had any last words, Brooks looked over at Vanessa Sapp, 27, with whom he earlier had shared "vows," but had not officially married, and said, finally, "Be strong."

"It was as if he was waiting for a change, waiting for something to hit him," said Dick Reavis, one of four

press witnesses who thought he felt a deep yawn. He yawned the yawn said.

Brooks' execution was the nation's first since the Supreme Court's death penalty decision was overturned by the Supreme Court.

The decision by the Supreme Court to overrule its previous ruling on the constitutionality of the death penalty came und

er of \$13,890 Car Even Get Hub Caps

In Bredemeier
Post Staff Writer

ago Sharon Jackson, who won the \$13.8-million-dollar prize by walking away the 1983 Oldsmobile in a prize contest for lottery agents.

But yesterday People's Choice said no: They will not give her the new car.

hicle with power windows, locks and seats, and an AM-FM cassette radio.

Jackson, the officials said, will get a consolation prize—a \$100 check.

Jackson had hoped to use the new car to replace the 1974 Chrysler with 86,000 miles on it that she had just purchased the night before the lottery drawing. But Peoples corporate secretary James Schwarz said yesterday

See PRIZE, A10, Col. 1

The West Coast

Fourth of a series

By Fred Barbash
Washington Post Staff Writer

The internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II was part of an unprecedented expansion of domestic military authority on the West Coast of the United States, beginning even before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, that came close to martial law.

The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, now considering compensation for those who were interned, has gathered extensive

documentation of military Japanese on the West Coast.

As U.S. forces

THE

tary overruled Justice's argument that Japan the

In a second foreign policy directive, Gonzalez said Foreign Minister Fernando Morán had instructed to attend the NATO ministerial meet-

ment signed in June and still awaiting ratification by the Spanish Congress. He is due here Dec. 15.

ETA announced it will continue its attacks despite the election of a premier.]

Nicaraguan Exiles Seek Broader Support

EXILES, From A1

the Sandinistas. In policy decisions taken in late 1981, the administration hoped to lend covert and overt support to anti-Sandinista forces that did not have the Somoza taint.

But these forces, principally led by former Sandinista hero Eden Pastora and former Sandinista government member Alfonso Robelo, both now disillusioned with the government and in exile in Costa Rica, have refused to join forces with groups like the NDF because of its Somoza ties.

Faced with the continued refusal by the Pastora-Robelo forces publicly to support them, the NDF leaders apparently tried, with today's news conference to reach other anti-Sandinistas identified as opponents of the Somoza government.

"We open our arms to all those who wish to join us and express our patriotic intention of cooperating with any group which shares our objectives," the group said in a statement. "We ask the nations of the hemisphere that, just as they supported our first effort to free ourselves from dictatorship, they might now, convinced that our struggle is also their struggle, offer us their decided support in our effort to complete the patriotic task, so that Nicaragua can again be a republic."

Six new members of the NDF "directorato" were introduced, including:

Edgar Chamorro Coronel, a psychologist and investor; Alfonso Callejas, a businessman who was minister and vice president under Somoza but resigned in protest in 1972; Indalecio Rodriguez, a veterinarian who helped found the ruling Sandinista Front but later left in disgust; Lucia Cardenilla, widow of murdered businessman Jorge Salazar; Marco Zeledon, former president of the Nicaraguan Superior Council for Private Initiative; and Enrique Bermudez, a National Guard officer who served as Somoza's military attache in Washington.

The other two on the eight-member directorato were not revealed for what Edgar Chamorro called security reasons. One was understood to be Steadman Fagoth, a Miskito Indian leader who reportedly has helped organize broad Miskito resistance to Sandinista rule in the undeveloped Zelaya province on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast.

Bermudez, according to reliable Nicaraguan sources and an Argentine ex-intelligence officer now with the Sandinistas, has been the chief military leader of the guerrilla campaign against the Sandinistas. According to reports from Washington, the campaign has been backed by the United States with help from Argentine and Honduran advisers and cooperation from the Honduran army of Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez.

Bermudez refused all comment on his military activities in Honduras or Nicaragua. Chamorro, speaking for the directorate, cited the U.S. Neutrality Act in refusing to discuss NDF connections with guerrillas. The Sandinista leadership charges them with more than 50 killings in cross-border raids since July.

The Neutrality Act bars persons on U.S. soil from operations against foreign governments at peace with the United States.

A directorate member speaking privately said the new leadership is working to get rid of several former National Guard officers working with Bermudez, whom Pastora's group has specifically identified as unacceptable. These include, among others, Ricardo Lao, identified by exile sources as a former officer in Somoza's military intelligence. "They are on their way out, I think," the directorate member said.

He expressed hope that, with these officers most identified with abuses under Somoza gone, Pastora, Robelo and others in the Costa Rica-based Revolutionary Democratic Alliance, can be persuaded to join the NDF and make a united Nicaraguan opposition front more likely to gain public support in Nicaragua and the United States and more financial and diplomatic backing from the Reagan administration.

As part of the new effort, Jose Francisco Cardenal, one of the movement's early leaders, was not at today's news conference. Exile sources said he remains part of the movement but stayed out of the limelight because he had become too closely identified with rightist backers among the ex-Somoza backers living in Miami.

Bermudez, although a former National Guard officer and politically to the right, has not been singled out as particularly objectionable, Capt.

Roberto Sanchez, the Sandinista Army spokesman in Managua, recently pointed out that Bermudez has never been identified with what the Sandinistas call "war crimes" committed under Somoza.

The military effort based in Honduras has come under increased control by the Sandinista Army, which has increased border patrols and forced Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary groups to move inside Nicaragua or shift their operations more deeply inside Honduras. It is not clear whether this marked a permanent change in response to President Reagan's trip to the region last week. The move followed widespread reports in the U.S. press that the administration was helping organize the harassment raids.

Dodd Seeks to Outlaw Aid To Paramilitary Groups


An aide to Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) said last night that Dodd is drafting legislation that he will introduce at the first opportunity banning U.S. funding for "irregular forces or paramilitary groups operating in the Central American region."

The aide said that Dodd has not gathered support for the measure in advance but will seek it beginning this week. In a position paper prepared for discussion with other senators, Dodd cited his concern over the buildup of U.S.-supported covert forces striking at economic targets inside Nicaragua from bases across the Honduran frontier.

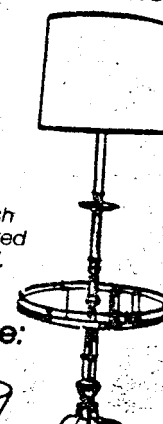
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BRIGHTEST NEW LIGHTING IDEAS
From Famous Manufacturers

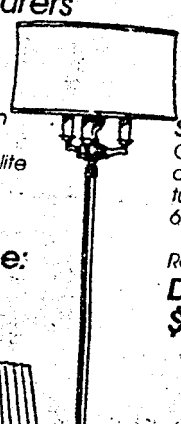
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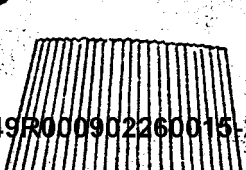
Stiffel #5585-M
Bright old brass finish with off-white pleated linen shade. Ht. 27".
3-way socket.
Retail Value: \$185
Discount Price: \$111



Stiffel #3278-M
Old brass finish with off-white pleated shade. Ht. 53 1/2". 2-lite cluster pull chain.
Retail Value: \$380
Discount Price: \$253



Stiffel #2264-C
Old brass finish with off-white nubby texture shade. Ht. 59 1/2". 6-way socket.
Retail Value: \$340
Discount Price: \$227



Stiffel #8600
Distressed brass finish

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