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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Latin America**

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# Latin America

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### **PLO To Renew Talks Seeking Official Recognition in June**

*33420092c Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 5 May 88 p 2*

[Text] Brasilia—The head of the political department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Farouq Kadoumi, is arriving in Brazil in June to continue negotiations aimed at getting the Brazilian Government officially to recognize the representation of the organization in Brazil. That information was provided by Abdul Razaq Al-Yahia, a member of the PLO Executive Committee, who has discussed the matter during the past 2 days with President Jose Sarney and interim Foreign Minister Paulo Tarso Flecha de Lima.

Accompanied by a ministerial delegation from the Arab countries, Abdul Razaq declared that the Brazilian Government appeared receptive to the proposal, supporting the holding of a peace conference for the Middle East, a position similarly supported at international forums but which, according to the PLO member, runs into the intransigence of the United States and Israel. Razaq stressed that the conference could be an important instrument to compel Israeli troops to abandon the occupied territories, permitting the creation of an independent Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem. "Real peace is one that is made with justice," said Razaq, adding that with the opposition of the United States and Israel, it is unlikely that the conference will be held this year.

### **No Decision**

Foreign Ministry spokesman Minister Ruy Nogueira asserted yesterday that "the government has not taken any decision with regard to recognizing the diplomatic status of the PLO in Brazil," adding that it is not an imminent decision. In the opinion of the Foreign Ministry, published reports in that regard come from the lobby favorable to the Palestinian cause. "We can only attribute the report to a legitimate mobilization of sectors of public opinion, with ramifications in the National Congress, that would like to see a modification of the Brazilian position," the spokesman declared.

According to Ruy Nogueira, the matter is still under study in the Brazilian Foreign Ministry and there is no urgent reason for recognizing the PLO.

8711/9274

### **USSR Offensive To Improve Trade Balance, Productivity Viewed**

*33420092a Sao Paulo ISTOE in Portuguese 27 Apr 88 pp 67-69*

[Text] The Soviet Union is resuming an offensive to improve the trade exchange level with Brazil. The objective is to reach a minimum of \$1 billion per year in trade between the two countries, which would represent an

increase of more than 60 percent in the trade balance; in 1987 a total of \$600 million was traded, with a clear advantage for Brazil. The Soviets bought a total of \$520.8 million in Brazilian products and exported the equivalent of only \$83.6 million here. "Trade exchange between Brazil and the USSR is not good," explained Vladislav Kurenkov, chief of the Soviet trade representation in Brazil. "In 1983, the balance was \$813 million and that volume had not been regained as of last year."

### **Political Matter**

The Soviet objective does not appear to be simply to balance the exchange by reducing the Brazilian surplus. It is a strategy by the Moscow government to open up more to the outside. For that reason, the deals may even involve delicate political-diplomatic questions inasmuch as they include transactions in the computer technology area—a sensitive sector that has produced frequent friction between Brazil and the United States.

Marcio Miranda, 35, president of the Saena Group, which has been trading with the USSR since 1962 and is responsible for the sale of at least 34,000 Soviet machine tools in Brazil, believes that "the opening in the Soviet Union that now makes it possible for various companies to trade directly with foreign companies will certainly increase trade exchange between the two countries."

This year, the president of the Saena Group, which is comprised of seven companies with total sales of \$15 million in 1987, expects to sell \$6 million in Soviet die [matriz] machine tools on the national market. In addition, Marcio Miranca plans to conclude a deal that involves the sale of a complete bottled-gas bottling plant valued at \$50 million to Brazilian companies, with Soviet technology and technical assistance. "We are still in the negotiating phase, but I believe the agreement will be concluded," revealed Mirando, who also plans to open an office of the Group in Moscow to study the possibilities of investments there.

The touchstone of trade relations, however, may lie in the Soviets' need to acquire new technologies. It is known that they are interested in the Brazilian computer technology industry. In 1985, three national microcomputer manufacturing companies had been contacted for a possible exchange with the USSR. Two of them employed technology purchased from the United States in their microcomputers and were therefore committed by the Committee for Multilateral Export Control (COCOM), a group of countries that possess high technology, which prohibits the sale of their equipment to East European socialist countries. Logus Computers of Sao Paulo was then sounded out to develop a new technology for the manufacture of microcomputers with components already manufactured in the Soviet Union, which would later be purchased by the Moscow government.

"There has not been any official contact; we only discussed alternatives with persons who represented Soviet interests," pointed out Jalmar Antonio Ramos de Oliveira, 40, technical director of the Data Plus Computers (DPC), the old Logus. At that time, the company was preparing to participate in the exposition of Brazilian computer manufacturers in Moscow (October 1985) when it was surprised by the notice from the fair organizers that it could not participate in the event. "We learned from a telephone call in Curitiba some time later that the veto on our going to the USSR had come from the U.S. Department of Commerce, which had threatened reprisals if we participated in the fair," the DPC director related. "The cost of going to the fair turned out to be too high and we refrained from participating," Oliveira recalled.

#### Toshiba Suffered:

Restrictions and prohibitions against deals with the Soviet Union in the informatics area constitute a common procedure in many countries. In 1987, the Japanese Government imposed fines of more than \$35 million on Toshiba Machine for selling sophisticated equipment to the Soviet Union in 1981. In July 1987, it was the turn of the U.S. Senate to ban for a minimum period of 2 years the sale in the United States of products made by Toshiba and its Norwegian associate, Rongsberg Vaapenfabrik, accused of having sold the Russians the technology necessary to make their submarines silent.

It is quite true that for some time the Soviets had found that they could overcome their technological deficiencies by purchasing abroad. That "ingenuity" was revealed by the communist leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, himself, in his book on perestroika. "It seems to me now that we accepted the policy of detente with excessively bright hopes," wrote Gorbachev, adding further on: "We even suspended some research and technological improvements counting on the international division of labor and thinking that it would be more advantageous to purchase some machines than building them at home." The truth is that boycotts and retaliations in the trade area ended up changing the viewpoint of the Soviet Government. Even so, it will not be enough to resume investing in technology at home. It will still be necessary to import, as the Kremlin's most respected economist, Abel G. Aganbeguian, warned, and to invest mainly in computer technology. Computers can be a lever for the new technical-scientific revolution in the country. As an example, Aganbeguian cites the fact that his country has 25 percent of all the scientists in the world, but has not managed to get their research and discoveries to factory or school doors rapidly and efficiently. Computers can do that. Microcomputers can help and Brazil builds quality microcomputers.

8711/9274

#### Military Intervention in March of Blacks in Rio Described

33420096b Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese  
12 May 88 p 8

[Text] Nearly 4,000 persons participated late yesterday afternoon and early evening in the march organized by Rio de Janeiro black movements challenging the commemoration of 13 May as the date of the abolition of slavery. The march, starting in Candelaria and ending with a major speech opposite the Dom Pedro II railroad station, at the Brazil Power Plant, covered slightly over 300 meters along the side lane of Presidente Vargas Avenue's downward grade, in the section between Rio Branco Avenue and Tome de Souza Street. Reports that political activists who infiltrated the parade would criticize the Army patron, Duque de Caxias, prompted the Eastern Military Command to ban demonstrators' marching in front of the Caxias Mausoleum, and to protect the entire Brazil Power Plant region. The march, watched by 500 men from the PM [Military Police], took place without incident.

The ban by the military authorities surprised the march's organizers. During the morning, the board of directors of Racism SOS, one of the organizations sponsoring the parade, met with the Civil Police [PC] secretary, Helio Saboya, and a guarantee was given for the original route, leaving Candelaria in the direction of the Brazil Power Plant, where a workers' rally would be held in the late afternoon. Members of the organizing group such as Wilson Prudente, Januario Garcia, Amaury Pereira and actor Milton Goncalves denied any intention of offending or mentioning the Army patron during the course of the march. At 1610 hours, when the march was due to begin, Secretary Helio Saboya went in person to Presidente Vargas Avenue for an emergency meeting with the committee leaders in order to announce that military authorities would not allow the power plant area to be occupied.

Saboya conversed for 10 minutes with the committee members in the hall of the Rio D'Ouro Building at No 435 Presidente Vargas Avenue. The secretary was informed that the police force was upsetting the demonstrators and the commitment assumed with the march's organizers was being persistently demanded. Before leaving the site, the secretary reported that he had been with the Eastern Military Command, talking with a colonel whom he identified only as Lima. Helio Saboya remarked that he had been told by that officer of the decision to change the parade route. The demonstrators were to continue to Tome de Souza Street, arrive at Visconde do Rio Branco, Frei Caneca and Santana, and end the march at the Zumbi Monument, at Square 11, if they so desired. Upon returning to the secretariat premises, Saboya said that during the meeting with the organizers the intention of holding a demonstration in front of the mausoleum had become clear.

The march started at 1745 hours, over 2 hours late. Before the arrival of Secretary Helio Saboya, the leaders of various black movements attempted a solution with Lt Col Roberio, commander of the Police Fifth Battalion, who was in charge of the action; but the officer said that he was obeying orders, and that the demonstrators would have to see the PM General Command. Actor Milton Goncalves tried to speak with Col Lage, of the corps' staff, using a walkie-talkie, and the latter contacted Colonel Roberio by radio. Visibly annoyed, the officer decided to withdraw the shock force that was occupying the avenue's center lane.

The head of the Black Culture Research Institute (IPCN), Januario Garcia, criticized the police contingent occupying the entire square opposite the Candelaria church, which prevented the demonstrators from gathering, and the erection of a blood donation tent. Blood was to be collected for the Hemophilia Institution on a bus parked on the church's sidewalk.

Januario Garcia and his colleagues from the organizing committee spent over half an hour trying to soothe the agitation among scores of demonstrators calling for a confrontation with the shock forces.

Before the parade began there were protests when a group of blacks, representing the Nova Iguacu movements, arrived at the gathering place, announcing that the Army Police had collected all the banners that they were taking to the demonstration, and that all the blacks circulating in the Brazil Power Plant area were being searched.

The PM stationed three rows of soldiers from the Shock Battalion at the corner of Tome de Souza Street. With President Vargas Avenue blocked by two vehicles, the demonstrators avoided a confrontation, stopping the sound truck about 100 meters from the police, where speeches were started. During the march no political speeches were allowed and party banners and flags had to be left behind the lines of marchers representing black culture. At 1830 hours the street light over the flowerbed between Campo de Santana and Passos Avenue was disconnected, prompting loud jeers. The bishop of Caxias, Dom Mauro Moreli, sent a message criticizing the Golden Law which, he claimed, "is still a farce."

#### Troops Search All Suspects

All individuals considered suspect who passed by the Brazil Power Plant yesterday afternoon were searched by the Army, which mobilized troops to occupy the section between Dom Pedro II railroad station and the Rivadavia Correa Municipal School, beside the Caxias Mausoleum. The Eastern Military Command's public relations chief, Lt Col Cesario, refused to divulge the number of soldiers mobilized, claiming that it was a contingent "in keeping with the needs"; but it was learned that 750 men from the Army Police, Guard Battalion and Infantry School Regiment participated in the operation.

The first to arrive, shortly after 1200 hours, were the 450 troops from the Guard Battalion based in Sao Cristovao. Two battalion companies were stationed in front of the power plant and around the Caxias Mausoleum, while a third was posted on Presidente Vargas Avenue, facing the Zumbi Monument. Immediately thereafter, 150 soldiers arrived from the Army Police, led by Maj Ricardo Cardoso, and were charged with searching passers-by considered as appearing suspicious, particularly those carrying bags.

#### Army Police Avoided Provocation

The order to the Army Police was to arrest anyone who engaged in provocation. The first one detained was a government employee from Maracana, Arquimedes Francisco Vieira, aged 45, for disrespecting authority and carrying a knife. Next a sailor, Luis Joaquim Faria, for refusing to salute a group of PE soldiers, who also arrested an Air Force soldier on the same charges.

Shortly after 1800 hours a sound truck from the Railroad Workers Union drove by the power plant in the direction of the Joao Ricardo Tunnel, and, at full volume, scored the ban on the blacks' parade, which was supposed to end in front of the power plant, where the mayor's office had erected a platform for the demonstrators. The Army prevented the holding of the ceremony and the platform was dismantled.

Union leaders Fernando Antonio da Silva and Naun Alves attempted to make a speech from the sound truck, but were taken into custody by the PE and brought to the Eastern Military Command for identification.

Nearly 30 students from Gama Filho University who were attempting to deliver a complaint to the MEC [Ministry of Education and Culture] charging excessive increases among the faculty had their banners taken by PE Sergeant Marcio Luis.

#### Traffic Stalled in the Downtown Area

The traffic in downtown Rio became chaotic. While the cars coming from the northern zone or Niteroi along Francisco Bicalho Avenue, in the direction of the central or southern zone, were forced by Army troops to slow down, causing a backup in traffic, on Presidente Vargas Avenue the PM were blocking off sections of the lane on which the march was continuing. By 1800 hours, when over 500 policemen were gathered opposite the State Library, Sao Francisco Square and Tiradentes Square (from which most of the lines to the western zone leave) were totally congested. On Constituicao Street, police from the Women's Traffic Company blocked the street until 1930 hours, when the order reporting that the parade would not pass through there arrived.

The traffic control on Presidente Vargas and Francisco Bicalho Avenues, with the partial blocking of access lanes to the downtown area, caused bottlenecks on the

narrow side streets, particularly after 1800 hours. For example, a driver traveling on Buenos Aires Street from Rio Branco Avenue to Republica Square was caught in the congestion for at least an hour.

#### **Army Knew That There Would Be Provocation Against Caxias**

The Eastern Military Command [CML] (former First Army) was aware for some time that activists from CUT [Sole Central Organization of Workers] and PCB [Brazilian Communist Party] would attend the march, and that, when they passed in front of the Caxias Mausoleum housing the mortal remains of Army patron Marshall Luis Alves de Lima e Silva, Duke of Caxias, they would engage in hostile demonstrations. Therefore the CML mobilized its security force immediately after lunch; at 1400 hours nearly 150 men from the Army First Police Battalion were stationed near the Procopio Ferreira Highway Terminal on Presidente Vargas Avenue, next to the street vendors' market, while nearly 50 men from the Special Forces Battalion drilled on the inner grounds of the Duque de Caxias Palace, former headquarters of the Army Ministry in Rio. Surrounding them were nearly 20 troop transport trucks, 5 ambulances, and motorcycles, all from units subordinate to the Eastern Military Command.

At 1600 hours the troops stationed on the Duque de Caxias Palace grounds headed for the area in front of the building; a veritable circle was formed around that city block as well as on Presidente Vargas Avenue and at the mausoleum.

#### **Note Explains Changes in the Parade Route**

The Eastern Military Command released a note explaining the reasons for the change in the parade route, disclosing that it had confirmed reports that activists were intending to use the commemoration of the centennial of the abolition of slavery to upset the calm in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and citing the reasons for the security measures adopted yesterday, in conjunction with the Military and Civil Police. Following is the complete text of the Army's note:

"Regarding the deviation from the route originally scheduled by the organizers of the alleged parade commemorating the centennial of the abolition of slavery, to be held on this date, which was to leave from Candelaria for Square 11, with a stop planned at the mausoleum where the mortal remains of the Brazilian Army patron, Duque de Caxias, repose, and changed to Tome de Souza, Republica de Libano, Visconde do Rio Branco, Frei Caneca and Santana Streets, and Square 11, the Eastern Military Command announces that:

"a. This precaution originated in reports confirming the wrongful intention of activists to use the commemoration of the abolition centennial to upset the calm of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

"b. The measures adopted, in cooperation with the Rio de Janeiro Military Police and Civil Police, were aimed at preventing, under the guise of alleged parades, offenses of any kind from being committed against a leading historical figure with acknowledged respect and even veneration among our people.

"c. Demonstrations of that kind, with well known and even ineffable intentions, attempt, in a rude manner, to change real facts without backing from any scientific or historical data, but rather only from half-truths and omissions, disseminating distortions among the people, with unpatriotic motives, to create antagonism and even hatred among brothers of any race and color who, at one time, shoulder to shoulder, united fraternally by the same ideals, formed and consolidated our nation.

"d. The Eastern Military Command thanks the peaceful population of the city of Rio de Janeiro, whose obvious confidence has always been invested in us, for their understanding of possible upsets caused to traffic, with repercussions on their return home, after a tiring day at work; giving assurance that the responsible authorities will always continue to act with equanimity, within the law, for the peace and calm of our people.

"Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 11 May 1988, Luiz Cesario da Silveira Filho, Lt Col, Chief of the CML Fifth Section"

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#### **Labor Union Involvement in Politics Over Decade Surveyed**

*34420096a Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 May 88 p 12*

[Text] "Idle hands, machines stopped." This was the watchword for a strike that is 10 years old, following which the national labor movement changed its features. The term "dictatorship" was the talk of the town, something to be fought in the public squares; the politicians, new and veteran, took to the streets; the military regime showed sophistication, with dreaded shock troops; the workers were converted into politicians, and everyone became a "comrade." On 12 May 1978, at Saab-Scania, in Sao Bernardo do Campo, metalworker Gilson Menezes was in charge of the mobilization; everyone was supposed to don overalls, punch the timecard and stop the machines. Today, Gilson is mayor of Diadema, representing PT [Workers Party], the most perfect example of the path trodden by the labor movement since that time.

The claim that the labor movement has become partisan is something that evokes a controversy, even now, and no leader agrees with it. But examples are quite telling, even among the new generation of labor unionists. When Sao Bernardo do Campo became a battleground for workers' struggles against the strong regime, several names stood out, beginning with that of metalworker Lula, now a PT federal deputy, and including Expedito

Soares, currently in his second term as the same party's state deputy, Djalma Bom, an ex-PT deputy and perpetual candidate, and Juracy Magalhaes, former private secretary in the Diadema mayor's office, and now in PDS [Social Democratic Party]. Operating behind the scenes were attorneys Mauricio Soares, the PT candidate for the Sao Bernardo mayor's office this year, a defeated candidate in the last elections, and Almir Pazzianotto, the current PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] labor minister.

On the front line, only 22 years old, was Vicentinho, follower of Lula, current president of the Sao Bernardo do Campo Metal Workers Union, and potential PT candidate for mayor of Diadema. In fact, the examples are endless.

It was based on the impetus from the Scania strike that ABC [industrial sections of Santo Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo, and Sao Caetano do Sul] became noted for their capacity to oppose (with strikes that were always lengthy, lasting up to 60 days, assemblies that managed to convene over 100,000 workers, and public ceremonies) the wage policies imposed by the government and the alliance between management and a paternalistic government, bent on industrialization at any price. All this turmoil lasted until the middle of 1985, and left deepseated differences among members, which divide the labor movement even now.

"There was undeniable progress from 1978 up to the present, but the labor movement could be something far more influential and strong in national decisions. Unfortunately, it has become lost by becoming partisan," claimed a leader of the metal worker movements at the time, Enilson Simoes de Moura, nicknamed "Alemao" [German], now president of CGT [Union Headquarters]-ABC. A member of MR-8 [8 October Revolutionary Movement] then, and of PCB [Brazilian Communist Party] now, "Alemao" ended up being deleted from the history of the labor movement recounted by PT and CUT [Sole Central Organization of Workers]; because, after 1980, he became a thorn in the side of the activists planning the formation of the Workers Party, through a provisional partisan commission. But, as he comments, he was not alone: "There was a large group which challenged the partisanism. They were veterans who would not tolerate the same mistakes of pre-1964, when PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] and PCB equipped a large number of labor unions, being repeated."

Vicentinho gives another version of the split that persists even now: "We were naive; we were experiencing the euphoria of discovering that the strike was our weapon; and we did not clearly understand what lay behind certain members." In his view, the major difference arose, not because of the creation of PT, which was a "natural" course of action in the workers' struggles and, in his opinion, "did not make any labor union partisan," remaining as an autonomous option for the worker, but rather when it was discovered that "Alemao" and others

were already militating in parties. "We discovered that there were party relationships, opportunism and political designs that had nothing to do with our option for labor union autonomy." Vicente cites as an opportunist not only the enemy "Alemao," but also Osmarzinho, who is a third key figure for understanding the past 10 years.

Osmar Mendonca was founder of PT, a party which he left during the same year, 1981, returning to it in 1984, having joined PMDB during this intervening period, and emerging as a candidate for council member in 1982. He is now regarded as a "booster" for the labor movement rather than a critic. He does not approve, as he has never approved, of the mixing of parties and labor unions: "two entities with different goals and methods which, when joined, become mutually weakened." But he also sees no signs of a reversal in this situation, either on the side of CUT or that of CGT. "It is said that the CUT unions are equipped by PT, but what is the labor unionism of results practiced by CGT leaders? The connection with the parties is present on both sides."

A former metal worker, currently a lawyer (in his fourth year in the department), Osmar now practices his profession in a CUT union, that of the Sao Bernardo do Campo civil construction workers. In his view, among the confederations, CUT is the one that has brought modern proposals to the labor movement.

#### New Brazil

Although everyone differs regarding the partisanism, where the country's political situation is concerned everyone thinks that the progress has been undeniable. Osmar, jailed twice, sentenced by the Military Court to 2 and one-half years in prison (the prescribed penalty), claimed that he would do everything that he did again, from militancy to internal battles. "Everything that I thought at the time was true. I upheld a National Constituent Assembly when people thought that it was something to eat, general elections, and these universal causes; and the people disagreed, thinking that it would benefit the conservative forces that were in power. But history proved that this was right on the mark!" In his view, although there are countless problems at present, "one can breathe now."

Jailed three times, also sentenced to a year in prison based on the National Security Law, discharged for a year, and persecuted in his own home, Vicente is also proud of the ABC metal workers' movement. "I see only progress. In the labor unions, the parties, and among the working class, people are becoming politicized. In 1978, without even the power to open my mouth, how could I imagine that we would have workers in Congress by 1988?"

Even "Alemao," who suffered unemployment for 2 years, because he was "marked," experienced this period of "charity from friends," and, together with Lula,

received the longest sentence ever imposed by the military regime (3 and one-half years), says that he would repeat the hardship if it were possible to go back in time. "We have a new Brazil," he claims, adding: "I would go back, I would join the struggle, but I would double my efforts to prevent the parties' interference in the labor unions."

#### **Lula Considers PT Action Consistent**

"The great quality of PT, which intolerant people cannot accept, is the party's political consistency, its internal criteria for politics." The description is given by the founder of the Workers Party, now only its leader in the Chamber and the Constituent Assembly, Deputy Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (Sao Paulo).

The notion that the workers should have a party of their own to represent them directly, instead of being mere members of the existing parties, originated precisely with the current Deputy Lula and erstwhile Sao Paulo ABC metal workers leader in 1978. Lula remembers the first time that he thought of what would later become PT. "The first idea that people should construct a workers party was on 15 July 1978, I recall (because it was the birthday of my son, Julio); it occurred at an oil workers' meeting in Salvador. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Almino Afonso and I were there," Lula recalls.

He goes on to say: "At the time, people were discussing the formation of a broad front against the dictatorship, and I began telling the press that the workers should have their own party." The topic was discussed again in 1978, at a metal workers' state congress in Lins; and the following year, at the union's national congress, the creation of the Workers Party was approved.

Then Lula made a point of declaring that PT will be 8 years old, and not 10, on 31 May; because 1978 and 1979 were years of discussion, of exchanging ideas and of laying the groundwork for the new party association. He noted: "The party emerged from the rebirth of the union struggles at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's."

Lula recalls: "Few parties would succeed in surviving with the number of attacks faced by PT during its early days," observing, with relief, that "the worst is over now." First, the new party had to confront the stringency of the law in order to be created: It had to be organized in a minimum of nine states, in 20 percent of the municipalities of each. This requirement meant, for example, that PT would have to have municipal boards of directors in 120 municipalities of Sao Paulo, or 140 in Minas Gerais. The party succeeded: In 1980, it had regional boards of directors in 13 states.

PT ran in the 1982 general elections, with Lula as a candidate for governor against Janio Quadros, Franco Montoro and Reynaldo de Barros. It took eight seats in the Chamber of Deputies and chalked up 1.2 million

votes for Lula. Lula recalls: "The press at the time blundered, claiming that I was defeated. Months later, I realized that the party had accomplished far more than might have been expected."

According to its former national president, PT later scored its first point for "consistency" by refusing to participate in the electoral college (which was to elect Tancredo and Sarney). Three congress members disagreed with the national orientation, and were expelled: Airton Soares, Beth Mendes and Jose Eudes. According to Lula, what is uncomfortable in PT is the consistency, because "PT does not engage in politics of convenience: Either we are sure that we are doing a certain thing, or else we do nothing."

If everything happens to PT, as in the case of the approval of the presidential system, in which its current 16 votes were censured, together with the 30 of PDT [Democratic Workers Party], "when 161 from PMDB voted against the party leadership's orientation," according to Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, it is because "PT is a kind of critical conscience."

Based on its leader's assessment, the PT aim from now on is to triple its seats, to win many mayor's offices and to produce a large number of council members, with the concern that the party should grow politically, "but attempting to prevent PT from possibly being used as a rented label by opportunists, or from becoming excessively bloated, like PMDB."

According to Lula, PT has already begun to cause discomfort in many places, "where the most diverse political forces are uniting against the party for the municipal elections."

#### **Santos Labor Unionists Will Vie for the Chamber**

The presidents of the Santos labor unions have decided to run as candidates in the November elections for council members. Even before the party conventions, they are starting to distribute their campaign stickers and cards in the city. Even billboards are appearing on walls. If elected, the representatives of the metal workers, oil workers, port workers, bank workers and teachers will join a privileged group of society: The Santos Municipal Chamber now pays the 19 council members (known in the region as the "gold men") monthly salaries of 170,000 cruzados. Next month, it will be 250,000 cruzados, and with a right to employees, cars and a congressional consultant.

The labor unionists' race for the elections has excited one of the council members who was absent most often from the Chamber during recent months: Geraldo Silvino (PMDB). "The workers' representation in the rank and file political organization, namely, the Municipal Chamber, would be distinguished." Council member Alcindo Goncalves also thinks that this phenomenon should be analyzed with greater caution. In his opinion,

it is virtually impossible to form a workers' bloc in the Chamber. "Even if elected, the ideological differences are very great." He thinks that labor unionism in Santos is undergoing a phase of debilitation, without motivation. "The union leaders might allow themselves to be seduced by the desire to become associated with the state (which is traditionally strong), in order to achieve greater projection in the civil society (which is traditionally weak and disorganized)," notes Alcindo.

Enthusiastic Geraldo Silvino (elected last week as president of the Oil Workers Union, a position that he lost in 1964 because he had been discharged), thinks that the labor unionists' race is "sufficient reason" to be a candidate again for council membership. The contest for the oil workers' votes promises to be provocative, because the former president of the union, Pedro Sampaio, will also run for a vacant seat in the Chamber representing PSB [Brazilian Socialist Party]. One of the few labor unionists to admit that the Legislative Branch is an optimal assignment, Sampaio remarks: "I don't mean to be a hero of purism. To speak sincerely, being a council member in Santos today is very good financially." But he does not consider himself an opportunist. "It is better that a labor leader seek other ways of carrying the workers' struggles forward than those of a labor unionist of results relying on dialogue with capitalist entrepreneurs, and living in the waiting rooms of power," declared the former oil workers' president critically, referring to the labor unionism of results proposed by Antonio Rogerio Magri and Luis Antonio Medeiros, presidents of the electrical workers and metal workers unions of Sao Paulo.

Benedito Furtado de Andrade, who was president of the Port Administration Employees Union and PSB pre-candidate 7 years ago, sees no contradiction between legislative office and union leadership either. "I think differently from Magri, Medeiros and other champions of the American labor union model, who defend capitalism as a solution for the workers." And he promptly gives notice: His goal is a seat in the Legislative Assembly, or even the Chamber of Deputies.

The teachers may be represented in the Santos Chamber of the regional director of Apeoesp, Sueli Dias, nominated by the PT pre-convention. Sueli claims that it would only be valid to take a seat in the Santos Legislature in order to engage in a collective effort. She wants to influence the new Organic Law on the Municipality, by making proposals related to education, mass transportation and public office, among other things.

#### Party Wants To Understand the Transition

PT's major dilemmas at present involve ceasing to be a force for protest and denunciation, and becoming a force capable of offering a concrete design for the country, and realizing the necessity for incorporating the policy of alliances. This is the assessment made by sociologist Jose

Alvaro Moises, one of the so-called intellectual founders of the party. Moises thinks that, to solve those dilemmas, PT must have a mature understanding of the nature of the Brazilian transition.

Professor Moises recalls that the Workers Party came into existence following the strikes of 1978 and 1979, which represented the entire process of change that the country was undergoing. He notes: "The 'miracle' was exhausted, as well as the bureaucratic, authoritarian, political model in effect. The new labor unionism of the time and PT itself were signs of society's modernization."

Since it emerged within a specific category of workers, Moises thinks that the party has strong corporatist features and a certain amount of resistance to traditional politics. He comments: "This explains, even now, the influence of the rank and file element on the party, which has an aversion to the natural processes of the political world."

According to the professor, after 8 years of existence, PT is confronting the challenge of ceasing to be a party of protest, and of offering alternatives to society through a program capable of managing the Brazilian crisis in all its sectors. He explained: "In short, the party will have to define its design for a more just future society." In his opinion, assimilating the policy of alliances represents one of the party's greatest current challenges, which will become even more clear in the next elections.

#### Aloysio: The Legacy Belongs to Medeiros

A sociologist and political consultant for the Sao Paulo Metal and Electrical Workers Unions, Aloysio Azevedo considers Luis Antonio Medeiros and Antonio Rogerio Magri the de facto heirs of the new Brazilian labor unionism that emerged from the 1978 strikes.

He claims that both belong to the crop of labor unionists raised by the new federal deputy, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva. He declared: "We are the heirs, and not CUT"; he adds that Antonio Medeiros and Rogelio Magri are very similar to the Lula of the early days.

Aloysio Azevedo thinks that the political partisan activity in which the main labor leaders were involved at the time of the strikes caused a retrogression in the labor movement. He summarizes by saying: "The last wage agreements were signed sadly, as a result of the immobile labor unionism entrenched in ABC."

Responsible for bringing Medeiros and Magri together, and cited as an intellectual mentor of both, Aloysio thinks that they have redeemed the labor unionism of 1978, the "labor unionism of results." But, although he compares Antonio Medeiros and Rogerio Magri to Lula,

Aloysio cannot tell whether they will pursue the same path: the partisan option. However, it is a fact that neither of the two has lacked invitations to join parties and run in elections.

2909

**Auto Exports Decline 12.5 Percent in April**  
*33420092b Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 5 May 88 p 38*

[Text] ABC—The total volume exported by the automobile industry in April declined 12.5 percent compared to the previous month, producing 20.5 percent less in foreign exchange, and it may decline even more as a result of the out-of-phase foreign exchange situation, which already amounts to 40 percent. The warning was voiced yesterday by the president of the National Association of Automotive Vehicle Manufacturers (ANFAVEA), Andre Beer, who revealed the performance of the sector last month. In addition to exports, sales on the domestic market showed a decline of 16.9 percent.

The keynote of the interview granted by the ANFAVEA leader to the press centered on the concern of the automobile manufactures about having their export contracts canceled because of the impossibility of maintaining competitive prices abroad. "Deals involving more than \$1.5 billion in foreign exchange annual run the risk of coming to naught," they stated in the association's monthly publication.

The sector demands a solution by the government within a short period of time. Among the proposals already presented to the federal agencies is the establishment of

a differentiated exchange rate for the automobile industry. According to the manufacturers, the idea represents a way of preventing the whole economy from suffering the negative effects that possible maxi-devaluations of the cruzado would inevitably bring.

In that regard, Beer yesterday revealed figures to prove that inflation in the sector has been well above the official rate: Since January 1987, the price of rubber has increased 1,307 percent, paint 1,120 percent, sheet steel 840 percent and auto parts in general 1,243 percent. Accumulated production costs amount to 981.2 percent. The exchange devaluation, which is made on the basis of inflation, increased 673.9 percent during the same period.

Andre Beer was firm in his comments on the subject: "We spent too much time creating an export market to have to throw everything out the window now. When the situation was the reverse, that is, when it affected the government, mechanisms were created, such as the compulsory deposit and the tourist dollar. Why cannot the producer be benefited now?"

The president of ANFAVEA does not accept the drop in domestic distribution as a reflection of a shrinking market. According to him, the industry sold 51,611 vehicles in April—compared to 62,138 the previous month—because the number of weekdays in the month was less (19 compared to 23 in March). Proof of that, argued Beer, is the results of the volume of daily production: 4,275 units per day in March and 4,407 units per day in April. For the domestic market alone, 2,716 vehicles were produced daily in April compared to 2,702 the previous month.

8711/9274

**Medellin Trafficker Linked to Private Justice Group**  
53002128z Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish  
25 Apr 88 p 13A

[Text] The discovery of several copies of so-called Statutes for Peasant Self-Defense on one of the properties owned by the drug trafficker Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, alias "El Mejicano," is actual confirmation of the fact that the aforementioned individual is sponsoring the formation of armed clandestine groups to implement private justice.

The statutes were found during the raids made at the end of last week by the Army's 13th brigade on several of the premises owned by the "Medellin Cartel" member in the jurisdiction of the Cundinamarca municipality of Pacho, carried out with the failed intention of capturing him.

**Eight Held**

As this newspaper announced in yesterday's edition, during these searches 18 individuals were captured, 10 of whom were released while the others were placed at the disposal of military judges, on charges of illegal carrying of arms and possession of explosives.

Unfortunately, Rodriguez Gacha, apparently tipped off by someone, managed to escape a few minutes before the Army forces began their work, covering the properties known as Rancho Chihuahua, Mazatlan, Cuernavaca, Santa Rosa, El Vergel, and La Sonora, all located in Rionegro Province of the aforementioned Cundinamarca municipality, a journey of about 2.5 hours by land from the capital of the republic.

Despite "El Mejicano's" escape, the 13th brigade's commander, Brig Gen Luis Alberto Rodriguez, appeared to be quite satisfied with the results of the operation since, during it, they succeeded in confiscating 42 revolvers of various makes and calibers, 8 pistols, a large amount of ammunition, 20 dynamite wads, 8 high-powered transmitting sets, several cassettes, including 3 videos, and 20 automotive vehicles.

**Secret Organization**

In addition to the weapons and equipment already cited, they seized a considerable number of booklets containing the statutes of an organization named Peasant Self-Defense, sponsored by Rodriguez Gacha together with his associates.

From the text of the statutes in question, one infers that the cocaine trafficking "capo's" aim was control of a sinister secret organization to protect his own personal interests, under the guise of a pretended battle against communism, the FARC, and the other subversive groups operating in the country, which they clearly declare should be "terminated."

In citing the goals of the armed group, the statutes note that one of them is "to organize systems for spying on the enemy." They add that "where self-defense exists, it is an obligation to belong to it," and that "self-defense must be kept completely secret. Any member captured by the enemy or a legitimate authority must claim ignorance of everything regarding it (he does not know, is not cognizant of, and has no membership in anything)."

One of the requirements for membership in Peasant Self-Defense is a commitment to protect the organization "both from the armed enemy and from many persons who, because they are not collaborating, engage in campaigns to discredit and/or slander it."

Oddly enough, another section of the statutes requires that candidates and members "have sufficient physical, moral, and mental maturity to be able to distinguish between good and evil" and "are not impeded"; in other words, not having relatives in the guerrillas, nor handling assets or money of organizations, and not having "vices and/or obsessions," such as stealing, lying, blackmailing, or raping.

The statutes also establish the right to mutual informing among the members, when they state that all may oversee the behavior of the others, and report misdeeds to the leaders.

It is noteworthy that two of the individuals released for lack of merit were the livestock raiser, Jose Torres, and his son, Alberto, who remained on the premises of the Rincon Quinonez de Usaquen group from 0900 hours on Friday morning until Saturday afternoon.

Torres complained of how the Army units acted toward him and his son, because they took them into custody despite their explanation of the ownership of a telephone-radio set linked with the citizens' band.

2909

**Attorney General Discusses Security, Trafficking Problems**

33480145 Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish  
17 Apr 88 pp 1A, 14A

[Interview with Attorney General Horacio Serpa by Maria Jimena Duzan and Aura Rosa Triana: "They Want to Kill Everyone in Colombia"; date and place not given; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] "They want to kill everyone today in Colombia. But if we run away, there will be no one to attend to the country's affairs." So spoke the Barco administration's third attorney general in 20 months. He will succeed an attorney general who was slain by the mafia and another who fell because of his family's dealings with drug trafficking.

"The Attorney General's Office is not going to negotiate with the drug traffickers. It will be independent of the administration, of the political class and of the military."

And with regard to the comptroller and his political opponents in Santander, he says that the controversies in which he took part as a politician are over.

This is what Horacio Serpa's mandate will be like. It could last "2 days or 2 years." It all depends whether the Council of State accepts the legality of his appointment and whether the House confirms him, after July.

[EL ESPECTADOR] The mafia murdered Carlos Mauro Hoyos. Aren't you afraid of being murdered?

[Horacio Serpa] They say that if wealth had been distributed as equitably as fear, this would be a happy world. Of course! Everybody is afraid! I am aware of the risks of being attorney general today, when they can kill any individual or any leader, even the attorney general, as has already happened. They want to kill everyone in Colombia now! If we all run away, who will attend to the country's affairs? I hope very much, of course, that this will not happen. But I'm not going to duck my responsibility. I'm going to run an Attorney General's Office that calls a spade a spade, but not a flashy office. I will try to show that we politicians are serious people. I'm not going to kick out employees and put in my political friends, as people assume.

[EL ESPECTADOR] As the comptroller assumes? Because the Attorney General's Office has been left in the hands of the comptroller's main political opponent. Doesn't this mean a divvying up of the pie?

[Horacio Serpa] The Attorney General's Office has nothing to do with any group. I hereby declare the controversies that I was involved in as a politician completely over. Now I'm going to be involved in the country's affairs as attorney general. I will not use the post as a springboard for another government job. The easiest thing would have been to remain a senator. But I thought that unless I accepted, I couldn't keep on talking with authority about the right to life and about the ineffectiveness of the state, for example. That's why I'm here...I hope that nothing bad happens.

[EL ESPECTADOR] You come to the Attorney General's Office at a time when the public is asking the justifiable question as to whether the authorities are meeting their obligation to protect the lives, honor and property of citizens. Do you think that they are?

[Horacio Serpa] I'm going to see to it that they do. It is a fundamental task of the Public Ministry to see to it that officials do their duty and that justice is meted out promptly and fully. One of the reasons I accepted the post was that I could be involved in seeking solutions to problems that I spoke out on as a politician: the constant trampling of the right to life, of human rights. I realize that the general view is that the authorities are not very effective in this regard. Instead of listening to the past, I want to pay attention to what is coming.

"We're Not Bad People"

[EL ESPECTADOR] The appointment of an attorney general from the political class has been questioned. Could your performance be undermined by that fact that you are a politician?

[Horacio Serpa] In no way. I realize that politics is discredited nationwide. But we're not the bad people that many paint us as. In politics you meet people of great intellectual stature and personal honesty. I feel that I'm a good citizen and obey the law fully. And I'm not saying this because every cook praises his own broth but because I've sought to be equal to the duties of a politician. There is no mark against me in this regard. I am an all-out champion of the right to life and at one time I was involved with the administration of justice. All this qualifies me to do a good job. I'm going to do it impartially and independently of the administration. I will be the attorney general of all Colombians, whether I last one day or 2 years.

[EL ESPECTADOR] You are up against the possibility that the Council of State will overturn your appointment at any time, for reasons of unconstitutionality....

[Horacio Serpa] One of the attorney general's functions is to enforce the verdicts of judges. I will abide by any decision of the Council of State or of the Disciplinary Tribunal immediately and with the utmost respect. I took the oath of office secure in the knowledge that my interim appointment, owing to the exceptional circumstance of a definitive vacancy, was constitutional. I know of no reason why a senator can't be attorney general.

[EL ESPECTADOR] The Conservative Board said that the previous attorney general was not independent of the administration that appointed him and therefore acquitted German Montoya. You are also supposedly going to be a patsy attorney general because the president appointed you and because of the prospect that Congress may or may not approve you. What guarantees are there that these two factors will not influence your decisions?

[Horacio Serpa] You have to judge people by what they do, not by what they say. I have shown independence even within my party. I respect the position of the Conservative Board, which was not talking just about my appointment and has maintained that position from before. They've seen me act and they know that I'll be an attorney general of character, not a patsy. The president too knows what to expect from me.

[EL ESPECTADOR] You have been very critical of the military and once warned about the possible presence of military personnel in paramilitary groups. Do you still feel this way?

[Horacio Serpa] I can't change my mind because I have been appointed attorney general. I'm very respectful of what are called the institutions, and the Armed Forces

are part of the institutions. I respect them. There have been suspicions about my relations with the Military Forces and the Comptroller's Office. I'm going to discharge my duties. I visited the defense minister, in the presence of Gen Guerrero Paz, to convey my respects to them and to tell them that there must be cooperation in achieving the State's goals. But also to tell them of my independence and to note the need for mutual respect. This opinion was well received. I don't think there will be problems. But the Attorney General's Office will do its duty with character, in keeping with the law.

### Leaving Petty Legal Feuds Behind

[EL ESPECTADOR] The law and order situation has gotten worse, and the massacres of citizens have spread. And the administration goes around discussing how to amend the constitution, in what seems to be a diversionary tactic. Do you think that the administration has been serious in this regard?

[Horacio Serpa] Violence is the country's main problem. The State's efforts must aim at peace in our streets and security. The Attorney General's Office will fight resolutely and as a priority for the right to life. I will not venture an opinion in answer to your question, because I don't want to get involved in what you're bringing up. Instead of petty legal feuds, I want effectiveness and results. This I will get involved in.

[EL ESPECTADOR] You have asserted that a dirty war is going on in the country....

[Horacio Serpa] I said that when I was a representative, and they branded me an alarmist: the country is exhibiting the features of a dirty war. At first, through the selective elimination of prominent figures, ministers, magistrates, labor leaders, politicians of various persuasions, spokesmen of youth organizations. Now we have gotten to the indiscriminate elimination of Colombians, some of them accused of sponsoring revolutionary movements and others of collaborating with institutional forces. Government agencies must urgently seek a solution in a spirit of patriotism, and find one. Because it is not just a question of seeking it.

We need cooperation so that the crimes in Uraba and Cordoba are cleared up. I have urged the officials of the Attorney General's Office not to be just people who apprise themselves of judicial decisions.

I am quite familiar with the incursions of paramilitary groups, and the administration has acknowledged their existence. It would be silly to deny it. Just like denying that the guerrillas are waging an armed revolutionary struggle or that drug trafficking is a major factor in violence.

[EL ESPECTADOR] You speak of concrete results. Justice is not working. The solutions are to set up tribunals with different names, to put "specialized" judges in charge of

hearing criminal cases and to establish privileged trials, thus discriminating against other citizens. What do you propose to make justice operative again?

[Horacio Serpa] For some time now we have lagged behind in administering justice. The state has abandoned the Judiciary. Crime has spread and become organized. It has money and resources. Justice is falling short. This is why solutions are improvised. The definitive solution, which must begin with the training of judges and the provision of funds, is going to take a long time. Our lower-court judges still take buses. They stay in boarding houses where they set up makeshift offices, exposed to the dangers that investigating crimes entails today. Justice is not effective, but there is an awareness now of the need to strengthen it, to provide citizens with the assurance that criminals will be pursued and not go unpunished.

[EL ESPECTADOR] The feeling about the country's situation is that the branches of government are passing the buck around. The administration issues unconstitutional laws, waits for the courts or the Council of State to overturn them and then accuses them of thwarting its efforts. Are the branches of government shirking their responsibilities?

[Horacio Serpa] At a recent forum on the crisis in relations between the branches of government I stated that the principle of independent branches is not being observed but that they must cooperate in achieving the State's goals. Anyone can see this. I am an advocate of independence and mutual checks, but also of cooperation, but without them "covering for" each other. And on matters that are not entirely clear and legal, let's stop being quarrelsome and let's pursue common goals.

### "We Do Not Negotiate With Drug Traffickers"

[EL ESPECTADOR] The Attorney General's Office has been under the ruinous influence of drug trafficking. Several of its officials have been involved with those criminals. You are succeeding an attorney general who had to leave because of his brother's business dealings with the mafia. Do you share Alfredo Gutierrez' position that if you can't beat them, join them?

[Horacio Serpa] I am aware of the opinions about the Attorney General's Office. I refuse to believe that the Attorney General's Office, which has to be a crucible and has to be served by people of extraordinary honesty, has been touched by this crime. My assumption is that they are upright officials. But as things stand in Colombia, anything can happen. And I want to give the country the assurance that the attorney general will take the necessary measures without fear. I will pursue crime in all of its forms. I will not compromise with it. The Attorney General's Office of today will not converse with drug traffickers.

[EL ESPECTADOR] Do you believe in the sincerity of the so-called struggle against drug trafficking?

[Horacio Serpa] One must assume that what is being said is true. I see several government bodies engaging in such activities. I believe in that. I don't think that the country is corrupt, just that a few people are.

[EL ESPECTADOR] Do you advocate the extradition of Colombian drug traffickers for trial in other countries?

[Horacio Serpa] Extradition is a judicial instrument designed to reduce drug trafficking. In this regard it has been doing a job. I don't know whether it's the fundamental job. But if it is a fundamental instrument, it must be supported. If it helps to see to it that this crime is punished, then the Attorney General's Office is going to support it. There is no doubt about it.

[EL ESPECTADOR] Extradition is on hold, because the branches of government seem to be passing the buck around on this issue too. The administration says that the Supreme Court should decide, and the court says the administration should, and they both say that Congress is not passing legislation in this area. Do you have a clear idea of how to resolve this?

[Horacio Serpa] The extradition law has been suspended by the Supreme Court. I don't know what the solution might be and I won't venture any advice.

[EL ESPECTADOR] What is your opinion of the capture of Juan Ramon Matta in Honduras and his transfer to the United States?

[Horacio Serpa] It is a violation of a state's sovereignty. It could not be permitted in this country. But in the struggle against crime the state must do everything necessary to combat it. One recent interesting suggestion is to foster accords among nations to halt drug trafficking. Not, of course, in the sense of another proposal for a large multinational force that damages the sovereignty of countries, nor in the sense of being submissive to a large nation.

[EL ESPECTADOR] There is one measure that has not been tried. Do you recommend the confiscation of drug traffickers' property and the persecution of unexplained enrichment?

[Horacio Serpa] No one gets rich overnight except by winning a lottery, receiving an inheritance or working persistently in a legal productive activity. Capital accumulated overnight is suspicious. Measures against such capital would be a good idea, not only in this area but also throughout the realm of public ethics.

[EL ESPECTADOR] When the petition was filed requesting that Pablo Escobar's immunity be lifted so that he could be extradited, Carlos Hoyos submitted a brief arguing that the lifting of immunity should not be

requested for purposes of provisional detention but only when the U.S. Embassy submitted a formal extradition request. You backed Dr Hoyos on this, and the lifting of immunity was denied.

[Horacio Serpa] Everything that I did on the Accusations Commission was in keeping with the law. Carlos Mauro Hoyos was a serious jurist, and his observations deserved respect from the Commission. But my involvement in that vote can in no way be considered an act of connivance with drug trafficking. On another occasion, when a judge requested it, I was the one who as chairman recommended that Escobar's immunity be lifted, and it was lifted. What you're talking about is hairsplitting because I've taken this job, so I wonder what they'll do to bring about my downfall. I have great authority. I have not committed a single unseemly act in my life. I may fall for other reasons, but not for lack of honor.

#### Privileges and Impunity

[EL ESPECTADOR] You were one of the arbiters of a charge against Belisario Betancur over the outcome of the takeover of the Palace of Justice. You and the others judged that it was a "normal Executive Branch act" that was not actionable by Congress. This precedent should be recalled now, when the administration speaks of "political acts" that are not subject to control by any body.

[Horacio Serpa] When the Palace was taken over, I was in favor of negotiating to reach a solution without bloodshed. In Liberal Vanguard I made observations about confusing circumstances that in my judgment should have been clarified. I am not fond of strong-arm solutions. This is why I took part in the peace process. President Betancur was denounced before the commission, and the Attorney General's Office accused him of violating norms of international law out of negligence, not deceit. We studied the decision that was being challenged: that there was no dialogue or negotiations with the rebels. I said something that I do not take back: that the decision to converse or not was a normal Executive Branch act that could not be challenged in terms of jurisdiction. The commission did not absolve Betancur. In that case it was looking for bodies upstream, and you have to look for them downstream. The decision is being investigated again by the Accusations Commission, and I would like to see it clarified. It was an incident that is revolting to anyone of a democratic turn of mind.

[EL ESPECTADOR] The special trial privileges (military, ecclesiastical and for high-level officials) have lent themselves to impunity. Are you in favor of retaining them?

[Horacio Serpa] Congressional impeachment of high-level officials must prevail because it represents a check among the branches of government. But it must become more expeditious. As far as the military is concerned, I am not in favor of Armed Forces jurisdiction extending

to the prosecution of civilians. I find attractive the suggestion that military jurisdiction apply only to acts committed by active-duty military personnel and that any crime committed while not on active duty be prosecuted by the regular system of justice.

[EL ESPECTADOR] Do you think that the government ought to dialogue with the Army of National Liberation, the Popular Liberation Army and the M-19?

[Horacio Serpa] I talked about this issue a great deal before.... Now it is not my concern. I'm no longer a politician; I'm the attorney general.

[EL ESPECTADOR] A political attorney general?

[Horacio Serpa] Let's say that I'm an attorney general with a political awareness.

8743

#### **Attorney General Favors Civilian Trials for Some Military Offenses**

33480149b Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish  
5 May 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] Military personnel who are linked to the commission of massacres and other crimes should be tried by civilian judges, stated Attorney General of the nation Horacio Serpa Uribe.

The Public Ministry took this stand in response to a report by the Administrative Department of Security (DAS), parts of which were divulged by the magazine SEMANA, linking members of the Voltigeros Battalion to the massacre of Uraba.

Serpa Uribe stated that he shares the opinion of the justice minister that these crimes cannot be considered intrinsic to military service, and therefore their prosecution is outside the military courts' jurisdiction.

The attorney general declined to say whether the military commanders should immediately suspend those involved in these crimes in order to facilitate their prosecution in the regular courts. He stated that he was not basing his assertions on mere assumptions, and that at the appropriate time his office would issue a statement.

In the past 16 months, Colombians have filed complaints and called for investigations against more than 10,000 members of the military and police forces for alleged failures or excesses in the fulfillment of their official duties, he pointed out.

Four hundred and fifty-eight members of the Armed Forces have been sentenced by the Attorney General's Office, while 1,122 are undergoing disciplinary action for failure to do their duty.

The Attorney General's Office reports that it is currently looking into 5,068 complaints against police and military personnel for possible excesses in carrying out their duties.

It also revealed that in the last 16 months another 4,660 complaints have been resolved. In total, this means that more than 10,000 complaints have been filed against members of the Armed Forces during that period in Colombia.

Of the total number of prosecutions or disciplinary investigations begun by the Public Ministry, 3,726 cases have been ordered closed for lack of grounds to open an investigation, or because the sanctions requested by the trial judge have been struck down by a higher court.

Twenty-nine members of the military or police forces have been expelled from the service as punishment by the Attorney General's Office.

In addition, 146 have been suspended for up to 30 days, 165 have paid fines of up to 15 days' pay, and 111 uniformed officers have received warnings.

Yesterday the chief of the Public Ministry, Horacio Serpa Uribe, called the Amnesty International report an exaggeration. Serpa Uribe categorically rejected Amnesty International's term "crime of opinion," arguing that violence is not fomented by the state in Colombia. He claimed that such circumstances cannot be alleged in our country, because institutional authorities do not persecute those who contradict them.

Although he conceded that often people are murdered in Colombia for espousing a certain ideology or for defending and disseminating a political position, he declared that these actions are not taken by government officials. Such officials are actually trying to take steps to improve the situation, he noted, although "we must admit that they have not achieved the desired results."

The attorney general's position in this regard is that there is no tyranny in Colombia in which no one is allowed to disagree with the official truth. The freedom of information is not restricted here, nor is any attempt made to curtail the emergence and expression of legal political ideas that are different from those of the traditional political parties.

These investigations indicate, according to the chief of the Public Ministry, that members of these organizations have indeed threatened human rights on occasion, but on an individual level. So far no institutional effort has been detected.

08926

### **Simon Bolivar Coordinator Rejects Government Reforms**

56002033z Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish  
5 Apr 88 p 10A

[Text] Yesterday all the guerrilla groups in the country rejected the institutional reforms the government is promoting. They also stated that Colombia needs a new Constitution and promised to endorse that idea with regional and national strikes and marches and with arms.

They said that the Constitution should be the product of a great national convention of the people that must "establish a new democratic and popular government."

They also indicated that this convention must consecrate popular sovereignty and direct democracy. It must also pass an agrarian reform that gives land to the peasants and an urban reform that provides housing for all citizens.

In addition, it must guarantee the right to life, work, education, and health as well as political and civil liberties.

These statements were made in a document released yesterday. It was signed by all the member groups of the Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinator which held its second general conference a few days ago.

They proposed the start-up of a movement to reject the Casa de Narino Agreement—which coincidentally was declared void by the Council of State yesterday—as well as the political proposals stemming from it.

They continued to fight the Statute for the Defense of Democracy which went into effect at the beginning of the year and asked for a great national consultation so that the Colombians can decide what institutional changes the country needs.

They indicated that this consultation would be promoted through "struggle, marches, work stoppages, land recoveries, strikes, changes, forums, meetings, municipal councils, municipal plebiscites, and joint events."

At the same time, one of the signatories—the Camilist Union-ELN [Army of National Liberation]—promised to stop blowing up pipelines if the association contracts and nationalization of Cano Limon are revised through a political agreement in which the worker movement, the oil municipalities, and the government participate.

The guerrillas asked Colombia to take on the fight of the Central American peoples, "especially the peoples of Nicaragua and Panama, against the current aggression of U.S. imperialism."

They said that those who talk of simple amendments to the Constitution do not want to open the way to participation and democracy. "Rather, they want to make the necessary adjustments to impede change."

Rejecting proposals for institutional adjustments promoted by the government, they stated that the country is erupting with political conflict. Its institutions are imbalanced because "the regime has become inadequate and ineffective, not only for national demands and problems but even for its own interests."

The document that was sent to the mass media is signed by all the guerrilla groups including the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] which has a cease-fire agreement with the government.

Manuel Marulanda Velez, Jacobo Arenas, Alfonso Cano, Raul Rayes, and Timoleon Jimenez signed for FARC.

Heading the signatures for M-19 [19 April Movement] were Carlos Pizarro Leongomez and Antonio Navarro Wolf; Manuel Perez and Nicolas Rodriguez for the ELN; Francisco Caraballo and Javier Robles for the EPL [Popular Liberation Army]; Mauricio Paez and Leonardo Ulcue for Quintin Lame; and Valentin Gonzalez and Sergio Sierra for the PRT [Revolutionary Workers Party].

### **Guerrilla Proposal Smells Dusty**

The results of the second guerrilla conference smell dusty. They are not new. The guerrilla groups continued to shoot despite past agreements with the government. Now they are answering questions the country has asked.

Were they going to participate in the process to reform the Constitution and expand the democratic area? The answer is categorical: No.

Were they going to recognize that Colombia lives under a democratic system that, aware of its limitations, decides to engage in self-examination and integrate them? No. To them, it is one more example of the fact that it is necessary to change the system. The guerrilla groups remain faithful to an oversimplification that leads them to accuse the leading class of planning infamous acts like the massacre of the banana workers of Uraba.

Were they going to recognize that the popular election of mayors opened a new stage of decentralization and that the citizens, understanding this, voted overwhelmingly for it? No. To them, Colombians continue to be stupid. Therefore, claiming a vanguard role that no one has granted them, they are going to act so that the people do not "endorse another 100 years of exclusion."

They are going to do it with strikes, marches, and by reclaiming land—in other words, by creating chaos which is precisely what the country wants to avoid.

It is true that they talk of a new Constitution determined by "the National Convention of the People." Who will lead it? The document does not say. However, in the traditional jargon of those groups, the "people" is a way to indicate themselves.

What seems clear is that the guerrillas reject the dynamics of dialogue and are not willing to enter into the process of institutional renovation. On the contrary, they admit their decision to deploy "military action to defend and promote their proposals." That means imposing their points of view by force, with arms.

The Guerrilla Coordinator once more turns its back on the national situation. It also introduces new elements of instability, endangering a possible political solution to the serious problem of public order in the country now. The ball is now in the government's court. What is it going to do with the FARC which cosigns this document which views armed confrontation as an alternative while it signs peace agreements with the Barco administration?

7717

### **New Baseline for Consumer Price Index Established**

*33480149a Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish  
4 May 88 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Alcibiades Bottia]

[Text] The director of the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE), Alfonso Gonzalez Caro, has announced that in June Colombians will have a new consumer price index, the NICP. This index will be used to measure the variations and trends in the basic prices of the family basket each month.

The new price index has been tested for over a year. It has been used simultaneously with the present methodology, which was implemented in 1975 when the DANE set up a family basket based on data from the National Home Survey.

This basket contains 232 basic products, divided into four fundamental groups: food, housing, clothing, and miscellaneous. These groups are in turn divided into subgroups.

To determine the consumer price index, nearly 35,000 prices are recorded each month at various supermarkets, outdoor markets, stores, granaries, clinics, hospitals, educational establishments, pharmacies, cafes, and other businesses where Colombians buy the basic goods in the family basket.

The surveys are conducted in Bogota, Medellin, Cali, Barranquilla, Bucaramanga, Manizales and Pasto, the cities the DANE considers to be the most representative of Colombians' living conditions. These seven cities are the headquarters of the statistical agency's regional offices throughout the country.

### **New Basket**

The new basket reflects Colombians' consumption habits more accurately. One of the weaknesses of the DANE's previous methodology was that it averaged in the prices of goods that have fallen into disuse or are in little demand, thus distorting the cost of living figures in one way or another.

Gonzalez Caro stated that the new family basket basically establishes the parameters to measure abject poverty and Colombian living conditions in accordance with consumption habits.

The new index has been structured on the basis of studies conducted by several universities and social and economic research centers. This is regarded as an important step in Colombia, because the new index is a valuable tool that will affect many official and private decisions, such as the setting of the minimum wage, subsidies, transportation, and the whole gamut of national social problems.

There are two family baskets in the current index: that of middle-income and white-collar families, and that of low-income and blue-collar families. The white-collar basket is worth almost three times more than the blue-collar basket.

In the weighting by groups, the food group is still the highest, followed by housing, miscellaneous, and clothing. Apparently these figures will be revised completely in the new basket.

### **Cost of Living**

In addition, the DANE will release today the cost of living figures for April, about which there have been a lot of questions.

The DANE director said that the statistics will be made public today after a detailed check of the figures that were entered into the computer to determine the consumer price indices.

The consumer price index for March rose by 2.9 percent, in February it rose by 4.0 percent, and in January by 3.0 percent.

The March index that covered the last 2 months showed a rise of 26.36 percent.

08926

### **INCORA Head To Proceed With Agrarian Reform Measures**

33480149c Bogota *EL TIEMPO* in Spanish  
8 May 88 p 3A

[Article by Edmer Tovar M.]

[Text] "What I am entering into today is an indefinite contract, renewable every 24 hours."

The new manager of the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA), Antonio Hernandez Gamarra, accepted the job on the condition that he be given the funds necessary to carry out the reform.

At least that was the response he gave to President Virgilio Barco when the president summoned Hernandez Gamarra to his house to offer him the post.

The government had been looking for someone to replace Fabio Bermudez Gomez for the past 5 months. Apparently there were very few candidates to offer this "mess" to, and no one wanted to take on the new law. According to Hernandez Gamarra, his "only aspiration in this business is to serve the community."

The first thing that hit him was the fact that 30 percent of the territory of Uraba is for sale. The same is true of Sucre. The local landowners are just waiting for INCORA to buy their estates so that they can flee the region. They don't want to have anything more to do with the countryside.

"At this time," he revealed, "the institute has 110,000 hectares that were offered voluntarily by the owners."

This situation, he says, makes it easier to get Agrarian Reform under way, because there will be no need to go to court to get the land. He knows that he has a great responsibility to the government, but President Virgilio Barco, who committed himself to allocating the resources Hernandez Gamarra needs to operate, also carries a great responsibility.

The official believes that the text of the law is complete, as is most legislation. "The hard part is enforcing it, especially without funding." But he is confident that with the cooperation of other official entities such as the Colombian Agricultural-Livestock Institute (ICA), the Integrated Rural Development Program (DRI), the Agrarian Fund, the Agricultural-Livestock Marketing Institute (IDEMA), Local Roads, Himat, the Institute for Development of Renewable Natural Resources (INDERENA), Sena, the Administrative Department of Intendancies and Police Stations (DAINCO), and the Armed Forces, all the conditions are right for promoting this initiative.

He contends that he did not come to the INCORA for the purpose of managing the payroll, and he thinks that so far things are going well. But he continues to worry about whether there will be enough money to enforce the law. Since the president signed the law, some 1.2 billion pesos in import duties have been collected.

"That is a good start," he said, "and I hope the government begins issuing the public indebtedness bonds so that purchases can begin."

Tomorrow, at his swearing-in ceremony, he will reveal the regulations for the law. In this way, he will be able to meet with the new board of directors and launch the pilot plan for the reform. He sees certain delays in the implementation of the law, such as the fact that the peasant organizations and trade associations—the Association of Colombian Farmers (SAC) and the Association of Colombian Cattlemen (FEDEGAN)—have not elected their representatives to the board of directors.

#### **Fixed Reform Areas**

Regions such as Uraba, Cesar, Cordoba, and Huila cannot be exempt from Agrarian Reform, because no matter what criterion is applied to land distribution, these areas will be included.

"Thus," said Hernandez Gamarra, "the INCORA will begin applying Agrarian Reform in the areas of conflict and in those places where the pressure on the land is strongest." Regarding the infiltration of people associated with the guerrillas in the land distribution programs, the official stated that anyone involved in rebellion will not have access to the reform.

He noted, however, that the institute will not take it upon itself to investigate people's backgrounds. That function lies within the purview of the security forces, in particular the Ministry of Government. His function will be to enforce the law and not to decide who does or does not qualify. He emphasized, however, that pursuant to the instructions of President Virgilio Barco, land invaders will not have access to the reform.

"The first actions taken under the law will revolve around a pilot plan to grant title to uncultivated land," declared the new manager of the INCORA. Agreements will be signed with the municipal mayors to give them the responsibility of adjudicating land and choosing the beneficiaries. He explained that the INCORA will reserve the right to suspend, temporarily or permanently, the powers of the municipal officials if any problems of political or family favoritism arise.

According to his calculations, the country has nearly 2 million hectares of untilled land in the 1,009 municipalities. These will be the first holdings to be adjudicated.

08926

### 1987 Customs Seizures Total Over One Million Pesos

32480154 [Editorial Report] According to an article on page 12 of the 25 March 1988 issue of JUVENTUD REBELDE, a Spanish-language newspaper published in Havana, it was reported at the sixth meeting of customs specialists that in 1987 the national economy took in approximately 1.2 million pesos as a result of the fight against contraband. Among the goods seized were jewelry worth \$125,533 and Cuban and U.S. currency worth 130,587 pesos and \$272,379, respectively.

### Problems at Cement Factory Affecting Production, Environment

32480134 Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish  
24 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Eloy Concepcion]

[Text] At the Mariel cement factory, there was a debate between this reporter and the following managers: Alfredo Marti Garcia, secretary of the Party Committee; Luis Mallezca, assistant technical director; and Jose O. Pica Vega of the Ministry of the Materials Industry in the province. Also present were leaders of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) and the union.

Here is how the argument went on the factory floor:

[Question] Why doesn't this factory produce all the cement it could, according to its installed capacity?

[Answer] The Czech refractory we are using does not allow us to reach our installed capacity.

[Question] Is it of poor quality?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] But don't blame everything on the Czech refractory. Since the factory came on line (1979), you have run into other problems in planning, design, and the like, haven't you?

[Answer] Yes. In the design of the receiving hoppers for limestone and clay we had to modify the way the crushing conveyors work. In the rotary kiln, the transmission part was poorly designed.

[Question] Did this plant start out defective?

[Answer] We had to modify the design of the storage tower. The clinker falls onto the top of a 32-meter tower; it has a number of windows over which the clinker emerges, and they were designed to remain open. The amount of dust produced in the environment was very great. We had to stop and shut down the plant to reduce the amount of dust....

[Question] Reduce it, or eliminate it?

[Answer] Reduce it. That is what is so unfortunate. The storage area is badly designed. That is one of the main factors in the environmental pollution.

[Question] And no Cuban professional reviewed the plans? You are causing pollution that harms the workers, in the first place....

[Answer] And the facilities, all the equipment in the industry, the population of Mariel, even the power plant.

[Question] And what have you done? Have you resigned yourself to this situation?

[Answer] No, we have studied the solution. We need investment in technological equipment. The country has to allocate resources.

[Question] To recover now what has been destroyed in just a few years?

[Answer] To solve problems that were seen in the implementation but not anticipated in the planning stage.

[Question] How much did this factory cost?

[Answer] One hundred ten million.

[Question] In an investment of this nature, wasn't there some inspection of the plans by Cubans? Did they just accept them and that's that? Besides that, didn't they allow for maintenance and spare parts?

[Answer] We have been bringing up the problem of maintenance since 1983. The maintenance we provide does not restore the plant to its technical capacity. The plant regressed to the point where it is now.

[Question] In other words, it was known that the factory would deteriorate and no one did anything about it?

[Answer] There are two aspects: 1) the lack of spare parts, and 2) the lack of manpower to perform maintenance when a production line shuts down.

[Question] I understand you have a recovery plan. Isn't the problem not only a lack of foreign exchange, but also a manpower shortage?

[Answer] That was really not guaranteed, and as a result, the technical condition of the plant deteriorated gradually.

[Question] But you did fulfill the plans until 1986.

[Answer] Yes, at the cost of a great effort....

[Question] And at the cost of destroying the factory.

[Answer] We also took the initiative to solve problems in the equipment, with a lot of effort on the part of the workers... We have proposed an investment plan, but it has not been implemented. We have achieved production at the cost of the plant's technical quality.

[Question] But don't you have a recovery plan?

[Answer] There is the plan of 51 measures, but it has really not been seen. It keeps slipping through our grasp. One of the big problems of this plant is that until 1987 we were part of the Ministry of Construction, where we were just one more enterprise. There is talk of a lack of resources, and indeed we have lacked them, but we should also point out that every year the state would allocate X amount of foreign exchange to buy things for this plant, and they never arrived. There are still things we've been waiting for since 1982.

[Question] But now you are under the Ministry of the Materials Industry.

[Answer] Yes. That has meant a turnaround. We have a brigade, and resources have been allocated. But what happens? There is a serious gap between the allocation of resources and their arrival at the plant. The medicine has arrived so late that the factory hardly has any head left.

[Question] What are you doing to treat the plant's head, or its heart?

[Answer] We conduct an inspection every 2 weeks.

[Question] You can inspect all your life; what are you inspecting?

[Answer] But that helps.

[Question] What does it help? There have been no solutions so far.

[Answer] The agencies may come one day and make an accounting, but 2 weeks later they won't be able to come up with the same total.

[Question] But you can spend years getting together to watch the plant deteriorate. Besides that, let's talk about something that has nothing to do with major foreign exchange investments. Why don't the workers have filters, helmets, boots, or earmuffs?

[Answer] The money approved for protective equipment is a mere pittance: 7,000 pesos for more than 1,000 workers. Moreover, the problem is not filters, but eliminating the dust.

[Question] And as long as there is dust?

[Answer] We don't accomplish anything with the filter. It is a palliative....

[Question] In fact, you must look for electrofilters, build silos, make major restorations. That is the final solution, but meanwhile, do the workers have to continue breathing dust?

[Answer] It is true that we have to improve maintenance.

[Question] So it is not just a question of foreign exchange. I was at the Karl Marx in Cienfuegos; it looks like a garden, and this plant in Mariel looks like a garbage dump. I am not condemning you, but it looks like you are sitting in the dust here, unaware of the magnitude of the problem that affects the workers and the population of Mariel, and that is damaging the factory. Something has to be done.

[Answer] At our level we have done everything we can.

[Question] I think you haven't. Behind the problem of the resource shortage there are often hidden deficiencies, insufficiencies, a lack of the sensitivity that a revolutionary manager needs with respect to the problems that affect the workers under his direction. If a problem cannot be solved, it is up to him to explain it.

[Answer] We have deficiencies, to be sure, but there are things that you can't solve if you don't have the wherewithal. But regardless of all the developments and the unfortunate problems, we must stop putting out dust into the environment. The problem of the overall cleanliness of the plant... it really is dirty. We have some problems that are due to negligence and neglect.

[Question] And this year?

[Answer] A million tons, assuming repairs are done. The repairs were scheduled for January, but that was impossible. Now we are looking at May, but there is no guarantee we'll get the materials.

[Question] I don't understand.

[Answer] It is a major problem in our industry.

[Question] You plan for production without taking into account repairs and maintenance?

[Answer] They were taken into account, but the resources didn't arrive.

[Question] So why did you draw up a plan, and at what cost?

[Answer] A shut-down was planned in the first quarter to change the kiln filter, but it was postponed until May. We won't be able to do it after all, because we don't have the supplies.

[Question] It is an unrealistic plan, to put it bluntly: Now you are worse off than last year.

[Answer] Yes, we are in a worse technical condition, despite the recovery. In January we achieved an acceptable production level at the cost of using more energy.

[Question] Are you meeting your plan for this year?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] But you continue to destroy the factory.

[Answer] Yes. The conditions were not created for this year's plan.

[Question] And what do the workers have to say?

[Answer] The workers bring it up at the assembly.

[Question] Are you in agreement?

[Answer] No, we haven't been able to agree with each other, but that's the way it is.

[Question] You waste your efforts on meetings, inspections.

[Answer] Unfortunately, there is a long delay between when the resources are allocated and when they arrive, due to the mechanisms we have in this country, sometimes bureaucratic mechanisms....

[Question] Not just sometimes, always bureaucratic.

To the readers: We are certain that this debate is not conclusive. We need other opinions here. TRABAJADORES is leaving its pages open to continue the dialogue that was begun at the cement plant in Mariel. Thus, we may be able to reach some conclusions that will help solve the longstanding plight of this factory.

08926

### **Mechanics Arrested for Illegal Sales of Tractors, Parts**

32480156 Havana *JUVENTUD REBELDE* in Spanish  
17 Mar 88 p 2

[Summary] Lack of control over equipment received at the Agricultural Repair Shop Enterprise in Havana made it possible for a crime against the national economy to take place. Three workers at the repair shop declared parts, accessories, tractor tires and motors unserviceable. The items were brought to nearby farms where two mechanics rebuilt the tractors that they then sold to small scale farmers for 5,000 to 7,000 pesos. They authenticated the sale by falsifying bills that belonged to a defunct enterprise that sold tractors to cooperatives. Eighteen tractors and seven motors were sold, as well as equipment acquired by other means for which they were paid 250 to 300 pesos. The two mechanics will be brought to trial.

### **New Vaccine Against Gastrointestinal Disease in Cattle**

32480155 [Editorial Report] From 1980 to the first quarter of 1987, between 40,000 and 60,000 calves died annually from diarrhea related diseases caused by the *Escherichia coli* bacteria, according to a report carried on page 3 of the 21 March 1988 issue of *JUVENTUD REBELDE*, a Spanish-language newspaper published in Havana. During this time, almost 200,000 animals were infected each year. Specialists from the Central University of Las Villas have produced an oral vaccine which will be used beginning in August. Enrique Perna, a doctoral student in veterinary sciences who participated in the production of the vaccine, explained that the vaccine, which can be manufactured domestically, costs 7 centavos per 5 cc dose to produce. He went on to point out that better hygiene in cowsheds and improved handling of the animals are also necessary.

## ID Control of Borja Policies Questioned

### Danger of Split Noted

33480153 Quito *EL COMERCIO* in Spanish  
14 May 88 Sec A p 4

[Commentary by Alejandro Carrion: "The Party? The President?"]

[Text] This is certainly an unexpected problem. Satisfied with the outcome of the elections, we Ecuadoreans are now forced to ask ourselves this question: Who is going to govern? The president? The party? And don't say that the president and the party are the same thing. Nothing of the sort is the case, as we well know.

The first alarming announcement came from Dr Efrén Cocios, the party's president, on "Ultimas Noticias" [late news] on 9 May, and it was repeated in *EL COMERCIO* the following day. The ID [Democratic Left] hierarch said: "The president will not be released from party discipline, and it will be ID that will govern the country."

I was left with the look of someone who has seen visions, but I soon calmed down, concluding that Dr Cocios had just blurted the remark out and that therefore it was not worth worrying about.

But no. Without much detail but as clear as can be, Andres Vallejo, one of the party's top leaders, said more or less the same thing in a conversation with Alfonso Espinosa on TV's Channel 8. Espinosa did not press him on the matter, but it was made clear that the party would not release the president from the yoke of discipline.

This is simply unconstitutional. The president takes action not under the terms that the party dictates but under the terms that the Constitution of the Republic provides for. And the constitution allows no authority over the president other than the constitution itself. This is the meaning of the inscription that shines on the presidential sash: "My Power in the Constitution."

The citizenry elects a citizen to govern the country. It does not elect a party, although the citizen-elect must be affiliated with a party. Read this carefully and you will see that it is not the same thing. And since no one, save the constitution, gives orders to the president, he cannot be subject to the discipline of a party that places authorities above him. It is obvious that by operation of law, as soon as a citizen is elected president, "party discipline" is no longer binding on him. The bond is severed in and of itself; the vote of the citizenry cancels it out. No one, except the constitution, is above the president.

From a constitutional standpoint, it is simply impossible to have the "capitis diminutio," that is to say, the weakening of the president's authority, which ID is planning by supposedly making him subject to the authority of the party's leadership. Dr Cocios may not

know it, Mr Vallejos may not know it, but Dr Borja, who wrote his thesis on the constitution and has written a thick book on the subject, does know. He knows very well that no one gives orders to the president, save the constitution.

To place the president in "interdiction under the guardianship of the party's leadership, to whom it makes him subject by virtue of party discipline," has the earmarks of a coup d'etat. I hope that they think things over (there is time) and not bring such an absurd and unpleasant matter up again.

I remember something that could serve as a useful lesson: President Roldos tacitly parted company with his party, which then became the opposition. What was the cause? The obstinate desire to subject the president, by virtue of "party discipline," to the all-embracing authority, till then, of the head of the party, Mr Assad Bucaram. The party was CFP [Concentration of Popular Forces], and the split that this illegal and absurd ambition caused was followed by the departure of thousands of members, who later wound up establishing the Ecuadorean Roldosista Party (PRE), which ran against Dr Borja and ID at this election.

This is a good lesson. We are recalling it in the hope that ID will not remain unyielding, lest what happened to the CFP happen to it.

### Nonpartisanship Urged

33480153 Quito *HOY* in Spanish 16 May 88 p 4A

[Commentary by Francisco Rosales Ramos: "Triumph of Good Sense"]

[Text] The election of the Borja-Parodi ticket for the 1988-92 presidential term is proof that Ecuador's citizens have matured in recent years, have not allowed themselves to be dazzled and seduced by ranting, raving and demagoguery but have instead chosen a serious, sensible and, if you will, even far from pleasant option.

The vote in Guayaquil deserves special emphasis (the outcome in Quito was taken for granted) because it overcame regionalist temptations and ignored the manipulation that was practiced in this regard. Guayaquil's citizens knew the other candidate from when he was their police superintendent and mayor and were familiar with the abusive and arbitrary acts he committed. In any event, without the Guayas vote Borja's triumph could have been jeopardized.

The president-elect now has the thankless task of bringing the country together around a national cause and of guiding the economy towards development that will improve the living standards of Ecuadoreans, especially the poorest among us. Such an improvement cannot come in an economy that is stagnant or growing slower than the population.

Borja, who during the second round of balloting proclaimed himself a national candidate, not just his party's candidate, must live up to the trust that more than 1.7 million Ecuadoreans have placed in him. If we bear in mind that during the first round he won the support of approximately 700,000 citizens (the voter strength of ID proper), we must conclude that more than a million voters do not share the ideology of ID but gave Dr Borja his mandate after seeing that the alternative posed a serious threat to the country. Consequently, his commitment goes beyond running a party-based government; he will be the chief of state of all Ecuadoreans, and if wishes to be successful in the medium and long term, he will have to look after the interests of all of them, not just of a group.

This is the first time that the country has elected a party man, and it is also the first time that the Social Democrats will have a chance to govern in Ecuador. If their view is short term, they will attempt to implement their government program at all costs; if their aspirations are lasting, they will seek a program that while not setting aside the aim of social betterment, reconciles the aspirations of the majority, both of their voters and of the citizenry at large. The experiences of Social Democracy in Europe and in several Latin American countries indicate that it has been successful when it has taken a broad, ecumenical view in tackling the problems of the countries in which it has governed and has set aside fanaticism and sectarianism.

Hence, one of the first signs of the approach that ID will take will be the party's decision about whether to release the president of the republic from party discipline, because if it does not, it will be the party, not Borja, that governs Ecuador. Party director Mr Cocios' first statement about how "our government" will make decisions on foreign policy, wages and economic recovery and about its intention not to release Dr Borja from party discipline, is one that worries the electorate who voted for the "national candidate," not for Democratic Left.

In any event, we must hope that these are the first steps of a young party which has not been in power before and that the president-elect will set them right with a firm hand and a clear mind.

### **Borja Answerable to People**

33480153 Quito *EL COMERCIO* in Spanish  
18 May 88 p 1

[Text] The National Executive Council of Democratic Left met yesterday in this city to outline what the party will do during the transition period until Dr Rodrigo Borja takes office; it also assessed the outcome of the electoral campaign and of the elections that were held on 8 May.

Dr Borja and Luis Parodi attended the meeting.

It was learned that the president-elect asked the council to release him from party discipline while he discharges his functions as the nation's chief executive.

In this regard, the national director of ID, Antonio Gagliardo, said that even if Borja is not released from party discipline, the mandate that he received from the people at the 8 May elections has released him from being subject to the party's internal disciplinary tribunal.

Borja, Gagliardo added, will have to answer to the highest tribunal, which is the Ecuadorean people and, accordingly, will be subject to the organs of political control that the Constitution of the Republic provides for. He cautioned, however, that ID would answer for the actions of the incoming administration and would do its utmost to make it one of lasting peace and solidarity.

Gagliardo reiterated that because Borja has received a mandate from the people, the only institution authorized to oversee his actions as president of the republic is the National Congress, through the Political Control and Oversight Committee.

During the session reports were heard from each of the 20 provincial directors of Democratic Left about the actions undertaken during the campaign that culminated with the elections of Sunday 8 May.

Antonio Gagliardo asserted that the ID leadership approves of the request that President-elect Rodrigo Borja made to Ambassador Diego Cordovez that he head the Foreign Relations Ministry as of 10 August 1988.

The ambassador, he said, is an illustrious Ecuadorean who has lent our country prestige internationally as a UN mediator for Afghanistan and an architect of the Geneva accords. Gagliardo said that he would be an excellent foreign minister.

He said that the top echelon of ID has no objection to the appointment of Ambassador Diego Cordovez as foreign minister; rather, it feels that this is a wise choice, if Cordovez accepts the post.

8743

### Father Giron Wins Land for Followers

#### Agricultural Ministry Offers Farm

32480129b Guatemala City *DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA* in Spanish 15 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] The minister of agriculture, livestock and food production, engineer Rodolfo Estrada, disclosed today that in the meeting he held with Father Giron and three peasant leaders, the "El Cristo" farm, located in Coatepeque, was offered to Father Giron, and that the respective proceedings will be instituted to enable him to acquire it.

The minister of agriculture said that in the talks he held with the priest and other peasant leaders he promised them everything that can be done, and asked them to allow him a period of 15 days in which to prepare a definitive and categorical reply as to the possibilities of acceding to their request to purchase several farms.

"We are convinced and certain that, yes, we are going to be able to buy a few farms," said engineer Estrada, who was instructed by President Cerezo to expedite immediately the proceedings in this case.

There are also other projects under study to determine whether or not the farms involved can be bought this year.

#### President Offers Three Farms

32480129b Guatemala City *EL GRAFICO* in Spanish 16 Apr 88 p 4

[Text] Father Andres Giron will end his hunger strike now that the president of the Republic has offered him a new land-use project involving three farms, one of which is to be the "Cristo," another the "Monte Verde," and the third yet to be determined.

During his fast of yesterday, he celebrated Mass at 5 pm after President Vinicio Cerezo had offered him a new project under the same land purchase-and-sales contracting system.

Father Andres Giron stated that he would withdraw after the demonstration staged by the associations, whose march ended at the Palacio Nacional where they were received by the chief executive.

According to the information provided by Father Giron, the farms that are to be turned over to be worked by way of a system of association are located in the departments of San Marcos and Coatepeque.

Father Andres Giron's fast was in its fifth day when the settlement was reached. He expressed his satisfaction with the results obtained thus far, and his certainty that he can obtain the loans needed to farm any land turned over to the peasant associations.

He asserted that the experience gained with the first parcels of land he has won for the peasants proves the feasibility of achieving agrarian reform without the need for developing a plan on a nationwide scale, but by simply operating on a sectorial basis that reflects the determination of the peasant groups and sectors to devote their efforts to making the land produce.

9238

### Reportage on Land Seizure, Agrarian Reform

#### Peasants Seize Farm

32480129a Guatemala City *PRENSA LIBRE* in Spanish 5 May 88 p 8

[Text] At 1400 hours yesterday, more than 400 peasants from the coastal areas of the Quetzaltenango, San Marcos and Retalhuleu departments, led by Juan Esteban Sanchez Gomez, seized the "Las Mojarras" farm, located in the Retalhuleu district. The farm is owned by Raul Garcia Granados and is mortgaged.

For the past 6 years, the peasants have been pressing the heads of the INTA [National Institute of Agrarian Reform] for allocations of farmland, for which they are willing to pay, according to Sanchez Gomez.

"This seizure," he said, "is the first show of force by the peasants, who are clamoring for land that they can cultivate, so that they can live."

The squatters, peasants from the Quetzaltenango, San Marcos and Retalhuleu coasts, met yesterday at 1300 hours in Los Encuentros, a hamlet some 30 km from Coatepeque.

They began arriving around daybreak to await the president of INTA, engineer Nery Orlando Samayoa Barrios, who had promised to meet with them there in order to respond to the many proceedings they had filed seeking to have the aforementioned farm allocated to them. They had intensified these proceedings after lawyer Vinicio Cerezo became president of the republic.

Around 1330 hours, the peasants were informed that the president of INTA would not be arriving, at which point they decided to seize the farm, the size of which is 20 caballerias [a land measurement of varying sizes].

The peasants—men and women—walked 2 km from Los Encuentros to the farm, arriving at its outer limits at 1400 hours and taking possession of its installations. Present at the farm were only two security guards, who merely stood by and observed the actions of the squatters.

Upon taking over the farm, all the men raised their hats in a euphoric gesture and said they will remain there until the government assigns it to them.

Sanchez Gomez stated that they had seized the farm because they were tired of waiting for their requests to be acted upon. "They have been deceived," he said. "On 1 May they had announced that if action was not taken on their requests they would seize the farm. And that is what they have done.

"Last year," he continued, "when the president of the Republic turned over the 'Valle Lirio' farm, he promised to take action on their applications, but he has not done so. We hope the minister of interior will not take repressive action now against those 400 peasants.

"The 'Las Mojarras' farm," said Sanchez Gomez in conclusion, "is the property of Raul Garcia Granados, but it is mortgaged by the Banco Metropolitano." (EOGC)

#### More on Land Seizure

32480129b Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 6 May 88 8

[Text] The National Association of Agricultural and Livestock Owners (UNAGRO), yesterday, condemned the action of the peasants who seized the Las Mojarras farm, located in Retalhuleu and owned by the Raul Garcia Granados financial group, and requested that the Office of the Attorney General institute the necessary proceedings to put an end to the seizure and bring criminal charges against those responsible for the action.

The foregoing summarizes a statement by UNAGRO's general secretary, lawyer Edgar Alvarado Pinetta, who added that the association he represents remains firm in its resolve to defend private property.

Alvarado Pinetta stated further that agrarian reform can be carried out solely within the framework of the Political Constitution of the Republic, and that the government is obligated to enforce compliance with the law, given that such compliance is the very root of democracy and the rule of law.

He pointed out that Article 256 of the Criminal Code classifies the usurping of land rights as a crime and that it is on this basis that UNAGRO is requesting intervention by the Office of the Attorney General.

The farm was seized by peasants, who were led by Juan Esteban Sanchez Gomez. The property is mortgaged with the Banco Nacional de Paris and is presently under lease to third persons, according to lawyer Alvarado Pinetta.

#### MLN Leader on Agrarian Reform

32480129a Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 14 Apr 88 pp 30, 84

[Text] "Confiscatory Agrarian Reform is now an accomplished fact," said Deputy Juan Carlos Simons, the leader of the MLN [National Liberation Movement]

bench in the Chamber of Deputies, because the INTA [National Institute of Agrarian Reform] has now submitted the bill to the Congress of the republic."

He added that he had predicted this approach to agrarian reform some time ago, and that, although the fact has not been officially acknowledged as yet, the bill has indeed been submitted to Congress.

"What a coincidence!" he exclaimed, "that the Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of Guatemala puts forth the 'suggestion' that an equitable redistribution of land be achieved through the enactment of a number of legal measures.

"Suddenly", he points out, "and with unprecedented speed, the government turns up with a bill for modifying Decree 15-51 (Agrarian Reform Law), relating to uncultivated land.

"A month ago," he continued, "on 14 March, I stated to PRENSA LIBRE, with reference to President Cerezo's agreement with the unions, that the agrarian reform, which is referred to in that agreement, would be instituted by way of modifications to the Law on Uncultivated Land, and that land seizures were already under way, with the blessing of the INTA.

"Among the points comprising the new law, which modifies the previous one," he added, "the following are worthy of note: For purposes of the Law on Uncultivated Land, uncultivated lands are understood to be 'those whose crop-production or cattle-to-land ratios are below the standards set by the respective regulation'.

"And, in general, those that lie fallow or are being inadequately exploited, or whose yield is deficient.' To draw up the Agrologic Register," he said, "the DICABI (which comes under the Ministry of Public Finance) and the Military Geographic Institute are obligated to provide the necessary information to the INTA.

"Since farms as small as 1 caballeria are classifiable as uncultivated land," he pointed out, "if the neighboring farms are held by relatives, they are all added together as a single economic and topographic unit.

"In addition," he said, "the tax on uncultivated land, classified as such by the INTA, is increased progressively. Sworn statements with reference to land use are required every 3 years, on the basis of which the president of INTA determines its degree of cultivation and proceeds to assess the corresponding tax.

"Land declared uncultivated can, even though the respective tax has been paid on it, be expropriated by INTA, either automatically or at the request of peasants interested in acquiring it in order to exploit it," (ergo: land seizures) he emphasized.

"Land can be expropriated, according to the law, without declaring it to be advantageous and necessary in the public interest," he continued, "the only requirement being failure on the part of the holder concerned to have put the land into production within the period that may have been granted by the INTA, ranging between 6 months and 2 years. The question that comes to mind is: Where is the Constitution in this context?"

"I also ask: Will they pay the indemnization? Within 10 years? In the form of vouchers, or cash? Less the taxes the Treasury may decide are owed by the proprietor?"

"These," Simons reiterated, "are but a few of the aspects involved in this juridical, economic and social monstrosity, which, in its application, resembles El Salvador's Agrarian Reform Law.

"Our people's poverty and economic desperation," he said, "are being used by the DC Government and its foreign advisers, with demagogic aims, and with disregard for the increased poverty they will create for our peasants, as has been the case in El Salvador. There, the AID itself had to acknowledge, in a public document in 1985, that after 4 years of agrarian reform (spearheaded by it), and aid totaling over \$200 million, the standard of living of the peasant had declined, and violence and governmental corruption had risen.

"The MLN," he said in conclusion, "has appointed a committee to study the bill, and within the next few days we will make it public knowledge at a press conference, together with our position on this issue."

### Land for Peasants

32480129a Guatemala City *DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA* in Spanish 28 Mar 88 p 3

[Text] The minister of agriculture, livestock and food production, engineer Rodolfo Augusto Estrada Hurtarte, has disclosed that 12 million quetzales have been earmarked by his Ministry for the acquisition of lands that will be turned over to the peasants in different areas of the country.

With that amount of money, the Commission on Land Use intends to buy several farms, perhaps a total of six or seven, or even more, depending on their size, to be allocated to the various groups of peasants who have applied for land.

The minister of agriculture also disclosed that the purchase of land is to be paralleled by major projects involving the acquisition of farms whose areas are far greater than that of those which have been negotiated to date.

He mentioned the case of the Yalpemech farm and another project located in the department of Peten, by means of which thousands of families will be benefited, but not in the traditional manner consisting of merely turning the land over to them and leaving them to fend for themselves in the mountain.

These are complete programs which, besides allocating parcels of land to them, will also provide them with technical guidance and loans to develop improved use of the land and attain well-being in all respects.

"The aim is not solely to allocate land to the peasants; that is only the means. The aim is to improve the level of development of the rural areas and the well-being of the peasant family," engineer Estrada Hurtarte pointed out.

9238

**PNC Organ Accuses PPP of 'Reintroducing' Racism**

32980168 Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English  
17 May 88 p 19

[Text] Georgetown, Monday (CANAL)—NEW NATION, official organ of the ruling People's National Congress (PNC) in Guyana has accused the People's Progressive Party (PPP) of "seeking to reintroduce racism" in Guyana.

In its editorial in its May 15 issue, the NEW NATION referred to comments made in the editorial of the May 8 issue of the PPP-linked MIRROR newspaper in which the paper contended that "tens of thousands of East Indians are being disenfranchised" with the result that the PPP cannot form the government in Guyana.

The MIRROR had also contended in its editorial coinciding with activities marking the 150th anniversary of the arrival of East Indians in Guyana that the descendants of Indian immigrants are solidly behind the PPP and that "...the gains of the Indians as a community over the 38 years are due to the efforts of the PPP."

"This snatches of an appeal to a distinct ethnic group. Once more the PPP bares its racist policy," the NEW NATION charged.

It added: "To suggest that Guyanese vote on the basis of race is to be blind to the realities of the local political situation. Examination of the government benches today, of the central executive of the PNC and of the political leadership of the party will nail the PPP lie."

/12913

**Support for New Tax Law Divided Along Party Lines**

32480147a Tegucigalpa EL HERALDO in Spanish  
27 May 88 p 18

[Text] The chairman of the Central Committee of the National Party, Rafael Leonardo Callejas, opposes any tax increase that the government may impose on the Honduran people.

Last week President Jose Azcona Hoyo announced that taxes would be raised on all so-called luxury goods, although he did not specify which goods.

Azcona Hoyo's plan has been backed by the National Congress; both the speaker of the Congress, Carlos Montoya, and Secretary Oscar Melara have stated that they support the idea.

Callejas is opposed, however, and has said that the National Party will object to levying more taxes on the people because it believes there are other more appropriate mechanisms for generating revenues for the state.

One way to collect more money is to cut current spending in the various government institutions, argues the head of the National Party.

The leader of the Nationalists criticized the government for unnecessary spending and for carrying out programs that do not effectively contribute to seeking and achieving the fundamental objective, which is to boost economic development and thus improve Hondurans' way of life.

Regarding the elimination of some autonomous institutions, the presidential aspirant stated that the government must study the measure thoroughly and propose ways to perform the tasks of these agencies and to place their employees in new jobs.

08926

**Central Bank Reports 1987 Foreign Trade Earnings**

32480147b Tegucigalpa EL HERALDO in Spanish  
4 May 88 p 2

[Text] The shrimp farm industry, located primarily in the south and in the department of Islas de la Bahia, has emerged as the third largest source of foreign exchange in the country, displacing traditional products such as lumber and refrigerated meat.

According to the statistics compiled by the Central Bank, contained in the report by the Finance Ministry, exports of shrimp and lobster amounted to 122.8 million lempiras in 1987. This moves these products into third place on the list of exports.

However, the increase in foreign exchange earnings on growing exports of nontraditional goods has not been enough to reverse the adverse trend in the balance of payments and the balance of trade, both of which show deficits.

These deficits are the result of low foreign exchange earnings from coffee, although exports rose in volume, and of the increase in imports prompted by the Central Bank's stepping up of purchases through self-financing.

The banana and coffee sectors remain in first and second place, respectively, among the products that earn vital foreign exchange for the country. As a result, they continue to dominate the country's productive structure.

According to the figures released by the country's monetary agency, in 1987 Honduras exported a total of 1,615,400,000 lempiras worth of goods and services to other countries. This total may rise to 1,966,800,000 lempiras when the tabulation of data is completed. Coffee and bananas account for 1,065,200,000 lempiras of that total.

The banana sector brought in 648.5 million lempiras in foreign exchange last year, an increase of 135 million lempiras over the 1986 figure.

The increase in foreign currency earnings resulted from a higher volume of banana exports, a growth from 42,547 40-pound crates in 1986 to 49,885 crates last year.

Foreign exchange earnings from coffee, meanwhile, fell by 227.4 million lempiras, from the 1986 total of 644.1 million to 416.7 million in 1987.

This decline took place even though in terms of volume exports rose by 132,000 sacks of coffee beans in 1987, going from 1,192,000 60-kilo sacks in 1986 to 1,324,000 sacks last year. But the fall in prices on the international market aborted plans to earn more foreign exchange from this product by boosting sales.

Nevertheless, the lesser traditional products (the major ones are bananas and coffee) such as lumber and meat have begun to bring in more foreign currency gradually as sales volumes rise along with prices. They are still far from regaining the price and sales levels they enjoyed in 1983, however.

The lumber sector earned 72.6 million lempiras in foreign exchange, compared to 64.6 million in 1987, with a slight uptick in sales volumes.

The same goes for meat, whose foreign currency earnings climbed from 39.3 million lempiras in 1986 to 42.2 million last year. This happened despite a drop in sales volumes; in 1987, meat sales totaled 496,000 kilos less than in 1986.

According to officials at the Finance Ministry, the reason for this was the decline in the national livestock herd, but the 13.1-percent rise in prices brought foreign exchange earnings up.

While Honduran exports exhibited a downward trend with respect to previous years, imports of goods and services moved upward. In the view of public authorities, this reflects the nation's more vigorous economic activity, since the foreign purchases stemmed from the great demand for raw materials, fuel, and construction materials.

According to data compiled by the Secretariat of Planning, Coordination, and Budget (SECPLAN) and used by Finance and Public Credit, in 1987 Honduras purchased 1,797,300,000 lempiras worth of goods abroad,

although total projections called for 2,181,900,000 lempiras. The 1986 figure was 1,750,100,000 lempiras, so there was an increase of 47.2 million lempiras.

The growth by economic group is not that significant, however; the highest figure corresponds to imports of raw materials and construction materials, which recorded an increase of 13.4 million lempiras. It is followed by consumer goods imports, where the rise totaled 12.5 million lempiras. The fuels and lubricants sector accounted for a growth of 11.4 million lempiras over the 1986 total, while capital goods purchases were 10.3 million lempiras higher than the 1986 figure.

08926

### CSSR Technology at Southern Hydroelectric Plant

PA1606033988 Mexico City *EXCELSIOR* in Spanish  
11 Jun 88 p 25-A

[Summary] Jindrich Tucek, Czechoslovak ambassador to Mexico, who returned to Prague after concluding his 4-year appointment here, reported that a hydroelectric plant built with Czechoslovak technology will be put into operation at the Chiapas-Tabasco state border within the next few weeks. The plant will generate 500 megawatts. The ambassador also said the balance of payments between the two countries had reached \$35 million and that 4 important Mexican-Czechoslovak joint investments were in force in established industries.

### Capital Voter Registry Found Seriously Flawed

#### Potential Seen for Fraud

32480151 Mexico City *PROCESO* in Spanish No 602,  
16 May 88 pp 14-17

[Article by Maria Esther Ibarra]

[Text] In the Federal District (DF), which PRI feels poses the greatest danger after the state of Chihuahua, the list that will serve as the basis for the elections this coming 6 July is completely "unreliable," because it is rife with real and presumed errors.

The errors and flaws consist of children registered to vote, omissions of voters, repetition of names, voters without credentials, credentials without voters, the inclusion of nonexistent addresses or entire buildings, and colonias [urban communities] that disappeared as a result of the 1985 earthquake.

The National Voter Registry (RNE) acknowledges that there are errors in 16 electoral districts in the DF (ranging from 10 to 33 percent), but downplays them: "They are minor and correctable." An investigation conducted by 40 members of the Applied Sociology Project of the Department of Political and Social Sciences (FCPyS) of UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] shows the magnitude and significance of these errors ("which are clearly a political, not a technical problem"), inasmuch as in the 40 electoral districts the list has an error rate much higher than the 1 percent that is acceptable for verifiable elections. The university study notes:

In 11 districts the list "is not reliable"; in 13 it is "very unreliable"; in 12 it is so flawed that "fraud is inevitable," and in 4 it is altogether impossible to hold elections with it.

In spite of all this, however, PRI's main enemy will remain voter abstention, which could decline 29.19 percent. Nonetheless, it will be the same, in absolute terms, as in 1985 (2,273,739), and thus 2,821,723 people will presumably vote this year.

Based on PRI's voter projections (PROCESO 597), the FCPyS study develops scenarios in which PRI does not have much hope of outdoing voter abstention and indicates that in the best of cases it will have to engage in more sleight-of-hand to maintain the vote total that it posted in the DF in 1985, 1,194,804.

Even if the estimates that PRI has already made are borne out (it has projected winning 1,995,533 votes), the party's electoral strength will not make itself strongly felt, no matter how many votes it manages to snatch from opposition parties. Just to achieve this goal it will have to make a real effort: see to it that 7 of every 10 voters cast ballots for it in 24 districts that it regards as "high-risk," take 800,729 voters away from opposing parties, and in every instance maintain its 1985 vote total.

"But where is PRI going to get all those votes to legitimize itself in the eyes of civilian society and a favorable correlation of forces to try and win votes from the opposition?" wonders Professor Cuauhtemoc Rivera, who coordinated the FCPyS investigation, which is entitled: Study of the 1988 Voter Registry in Mexico City. Simple Random Sampling in 80 Sections of the 40 Electoral Districts.

The university sociologist answers his own question: "It is undeniable and inevitable that they will come from a highly unreliable and manipulable list of voters. This is the guaranteed first step for PRI sleight-of-hand artists towards fraud in the Federal District, which without exaggeration will be almost absolute in its 40 electoral districts."

The coordinator of the 40 participants in the study feels that part of PRI's strategy is to make people believe that it will win by a landslide on 6 July, even though the party projects that its electoral strength will not increase and says that it will fight only to maintain its vote count at the last election. Offsetting this, it claims that the opposition parties are losing votes or, at best, predicts increases for them that fall far short of those that the ruling party will supposedly obtain.

"Its projections," Professor Rivera says, "are no game. PRI seeks to intimidate and corner the real opposition parties and to lay the groundwork for electoral fraud. As far as the three-colored party is concerned, the social organizations that were born with the 1985 earthquakes do not exist, nor does the social and grassroots unrest that has been expressed against the economic and political program in the cities and the countryside, nor do the splits within PRI's ranks."

It is one thing, of course, the sociologist clarifies, for PRI to try and ignore this situation in the face of public opinion, and something quite different for PRI not to realize and fear it. "PRI is not unaware that the political campaigns of the opposition parties are bringing together more and more citizens, that elections are being decided

by very narrow margins and that the segments of civilian society are increasingly demanding respect for the vote and opposing electoral fraud."

In the face of this, "the only chance it has is to make sure beforehand that the list is in its favor and will enable it to engage in sleight-of-hand to the utmost," says Professor Rivera, asserting that the "errors" and irregularities in the list are not a strictly technical problem and do not stem from human or computer error.

"Deep down, the flaws in the list of voters are a strictly political problem that has grave implications for the July elections, particularly in the districts in which PRI foresees that it will be in trouble."

Hence, Rivera says, the members of the Applied Sociology Project, which Dr Francisco Gomez Jara has been coordinating for some time in the department, decided to analyze the list of voters in the Federal District.

The study, whose definitive findings were completed on Monday 9 May, originally began with an analysis of district 36 in Mexico City and later expanded to the rest of the 40 electoral districts. Some parties (PAN [National Action Party], PMS [Mexican Socialist Party] and PRT [Revolutionary Workers Party]) were aware of the progress of the investigation, and they used data and information from it to voice their reservations and suspicions about the reliability of the 1988 voter list to the Federal Electoral Commission (CFE).

According to the coordinator of the study, the director of the RNE, Jose Newman Valenzuela, "did not totally reject the investigation but asserted that he would have to become thoroughly familiar with it to verify whether it is just a random sample and that in any case it would not be applicable to the entire DF voter list."

Professor Rivera explains that there is often great mistrust of studies based on samples because many times they are manipulated to lend a scientific basis to and thus justify big, categorical lies. But, he adds, the validity of the study rests on three factors: the use of inferential statistics techniques to assess voter lists, the applied methodology (personal visits to the homes of registered voters) and the use of information, data and statistics from the CFE [Federal Electoral Commission] and the RNE, which also used the inferential sampling technique to enhance the list.

Whether or not one accepts the random sampling method for refining the list, Rivera indicates that they collected around 6,000 individual cases, with the respective voter credential number, address and even the sheet on which they are registered. "All of this material," he emphasizes, "is arranged by electoral section and in accordance with the error typology that we developed."

#### "Very Unreliable" Data

With regard to the errors in the voter list and their relationship to the 10 districts that are regarded as "potentially troublesome" for PRI in the DF, the study indicates that in 6 of them (1, 2, 8, 17, 38 and 39) the list "is flawed for fraud," given the rate of error, which ranges from 33.1 to 18.1 percent according to the study, and from 28.5 to 7.32 percent according to the RNE. In district 7 the list is regarded as "very unreliable" (17.5 percent according to the university investigation and 9.4 percent according to the RNE). In districts 32 and 36, the list is described as "unreliable," and in district 16 as one with which it is "impossible to hold elections" inasmuch as the error rate is 39.1 percent. Another finding of the study is that the compilers of the voter list in the DF did not take into account the effects of the earthquakes or the construction of the Mass Transit System on several colonias.

For example, colonia [urban community] Palo de Cruz (district 23, section 52) no longer exists, and although it was relocated in a nearby zone, it has new residents and different street names. Nonetheless, it is registered.

A comparison of the accuracies and inaccuracies found in the 80 sections shows that the overall error rate is 22.93 percent. In the judgment of the university academics who were involved in the study, if this percentage were extrapolated to the DF voter list, "we would be talking about 1,168,389 errors, which is almost equal to the number of votes that PRI got in Mexico City in 1985; 1.9 times the PAN vote; 2.8 times the total vote that the three leftist parties (PRT, PSUM [Unified Socialist Party of Mexico] and PMT) got back then, and 5.4 times the total vote of the parties that make up the FDN [National Democratic Front] today."

The 22.93 percent error rate recorded by the sample, which comprised 26,156 people registered in the 40 electoral districts, represents 5,999 cases. Of them, 5,307 are people who do not live at the indicated address; 252 are registered voters who are deceased; 167 are nonexistent addresses; 121 are minors who are registered; 111 are names listed more than once; 35 are voters with credentials but who have been excluded from the final list, and 6 are registered citizens who do not have the credential.

The study also contains a comparative analysis of the findings that the RNE obtained when it corrected the list and "demonstrated" its degree of reliability.

#### The Government Is the One That Decides

According to the data obtained by the registry, which it submitted in the document "Report on the Application of the Electoral Census Technique. RNE, General Delegation of the DF" (January 1988), a population of 104,408 persons was examined, and 8,179 were removed, representing 7.83 percent of the errors.

Nonetheless, the RNE made the corrections from December 1987 to January 1988, "which suggests that they were made on the basic lists, not the final ones." Therefore, the conclusion is that the difference between the rate of error detected by the study and the RNE's is not very reliable.

"Nor is the voter registry, and much less is it unlikely that PRI will not resort to electoral fraud," asserts Professor Rivera, who indicates that although the pretense is that the political parties and the citizens are jointly responsible for the organization of the electoral process, "in fact it is the government that has every opportunity and all of the means to decide at the ballot box."

The opposition parties do not have the material and human infrastructure to exert a decisive influence in the compilation of the voter registry. What is more, Professor Rivera says, the opposition was hardly involved in the 80 sessions of "census technique practice" that were held in the CFE. According to the minutes of the sessions, PAN attended 27, PMS and PRT 2, PDM [Mexican Democratic Party] 6, the Popular Socialist Party 4, PST [Socialist Workers Party] 2, PARM [Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution] 7, and PRI 33.

In view of this, PRI has worrisome leeway to engage in fraud or filch as many votes as possible from the opposition. Nonetheless, the attitude of the opposition parties is worrisome as well.

As far as the author of the study is concerned, "so far the attitude of the participants in the electoral contest has not been uniform. On the one hand, there are the parties that have banded together in the FDN, which have till now shown that this political organization is extremely weak and inconsistent. Their battle for seats and their recruitment of well-known political figures, such as El Rojo Altamirano, lead one to think that their aim is more to begin negotiations with the ruling party than to be consistent defenders of the vote of the citizenry."

"On the other hand, there is PAN, which has made the announcement of electoral fraud one of its campaign tactics, and based on the most recent experiences in the north of the country, we can expect that the party's current leadership is willing to undertake courses of action in defense of the vote.

"The statements of the PMS and the PRT also seem to aim in this direction, which would be quite healthy for the spread of democracy through elections.

"Nevertheless," the study concludes, "the efforts of these three political parties will not suffice if large segments of civilian society do not join in the specific tasks for truly achieving a democratic country. Civilian society once again has the opportunity to show that it can

organize and make its vote count. And the real opposition parties will also have the opportunity to join it, and then we shall see who lets it down and who respects it."

#### Errors Left Uncorrected

32480151 Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 602,  
16 May 88 pp 16-17

[Article by Maria Esther Ibarra]

[Text] To conduct the FCPyS study, the voter registry was reviewed in the 40 DF districts; the type of sample was decided on; the size of the sample was estimated; the electoral sections and registered voters were chosen; the list was checked by address, and finally, the data obtained were systematized, Professor Cuauhtemoc Rivera explained.

To obtain the findings, which can be extrapolated to the entire voter registry, a simple random sample was used, in which all of the names listed in the DF registry had an equal chance to be picked for direct verification at the indicated address. All of this was based on the final lists for the 1988 registry, dated December 1987. The random sample found the degree of reliability to be 95 percent, the error rate thus being 5 percent.

The selection of the elements that make up the sample was done in 2 electoral sections in each of the 40 districts, the same number as announced by the RNE and as reviewed between December 1987 and March 1988. The two sections per district were drawn randomly, without preferences or special wishes. Only two sections were excluded. One, district 27, section 14, has 500 voters registered at facilities of the National Navy. The other is district 23, section 125, in San Pedro, where the streets could not be located on site because a number of colonias have disappeared in the area.

The names of the citizens were selected with the help of a table of random numbers and the final list of voters.

To check the voter registry at homes, the names were arranged by ascending street number, and house-to-house visits were paid. When no one was found at the indicated address to provide information, a second visit was paid.

At each of the checks it was noted down whether the individual lived there or not; if he did not, it was determined whether it was because he had died or because the address was incorrect.

The coverage of the sample and of the elements decided by lots were checked in systematizing the data. Then the study was organized into specific cases and errors. The typology of errors was drawn up by comparing the list of registered voters with the information noted at their indicated addresses: does not live at the address, name

listed more than once, deceased, minors registered, non-existent addresses, registered voters without voter credential, voters with credentials but not on the final lists.

This typology was noted in a sectional and/or district report, which includes in each case the number of the voter credential and the number of the sheet on which it is listed. The report is by electoral section and includes the district number, the place name and the section number.

On the basis of all the information gathered, a comparative chart of the findings of the study and of the RNE census technique was drawn up, findings that are considered in each of the analyses of the DF voter registry.

As part of the review of the 1988 voter registry in the DF, the final lists for this year were compared with the last ones submitted to the political parties in 1985 for the elections that year; they were dated 30 November 1984 and signed by the state delegate, Jorge Grau Casillas.

According to the study, the comparison in two electoral districts revealed extremely obvious and grave errors. In district 36 it was found that section 113 has 22 people with the initial code "667," 21 of them named "Mendoza" and 1 with the name "Meneses." The first of them, "Mendoza Arreguin Agustin," has as his address: Lorenzo Rodriguez, 13 upper floor, listed on sheet 769, line 21. But on sheet 764 "Julia de Neymet de..." (3322552) is listed and registered at the same address: Lorenzo Rodriguez 13 upper floor, but she does not live there. Of the 20 remaining names under code "667" it was found that a total of 76 other people are registered at their addresses. Moreover, the study indicates, the 22 people under code "667" in the section no longer appear on the basic 1988 list, but the aforementioned 76 people with their same address do appear. In this case, however, the number has risen to 128.

This type of "error" was verified in seven other sections that show the highest error rate in the basic 1988 lists. The upshot was that the names and addresses that "coincide" with those under code "667" were detected. A total of 593 cases were reviewed of the 683 citizens registered. 42.5 percent (252 persons) showed an error, and 57.5 percent (341) had the proper address.

It was later detected that of the 252 errors found, only 10 were removed from the basic lists, whereas 242 irregularities were maintained in the final lists.

As we can see, Professor Rivera emphasizes, the percentage of errors corrected on the final lists is very small and, moreover, very dubious. The investigation found that there are irregularities in two cases removed from the lists. Ceballos Barberena, Jose Luis, who resides at 82 Capuchinas, was removed, as was Contro Luz, Maria Ituarte, whose address is Acordada 75.

In the first case the young Ceballos Barberena lived at the same address with five other members. They were not removed from the list, even though the entire family has not lived there for more than a year. The question, says sociology Professor Rivera, is why only one member of the family was removed.

In the second case, the name removed from the final list appeared twice in the basic lists. In other words, two names should have been removed but were not, even though the building at the registered address has collapsed.

As far as district 27 is concerned, cases similar to those in district 36 were found in two sections. On the list for 1985, dated 30 November 1984, section 14 contains 76 persons under letter "G," running from Garcia Gutierrez Juan (on sheet 326, line 4) to Granados Meza Eusebio (sheet 329, line 20), all of them under the initial code "657."

Likewise, the addresses are taken starting with the first registered voter of the section, and an address for the citizens registered under code "657" is repeated every 10 lines. In addition, the addresses under that code, but not the names, appear in the 1988 list.

In section 161 of district 27 the 1984 list shows 31 persons on sheet 3,848 with paternal surnames beginning with "V" and under the initial code "659." Thirty-one addresses were visited, and it was learned that none of these individuals had ever lived there.

Cuauhtemoc Rivera asserts that the PMS brought up the problem of the codes this past 1 April with the RNE's Technical Vigilance Committee; the response that it received from the Secretariat General and from the chairwoman of the committee was that the code "does not appear on the final 1985 registry nor on the 1988 electoral registry."

8743

**CAP's Administration Termed Cause of Current Corruption**

33480137 Caracas *EL NACIONAL* in Spanish  
10 Apr 88 Sec D p 2

[Interview with Leonardo Ferrer, former chairman of Chamber of Deputies Committee of the Comptrollership, by Alfredo Pena]

[Text]

[Question] The electoral process moves forward and Carlos Andres Perez [CAP] continues to lead in the polls....

[Ferrer] The election campaign has not yet begun. El Tigre [the Tiger] has been closing in on El Gocho [the Hog]. Four months ago, the polls gave the government candidate a lead of 22 points. The present situation is very different. The most recent poll by Aponte and Associates showed these results: El Gocho, 43.4 percent; El Tigre, 36.3 percent: A lead of only 7 points and we are 9 months away from the elections.

[Question] But Datos gave these percentages: El Gocho, 42; El Tigre, 27. And Gaither gives El Gocho an even greater lead.

[Ferrer] Datos has always been a very reliable firm, but in this case, Corpa, its parent company, has signed a contract with AD [Democratic Action] to centralize and manage all public relations activities concerning Carlos Andres Perez. I am hopeful that Nicomedes Zuloaga and the other owners and executives of Datos and Corpa will maintain the objectivity that has always characterized Datos, despite the contract they have signed with El Gocho.... And as for Gaither, that firm is in the exclusive service of the political interests of the governing party.

[Question] Your party cannot eclipse the sun with its thumb alone.... [Ferrer] We recognize that El Gocho is still in the lead, but no one can deny that the distance between CAP, the government candidate, and Eduardo Fernandez, the opposition candidate, is decreasing day by day. The mere thought of a possible electoral win by Perez produces apprehension among the honest people, the working people, of this country. During Perez's 5-year term, all sorts of corruptive acts have been committed. I, as chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Committee of the Comptrollership at the time, had direct knowledge of all the proceedings and dossiers concerning the unrestrained corruption of El Gocho's Administration. Corruption was rampant throughout the government service, and not even Miraflores and the Armed Forces were able to escape it. Carlos Andres Perez is the corruption candidate, the candidate of the abuse of power and of irresponsible "thirdworldism." The AD's Ethics Committee found that he had engaged in administrative corruption. The party's orthodox wing, led by Lusinchi, Lepage and Penalver, observed that he lived in a glass house, had an uneasy conscience, and was

vulnerable. He has been denounced more than once by the membership of the AD itself—its Betancourtists and orthodox wing—as corrupt. It was during his Administration that Romulo Betancourt called for a "decent democracy." The top leader of the AD found himself compelled to resort to this way of denouncing Carlos Andres Perez's indecent version of democracy.

[Question] You say that during Carlos Andres Perez's Administration, corruption even penetrated into the Armed Forces. But you should not forget that the defense ministers of the Copei Administration, under the presidency of Luis Herrera Campins, are fugitives, in that, various warrants have been issued for their arrest.

[Ferrer] That's not entirely true. One of the Luis Herrera Campins Administration's ministers, Major General Alcaide Alvarez—accused of having bought munitions from Yugoslavia—is Jaime Lusinchi's ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. As for other former defense ministers, the courts have found against them and I respect the findings of the judiciary. But the fact is that the report by the Chamber of Deputies Committee of the Comptrollership, and the investigations conducted by the Office of the Comptroller General of the Republic, headed by Jose Mucci Abraham, have shown that during the Perez regime acts of corruption were committed that have besmirched the good name of the Armed Forces. I rise against that spectrum of our society made up of partners in crime who would silence denunciations, who would transform our Armed Forces and others of our country's institutions into untouchables. Here, there are no first-class and second-class Venezuelans. We are all obligated to respect the rule of law. During the Luis Herrera Campins Administration, all the needed guaranties were provided to enable the Congress, the Comptrollership, the Courts and the media to investigate, without restraints, all cases of alleged administrative corruption. The Navy did not in any way hinder the full and detailed investigation of its procurement of missile-armed frigates.

**Freedom of Expression**

[Question] The Herrera Administration took reprisals against publisher Jorge Olavarria (the Public Prosecutor's Office made a forceful entry in an unprecedented act of persecution) and reporter Maria Eugenia Diaz....

[Ferrer] Two exceptional cases that I'll not analyze in detail at this moment. But the fact is that in the Herrera Administration the rule of law prevailed. Throughout those 5 years, the Radio Broadcast Industry Association's program, which was certainly very critical of the government, was broadcast without a reprisal ever being taken against that platform of opinion. Television, radio and the press all criticized the Herrera Administration, overly so at times, and were never once subjected to pressure from Miraflores. That Administration never shut down programs like Primer Plano; nor did it expel newspaper columnists or TV moderators. Jose Vicente

Rangel, Alfredo Tarre Murzi, Rosana Ordonez, and Carlos Ball can attest to—and have denounced publicly—the arbitrariness the present regime has displayed in all matters involving respect for freedom of expression. The local provincial newspapers and the managers of the various media have denounced its abuses a thousand and one times. They have been the victims of the Lusinchi Administration's hegemonic harassments. This Administration has been condemned on several occasions by the IAPA [Inter-American Press Association], thus setting a stigma upon our Venezuelan democracy.

[Question] All the "democratic" Administrations have committed abuses and acts of harassment against the freedom of expression...

[Ferrer] Yes. I won't deny that. But this regime has carried things to aberrant extremes that put our democracy in an embarrassing and shameful light. This Administration has not only shut down radio and television programs, not only persecuted and beat up reporters, not only threatened newspaper publishers, but has also used Recadi as an instrument of blackmail. This was reported on one occasion by Marcel Granier, Carlos Ball and Rodolfo Schmit. This Administration, run by men with a totalitarian mind, has produced a hopeless and asphyxiating situation for those of us who love freedom. This Administration has converted the state-owned media into a "fascistoid" instrument of intimidation and corraling of the opposition. During the AD party primary campaign, even Carlos Andres Perez shouted in protest because Channel 8 was trying to silence him and his campaign management staff. This Administration has gone even further: It has paid for laudatory "reportages" on President Lusinchi which it then reproduces over despicable channels beholden to the OCI [Central Information Office]. Thus, we see presented on a daily basis a series of "opinions by international experts" and by magazines of a "accredited reputation," which repeat what the OCI itself has, for good pay, ordered them to say: "The Lusinchi Administration is the best in the world." And the opposition is denied the right to reply....

#### Privatization of Channel 8

[Question] All the Administrations have instituted radio and television channels to publicize real or alleged successes.

[Ferrer] But none like this one. No other Administration has used and squandered government funds to pay "mercenaries of the pen" to say that "Venezuela is a marvel under the Lusinchi Administration." I wish to propose, in very detailed form, that the government-owned media—Channels 8 and 5, the Venpres Agency, and the regime's radio stations—be privatized.

[Question] Why do you wish to do away with the state-owned communications media?

[Ferrer] Because they do not belong to the state; they belong to the Administration that happens to be in power. The heads of Venpres, and of Channels 8 and 5, are appointed by the governing party. Those people suffer from delirium, with their sectarianism and unbearable fanaticism. We have witnessed this during the AD's party primary campaign, where not even among themselves was there a modicum of mutual consideration or respect.

[Question] Excesses can be corrected, but privatization is a rather exaggerated response on your part.

[Ferrer] There's no other alternative, unless those facilities are truly returned to state ownership.

[Question] They do belong to the state, because it is the sole owner.

[Ferrer] Yes, but the editorial and informational policy line is laid down by the management of the Carlos Andres Perez campaign. Yesterday, they were at the exclusive service of Lepage, and today they are at the exclusive service of Perez. For them to be truly at the service of the state, the management staffs of those facilities should be appointed by two thirds of the National Congress. That is my view of this matter, which I consider a very grave matter, because in the direction we are now going we will end up a totalitarian state.

[Question] You speak of privatization and your candidate has said that, should he win the election, he would withhold action on the licensing of Channel 10.... Isn't there a contradiction between you?

[Ferrer] No. When the opening of this television channel was discussed, Carlos Andres Perez's people and other sectors, supposedly informed of these matters, stated that Channel 10 was to be opened under the protective aegis of Miraflores. They also stated that its staff would be at the service of the Lepage candidacy and would oppose other views and parties. It was within this context that El Tigre said what he said. But should it not be that way, should it operate as an open and pluralistic commercial channel, with access available to all political persuasions, we would be very much in agreement with it coming into being. We are proven adherents of democracy, and advocates of economic freedoms and of the freedom to criticize. We are adversaries of any form of monopoly that subordinates free initiative and obstructs free competition.

#### CAP's Mare

[Question] The corruption issue has engulfed all others "like a river overrunning a tiny farm," and in this campaign it has been said that "the drug traffic is financing the presidential candidates."

[Ferrer] This issue must not be handled lightly, and much less be used demagogically during the electoral campaign.

[Question] A photo was published in which your candidate appeared with an alleged member of the "Sicilian Mafia" who is connected with the drug traffic.

[Ferrer] That has been sufficiently clarified. That photo was taken 10 years ago during a public ceremony. All politicians—as Gonzalo Barrios stated at the time that maneuver was being plotted—all of us have, on innumerable occasions, been photographed with persons from whom we can neither request, nor demand, a certificate of good conduct. But the ambush hatched by El Gocho's headquarters has boomeranged. That wily attack revealed Carlos Andres Perez's friendliness with the Medellin cartel. Old man Ochoa, "patriarch" of that gang of drug traffickers, has stated on many occasions, in his own handwriting, that he made gave a mare to his friend Carlos Andres Perez as a gift. Ochoa has provided details and has said that the mare pastured on the farm of the deceased Jose Ramon Arellano, an intimate friend of the government candidate. Ochoa also stated that he was litigating because the colt the mare had foaled had not been returned to him. At present, we have no knowledge as to whether Perez has returned the mare and the colt to his friend Ochoa. But if he is indeed so scrupulous, he should return that "merchandise."

[Question] Your party has resorted to demagoguery with respect to the problem of Panama. It has given support a priori to President Reagan's policy. It should consider the probable final outcome of the Torrijos-Carter Pacts.

[Ferrer] What is involved is a struggle by the people of Panama against a dictator—a fight for democracy and against tyranny. It is from that standpoint and in that light that we view and analyze things. What is involved is not a confrontation between the people of Panama and the White House. In actual fact, that gentleman, a very intimate friend of Carlos Andres Perez, has been indicted in the United States for drug trafficking. And we know that the U.S. courts normally act in an independent and sovereign manner. Perez wants to portray his friend Noriega as a white knight in Latin America's and the Third World's anti-imperialist struggle. We are anti-imperialists, but we are not panderers to the drug traffickers. Noriega must go. As long as he continues ruling Panama a democratic solution will be impossible.

#### Numbered Accounts

[Question] The political parties and their leaders ought to be taking direct charge of the war against government corruption and the drug traffic. The Venezuelan people are losing faith in their leaders and their institutions.

[Ferrer] It is my view that this war must be waged in concrete terms. I propose:

1) that all candidates make a sworn disclosure of their assets;

2) that the question of whether or not they have foreign bank accounts—numbered or otherwise—be investigated and, in the event they are found to have such accounts, the question of where the money that has been deposited in Geneva, New York, Panama, Grand Cayman, or wherever, came from also be investigated;

3) that all candidates submit to urine and blood tests to determine whether they are taking or have taken drugs.

#### Electoral Reforms

[Question] The AD presidential candidate has announced that his party will support the reforms.

[Ferrer] The government candidate talks and says a lot of things on which he then fails to follow through. What reform is he referring to? The Gatopardo reform so that everything remains unchanged? The fact is that he is proposing a bobtailed reform and is interposing a number of obstacles so that we will continue voting like a bunch of illiterates. The country—according to all polls—is demanding a uninominal ballot. The people want to know for whom they are voting. Copei has proposed a mixed system that will incorporate the uninominal ballot and at the same time ensure the representation of minorities. Carlos Andres Perez and his populist team, which fears the reforms, oppose this.

[Question] In all our political parties there is resistance to reforms to the state. We shall see what they invent at the last minute in order to do nothing or to feign a reform that is nothing more than a farce.

[Ferrer] That is correct. In the parties, there is resistance to the changes. We have made some very positive forward strides in this respect. In Copei, all the authorities, except its candidate and its secretary general, will be elected by the rank and file. But notice what is taking place in the governing party. A rumpus has been kicked up because, according to the AD and government leaders themselves—and this does not make sense to me—Carlos Andres Perez would oppose putting Blanca Ibanez, private secretary to President Lusinchi and a distinguished AD militant, on the ballot for a Congressional seat, either as a deputy or as a senator. Carlos Andres and his group should clarify why they oppose putting Blanca Ibanez on the governing party's deputies ballot for Caracas or for any other state in the country. I have been told that Blanca Ibanez is an efficient and very hard-working official. In any case, however, how is it possible that the very same persons who have applauded, paid homage to, and decorated her during 4 years of AD government, can now decide to veto her for this type of position, when in fact the final decision belongs to the people. She is denied this right, while it is said that certain hierarchs of the CVG, who are involved in acts of

corruption the investigation of which Lusinchi himself has ordered, are going to resign in order to join Carlos Andres Perez's campaign and be able to choose their own seats in Congress. 9238

### 1987 Economic Statistics Compared With 1986

#### Imports Increased 13.1 Percent

33480142 Caracas EL UNIVERSAL in Spanish  
9 Apr 88 Sec 2 p 6

[Text] Venezuela's imports in 1987 totaled 13.3063 billion kg, 114.0746 billion bolivars, and \$8.6745 billion. When compared with the figures for 1986, these totals show increases of 13.5 percent, 68.7 percent, and 13.1 percent, respectively.

This information is contained in the bulletin on Venezuelan imports for the 1986-1987 period, issued by the Central Office of Statistics and Information (OCEI). The bulletin notes that raw materials and related items accounted for 38.3 percent of total imports (\$3.325 billion), and machinery, accessories and tools accounted for 29.2 percent (\$2.534 billion). The industrial sector received 85.6 percent of these imports.

Analyzing the aforementioned statistics in detail, the information office of the OCEI points out that imports in the food sector in 1987 amounted to 3.8206 billion kg, 8.1102 billion bolivars, and \$895.6 million. These figures, when compared to the corresponding figures for 1986, represent increases of 28.6 percent, 46.6 percent, and 28.5 percent, respectively.

In addition, the OCEI indicates that imports of chemicals in 1987 totaled 2.3041 billion kg, 17.9694 billion bolivars, and \$1.4495 billion, representing increases 1986 of 30.1 percent, 112.4 percent, and 38.2 percent, respectively, over the 1986 figures. This jump was caused by the importation of products such as phosphoric acids and anhydrides, sodium hydroxide solution, sodium sulfate and carbonate, styrenes, potassium chloride and sulfate, and compound fertilizers.

With regard to paper and related products, the informational bulletin put out by the OCEI reports that imports in this sector totaled 656.2 million kg, 4.0499 billion bolivars, and \$356.7 million. These figures are higher than the 1986 totals by 29.6 percent, 63.9 percent, and 27.1 percent, respectively.

According to the OCEI, these increases are attributed to imports of additional chemicals for treating wood pulp with bleached and unbleached sodium or sulfate, newsprint, and other things.

Another sector that saw a rise in imports in 1987 was the machinery and electrical device sector. The OCEI reports that imports amounted to 272.7 million kg, 37.8055 billion bolivars, and \$2.6953 billion, figures which are 22.4 percent, 69.2 percent, and 9.7 percent higher than the 1986 totals.

According to the OCEI, this increase is attributed primarily to the increase in import of gasoline engines for land vehicles, pistons, hermetic motor-driven compressors, lifting, loading and unloading machinery and devices, bulldozers, printing machines, numeric and digital processing and storage units, auxiliary and peripheral computer units, parts and accessories for automatic machinery, telecommunication devices, and other items.

#### Imports by Country of Origin

The OCEI information office reports, moreover, that Venezuela's imports in 1987 came primarily from the United States (43.8 percent), followed by the FRG (8.6 percent), Japan (6.1 percent), Italy (5.0 percent), Brazil (4.4 percent), and France (3.5 percent).

The OCEI bulletin has broken down the imports according to country of origin, revealing that those from the United States amounted to 5.3865 billion kg, 50.3195 billion bolivars, and \$3.8008 billion. These figures represent increases of 11.9 percent, 62.9 percent, and 8.7 percent, respectively, compared to 1986.

Imports from West Germany totaled 223.6 million kg, 9.7474 billion bolivars, and \$748.3 million, indicating increases of 32.5 percent, 104.1 percent, and 34.1 percent over the 1986 totals.

In 1987, imports from Japan amounted to 223.5 million kg, 7.3838 billion bolivars, and \$528.6 million. The corresponding increases were 53.9 percent, 66.5 percent, and 0.7 percent over the previous year.

Italy sold 126.4 million kg of goods to Venezuela in 1987, valued at 5.9161 billion bolivars or \$435.8 million. These figures are 14.9 percent, 77.7 percent, and 20.2 percent higher than the corresponding 1986 figures.

Brazilian goods imported in 1987 totaled 2.3469 billion kg, 5.0412 billion bolivars, and \$378 million, for increases of 15.8 percent, 83.7 percent, and 14.0 percent over the 1986 figures.

And finally, the OCEI reports that imports from France in 1987 were registered at 275.9 million kg, 3.9863 billion bolivars, and \$304.5 million, indicating growth of 74.8 percent in volume and 39.5 percent in bolivars. Nevertheless, the value in US dollars declined by 10.0 percent.

### 9-Percent Coal Production Increase

33480142 Caracas *EL UNIVERSAL* in Spanish  
11 Apr 88 Sec 2 p 6

[Text] National coal production in 1987 amounted to 61,800 metric tons, a 9-percent increase over the 1986 total of 56,700 metric tons, according to the final report of the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM) for last year.

The document specifies that coal sales amounted to 61,800 tons during that period, and that 63.2 percent of that amount went to cement manufacturers. The remainder was sold to small pottery factories.

Coal prices on the domestic market rose by 0.4 percent over the 1986 figure, when the average value of sales was 115.40 bolivars per ton. The average price in 1987 was 115.60 bolivars per ton.

As for the operational results of the state enterprises that produce coal, the MEM report indicates that the Southwestern Coal Enterprise (Carbosuroeste), a subsidiary of the Venezuelan Investment Fund (FIV), produced 60,000 tons of this resource last year, 9.2 percent more than the 1986 total.

Sales in 1987 reached 60,500 tons, and the enterprise's total investment amounted to 51.9 million bolivars. Of this amount, 49.4 million bolivars was taken by the FIV, and 2.5 million bolivars came from Carbosuroeste.

As for Carbozulia, a subsidiary of Venezuelan Petroleum, Inc. (PDVSA), the report indicates that in April 1987 a letter of intent was signed with the Arco-Agip consortium, which comprises ACC de Venezuela, Inc. (a subsidiary of the Atlantic Richfield Co. of the U.S.) and Agip Carbone of Italy. This letter sums up the principal terms of a final pact that will be signed during the first 6 months of this year.

The agreement contains an option that will allow for the participation of Carboex (a Spanish firm) in the formation of the mixed enterprise in which the PDVSA will hold a majority of stock. In addition, a minority percentage will be reserved to make available to Venezuelan private capital.

Also in 1987, a plan to exploit the El Guasare mines in Zulia was drafted, the objective being to inform international markets of the quality of this coal. The first shipment went out last November.

The production generated by this plan for early exploitation of the mine amounted to about 150,000 tons of coal. Investments totaled 391.2 million bolivars in 1987, and 1988 investments are expected to total 728.4 million bolivars. The total capitalizable investment in the project is 8.6 million bolivars at constant 1988 prices.

The Carbozulia project is supposed to create 3,700 direct jobs during construction, and 2,100 jobs during operation.

This year Carbozulia will produce 500,000 tons of coal, yielding income of \$16 million. Mining will be stepped up to 2 million tons in 1993, which represents an average year-to-year growth rate of 31.95 percent.

The coal production target of El Guasare is 6,500,000 tons as of 1998.

08926

### Puerto Rican Socialists Seek Support on Decolonization Issue

33480135d Caracas *EL NACIONAL* in Spanish  
5 May 88 Sec D p 7

[Article by Teresa de Vincenzo]

[Text] "Venezuela must maintain its position of supporting the discussion in the United Nations on decolonization of Puerto Rico, because anything else would be promoting the position of foreign interventionism."

Lawyers Juan Mari Bras and Noel Colon Martinez, the latter the chairman of the Constitutional Association of Puerto Rican Lawyers Committee, made a visit to EL NACIONAL accompanied by Deputy Antonio Jose Herrera, a member of the Congressional Foreign Policy Standing Committee.

The committee's objective was to appeal to Venezuela not to engage in a repeat of last year's performance in that international organization, when it refrained from intervening to support the proposal in favor of decolonization of Puerto Rico.

"In August of this year," said Mari Bras, "we will again raise the issue in the UN Decolonization Committee, which is why, with a profound sense of political purpose, we want to make an appeal for action to all those who favor Puerto Rico's proposal in the United Nations."

Mari Bras feels that the presence in Venezuela of representatives of the Lawyers Association is important, because elections will be held this year to choose a new governor for that Caribbean island.

"The Popular Democratic Party (PPD) is the government party and everything indicates that it will continue to be so in the next term. The PPD," he continued, "has committed itself to reviewing the political relations between the United States and Puerto Rico. Furthermore, the northern country did consider the possibility of examining its possessions on the island but, when Venezuela abstained from voting in 1987, it refrained from making any change."

He pointed out that a positive reaction on the part of our country in the near future, together with pressure from the people of Puerto Rico, and the intervention of the contender for the Democratic presidential candidacy, Rev Jesse Jackson, who supports the standards set by the Puerto Rican Lawyers Association, are factors that may accelerate the submission of a proposal by the Americans.

Colon Martinez said that Mari Bras, Herrera and he had already conferred with the president of Congress, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, the minister of the Office of the President and with MAS [Movement for Socialism] leaders.

"We have met with a favorable and an open attitude toward our petition due to the fact that last year the Puerto Rican Lawyers Association sent a document to Venezuela in which they ask it to support their right to self-determination and independence."

#### Venezuela Must Not Lag Behind

"As a Venezuelan, I am concerned because I feel that Venezuela must not lag behind in the process of reformulating Puerto Rico's political status."

Jose Antonio Herrera spoke following the statement by Mari Bras and Noel Colon Martinez and asserted that, unlike what has happened up to now, Puerto Rico can count on the strong support of political forces in the United States, including some within the government, as well as groups on the island that go beyond independence movements.

Because of their individual interests, each of these groups, in the United States as well as in Puerto Rico, prefers to develop this process individually, without working together with other groups on the continent. Therefore, Venezuela has been made to believe that this problem, which is not a real one, is being studied and it may have a serious effect on the international image and the prestige on which we in the community of Latin American countries are counting."

11466

#### British Scorpion Tanks To Be Purchased 33480135c Caracas EL UNIVERSAL in Spanish 7 May 88 Sec 1 p 1

[Text] London, 6 May (Ansa) THE FINANCIAL TIMES today stated that Venezuela is to purchase 84 British Scorpion tanks at a cost of £47 million, or \$87 million. The prestigious London financial daily made it clear that, if the negotiations are successful, it will be the largest procurement of military equipment by a Latin American country since the 1982 war in the Malvinas.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES has learned from reliable sources that the sale of the Scorpions, manufactured by Alvis, will also include training in how to operate them. According to THE FINANCIAL TIMES, the negotiations are probably at an advanced stage and they can count on the "enthusiastic support" of the British Government. The purchase of the Scorpions would be part of an extensive program of modernization of the Venezuelan Army.

11466

#### Japan Seeks Investments Outside Oil Industry 33480135b Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 7 May 88 Sec D p 9

[Text] Maracaibo—The Japanese ambassador to Venezuela, Kunio Muraoka, who is here as a special guest at the international forum "A Positive Approach for Zulia," declared that his country is very interested in participating in some of the projects that will be presented during this event, particularly those involving the farm and livestock and telecommunications sectors.

The Japanese ambassador explained that his country will devote special attention to those projects that offer major opportunities for investment and which, preferably, are not associated with the petrochemical sector due to the fact that his nation has already made sizable investments in that sector and, at present, wishes to explore other economic areas.

"Here in Zulia we are looking for programs aimed at other sectors in Venezuela which we have not yet entered. For example, we are very interested in the telecommunications sector and in an agricultural, livestock or aquiculture company, as is the case with a business enterprise for the purpose of raising and processing shrimp."

He was asked whether Japan was interested in investing in Zulia's steel sector to which he added that "investments we make in that sector will preferably be destined for the Guayana area since there are large natural deposits of iron in that part of the country. Furthermore, studies conducted by experts show that costs will be lower if the project is carried out in Guayana."

"In any event, I am not the one to have the last word with respect to this. We anticipate that a mission of Japanese experts, who will be coming to Zulia to conduct the feasibility studies that will determine whether a steel project is feasible in the area, is to arrive in this country in June. What I mean to say by this is that nothing definite has been decided. What we are certain about is the fact that we want to invest in the shrimp industry and in telecommunications."

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