

SJR

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Fact Sheet and Summary for
Senate Joint Resolution # 11
"Relating to Actions of the Bolivian Government"

Senate Joint Resolution # 11 has been introduced to recommend that 1) because of the present Bolivian regime's mistreatment of Americans and brutality towards Bolivians, 2) because of the interruption of the democratic process, and 3) because of the present regime's involvement in the cocaine trade, that the U.S. not re-establish economic or military aid or normal diplomatic relations with Bolivia until these situations are rectified.

I. Mistreatment of Americans

- A. U.S. official Thomas Watson was shot in the face by armed military cadets, his apartment sacked, and he and his wife detained. (Wash. Post July 20, 80).
- B. U.S. Embassy Commissary sacked by the military during the coup (WP, July 19).
- C. Eighteen Americans imprisoned, including members of the press and the church, and some were threatened with death or mutilation. The American consular officials were not notified of the detentions and were refused permission to visit those detained (New York Times, August 15, 1980).
- D. A travel warning was issued against Americans going to Bolivia by the U. S. State Department on July 22, 1980 (NYT, August 15, 1980).

II. Church Officials Jailed and Degraded

- A. Three priests after being beaten and having pistols stuck in their mouths were blindfolded and made to lie face down in manure filled stables for three days (New York Times, August 14, 1980).
- B. Head of Methodist Church in Latin America, Bishop Arias, was kidnapped by government paramilitary squads after speaking out against atrocities (Miami Herald, August 25, 1980).
- C. Parish houses and churches throughout the country were ransacked (Wash. Post, July 30, 1980).
- D. Among other clergy, two Maryknoll priests were detained, Rev. William Coy of Minnesota and John Moynihan of New York (August 8, 1980). Also, Msgr. David Ratterman of St. Louis and Sister Mary Elka of Virginia were taken hostage (Miami Herald, August 3, 1980).

III. Atrocities towards Bolivian People

- A. The U.S. State Department on July 24 reports widespread and savage torture and killings, repeated and severe beatings, and denial of needed medical attention (Los Angeles Times, July 24, 1980).
- B. The Catholic Church and Amnesty International report up to 2,000 people are being detained in concentration camps (Miami Herald, August 3, 1980).
- C. There was a reported invasion of the small town of Caracoles, where unarmed men, women, and children were gunned down, 900 people missing. The soldiers were instructed to rape women and girls, two of whom were reported to the Archbishop to have died of hemorrhage. Children were forced to eat gunpowder and then lie on broken glass while their mothers were forced to walk on their backs at gunpoint (Miami Herald and Los Angeles Times Aug. 23, 80).

IV. Involvement of Government Leaders in Cocaine Traffic

- A. Evidence exists that narcotic traffickers helped finance the July 17th coup and continue to be a major source of financial support (Financial Times August 15, 1980).
- B. Current President Meza received large amounts of money from Baptista, a known major drug trafficker (FT, Aug. 15, 1980).
- C. Col. Luis Arce, Minister of the Interior, has known longstanding connections with drug traffickers, and is reported to be using his position to undercut drug enforcement efforts (FT, Aug. 15, 80).
- D. Colonel Ariel Coca, Minister of Education, was implicated in the seizure of 100 kilos of cocaine in Panama in 1979, estimated value at over \$2.5 million (Financial Times, Aug. 15, 1980).
- E. One State Department official said "for the first time the drug trade may have bought itself a government." (Miami Herald, August 15, 1980).
- F. It has been estimated that the country of Bolivia exports some \$600 million worth of tin, its leading legitimate export, while also exporting some 100 tons of cocaine annually, estimated by U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration officials to be worth \$1 billion in illegal export sales annually, with a New York street value of some \$25-\$50 billion dollars, most of it being sold to the United States.

RICHARD L. OTTINGER
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

COMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

- REPLY, IF ANY TO:
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February 9, 1981

Senator Brad Bradley
Alaska State Senate
Juneau, Alaska

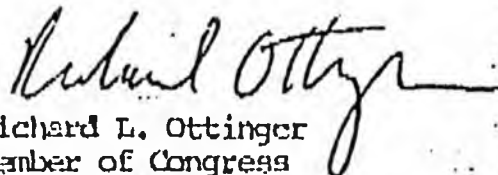
Dear Senator Bradley:

I am pleased to provide you with materials concerning the present situation in Bolivia. I appreciate your interest in this critical matter, and I wish you the best of luck with your bill in the Alaska State Legislature.

Enclosed you will find a letter circulated to my colleagues in the House of Representatives soliciting support for the Resolution. Also, I have provided a copy of the testimony I submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations. As you may know, the Subcommittee (which is Chaired by Representative Don Bonker, from Washington) unanimously approved the Resolution and reported it to the full Committee. Finally, I am sending a copy of the version of the bill which was re-introduced in the 97th Congress just last week. I hope you find these materials useful.

Again, Senator, I thank you for your interest in this matter. Please let me know how your bill fares in the Alaska Legislature.

Sincerely,



Richard L. Ottinger
Member of Congress

RLO/sjl

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD L. OTTINGER
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

November 20, 1980

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to comment on my proposed resolution, House Resolution 774, which concerns the tragic situation in Bolivia. The new regime that overthrew Bolivia's democratic process, has been marked by the violation of human rights including mass arrests, torture of prisoners, seizure and censorship of newspapers, and the intimidation of American citizens.

On July 17, 1980, the Bolivian military halted Bolivia's movement towards democracy by overthrowing a civilian interim government in the process of elections when it became apparent that the next President would be a longstanding advocate of constitutional and democratic rule.

Since then, the regime has engaged in a massive and brutal attack on the human rights of all people in Bolivia, including the American community. American and foreign journalists have been detained and harassed. Our own citizens, including diplomatic personnel, have had their lives threatened and their property destroyed. The disturbing incident that brought this situation to my attention was the arrest and the detention of two priests from the Maryknoll Mission in Ossining, New York, which is in my district. Despite their subsequent release, these priests, who dedicated their lives to improving the lot of the poor, were subject to such harassment that they were forced

-More-

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to leave Bolivia.

In response to these developments, the State Department cancelled \$47 million in economic aid and suspended another \$36 million of assistance. All military aid was terminated. Our Ambassador to Bolivia, Marvin Weissman was recalled to Washington and our embassy staff was reduced to a minimum. There have been no official policy-level contacts since the coup.

H. Res. 774 makes a strong statement in support of these policies. We cannot sit silent as American citizens are threatened. We cannot sit silent when democratic principles are so blatantly violated. We cannot continue the free flow of aid to recipient nations that embark on policies which contradict our fundamental interests.

This bill enables us to send a clear signal to the world that the United States House of Representatives will not support foreign governments that engage in crimes of such a heinous nature. It is hoped that the bill will strengthen the State Department's hand and encourage Bolivia to return to the road towards democracy, a road that was tragically side-stepped on July 17th.

Thank you.

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Congress of the United States

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Washington, D.C. 20515

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January 30, 1981

Dear Colleague:

In the last session of Congress, I introduced House Resolution 774, which concerns the terrifying situation in Bolivia. The regime that overthrew Bolivia's democratic process has been marked by the violation of human rights including mass arrests, torture of prisoners, seizure and censorship of newspapers, and the intimidation of American citizens. Also, there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that major leaders of the regime play an integral role in an international cocaine conspiracy.

On July 17, 1980, the Bolivian military halted Bolivia's movement towards democracy by overthrowing a civilian interim government in the process of elections when it became apparent that the next President would be a longstanding advocate of constitutional and democratic rule.

Since then, the regime has engaged in a massive and brutal attack on the human rights of all people in Bolivia, including the American community. American and foreign journalists have been detained and harassed. Our own citizens, including diplomatic personnel, have had their lives threatened and their property destroyed. The State Department has advised me that the Bolivian regime has not subsided in its brutality, as evidenced by the murders of ten people (including an unidentified American) according to the New York Times) two weeks ago.

The disturbing incident that brought this situation to my attention was the arrest and the detention of two priests from the Maryknoll Mission in Ossining, New York, which is in my district. Despite their subsequent release, these priests were subject to such harassment by the regime that they were forced to leave Bolivia.

In response to these developments, the State Department cancelled \$47 million in economic aid and suspended another \$36 million of assistance. All military aid was terminated. Our Ambassador to Bolivia, Marvin Weissman, was recalled to Washington and has not returned to La Paz. Our embassy staff was reduced to a minimum. There have been no official policy level contacts since the coup. And the Drug Enforcement Agency, citing lack of cooperation by the Bolivian authorities, is no longer functioning in Bolivia.

The bill I introduced last August makes a strong statement in support of American policy with respect to Bolivia. It suggests that the President continue the curtailment of military and economic assistance and the reduced official United States presence in Bolivia until the regime takes certain corrective actions. This expression of congressional support will strengthen the hand of the State Department in dealing with the Bolivian government.

House Resolution 774 was reported unanimously by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations a few weeks before the House adjourned in December. I intend to reintroduce the resolution in the coming week. If you wish to cosponsor, or if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Steve Israel at 5-6506.

Sincerely,

Richard Ottinger

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reass the military regime headed by General Luis Garcia Meza has interrupted Bolivia's progress towards democracy and constitutional government by forcefully overthrowing a civilian government on July 17, 1980;

reass the new Bolivian regime has engaged in mass arrests, torture, executions, censorship, repression of civil rights, religious harassment, repression of trade unions, and widespread violence inflicted upon the people of Bolivia;

reass the Bolivian regime arrested without charges two American priests from the Maryknoll Mission in Ossining, New York, Father William J. Coy and Father John C. Moynihan, and has subjected them to continual harassment since their release;

reass the Bolivian regime has detained and harassed journalists from other countries, including correspondents from the United States;

reass the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States has condemned the interruption of the democratic process and human rights in Bolivia;

reass the United States has taken significant steps against the regime in Bolivia, including terminating military assistance, severely curtailing economic assistance, and reducing the official United States presence in La Paz, the capital of Bolivia;

reass a mission of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was detained and treated by Bolivian authorities;

reass the Inter American Commission on Human Rights has officially deplored the Bolivian regime for failing to respond to its request to visit Bolivia;

reass the United Nations International Labor Organization has conducted an investigation into trade union rights in Bolivia;

reass commercial banks and international financial institutions continue to provide substantial financial resources to Bolivia in spite of international condemnation of the Bolivian regime;

reass the Bolivian regime has significant connections with well established drug traffickers;

reass Amnesty International has estimated that at least 1,000 arrests have been made in Bolivia since July 17, 1980, and many are still in detention, and has requested that the new Bolivian regime compile and release without delay a list of those persons imprisoned or killed since the regime assumed power on that date. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President should not reestablish at a normal level an official United States presence in Bolivia, and the President should not furnish any of the military or economic assistance to Bolivia which has been terminated since the new Bolivian regime assumed power on July 17, 1980, unless the President determines that--

- (1) civil and other human rights have been restored to the people of Bolivia;
- (2) the Bolivian regime has committed itself not to arrest, harass, or intimidate United States citizens for political reasons, including United States missionaries still in Bolivia;
- (3) the Bolivian regime has restored the democratic process in Bolivia; and
- (4) the reported involvement of members of the new Bolivian regime in international drug conspiracies has been properly assessed.

PLEASE NOTE: THE FOLLOWING PAGES WERE TREATED
AS A UNIT IN THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

Alaska State Legislature

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Senate

COMMITTEES

CHAIRMAN
VETERANS AFFAIRS
REPUBLICAN CAUCUS
MEMBER
STATE AFFAIRS
RESOURCES
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATE STATE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE MEMBERS
FROM: SENATOR BRAD BRADLEY *Bmm*
DATE: FEBRUARY 6, 1981
RE: INFORMATION ON SJR 11

Attached for your information are some magazine articles on the Senate Joint Resolution that Senator Rodey and I sponsored that will be before the Senate State Affairs Committee on Tuesday, February 10, 1981.

By Theodore:
**Showdown
the Presio**

**Mork Is the
Movie Popey**

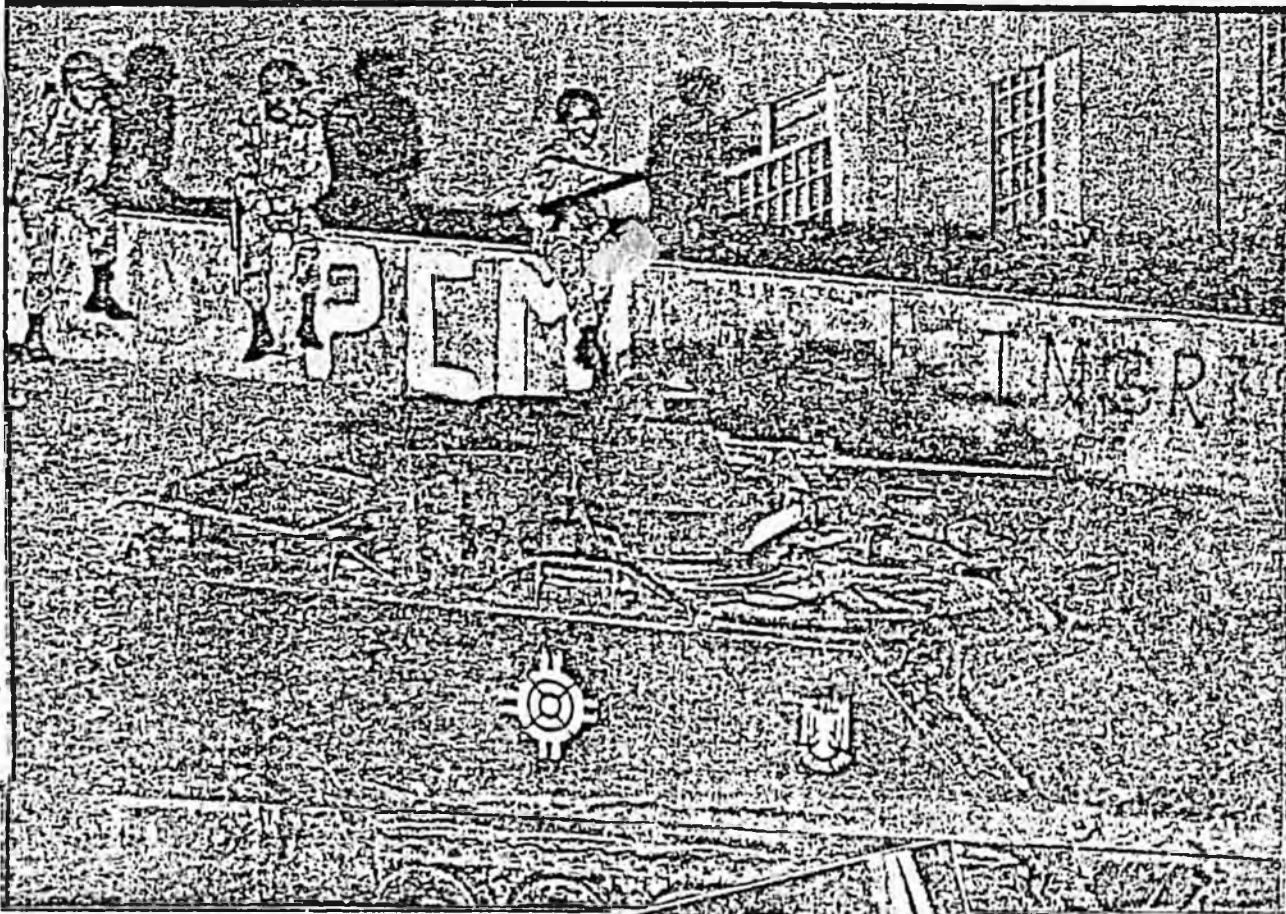
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Faces of an

A story of terror at the hands of the newest regime

NIGHTMARE IN BOLIVIA



By Mary Helen Spooner

A free-lance correspondent in Latin America for four years, Mary Helen Spooner, 28, of St. Louis, was arrested in La Paz, Bolivia, in August for articles critical of the military junta that had seized power from the government. She is currently writing a book on Bolivia.

There is an office on the second floor of the Bolivian Interior Ministry in La Paz that has a four-by-four-foot storage closet. On the floor of the closet is a burlap-covered straw mattress. The door, which spring locks from the outside, has four or five glass panels that are painted over. But a little light comes in through cracks in the paint.

For six days in August, I lived, ate and slept in that darkened closet while the military regime of General Luis Garcia Meza announced that I was to be tried for "defamatory libel" against the government. Before I was told I would be put on trial, I was repeatedly threatened by the head of the Interior Ministry and several of his officials in the new regime. The physical threats were so explicit—and gro-



The July takeover of the government of Bolivia by the tank-equipped military forces of General Garcia Meza (bottom) was unusually bloody in a country long accustomed to coups. To assure his position, Garcia Meza unleashed a campaign of arrests and torture.

It was Bolivia's 189th coup in its 155 years as a nation

tesque—that there were times when I began to doubt I would come out of the ordeal alive. The prospect of a trial was frightening enough. In Bolivia trials are conducted without a jury, and the penalties for such charges as defamatory libel range from three to 15 years in prison. At the time of my arrest, the military government, which had taken power in a bloody coup less than a month before, was about to appoint new judges sympathetic to its rule.

It was Bolivia's 189th coup, by most counts, in its 155 years as a nation; this one was far more violent than most of the others. In La Paz selected labor and government officials were seized. In the south the resistance of the tin miners, perhaps the most militant labor group in Latin America, was met with severe force. Miners battled troops with rocks and sticks of dynamite. There were reports that in the mining town of Caracoles, hundreds of people had been massacred by the Army.

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or more than two years Bolivia, the most hermetic and, with Guyana, poverty-stricken nation in South America, a land the size of Texas and California combined and with a population of five and a half million, had been trying to establish a civilian democracy amid coups, countercoups, electoral fraud and deadlocks. But the June 29 elections, which gave a plurality to left-wing moderate Hernán Siles Zuazo, were described as the fairest in Bolivian history. The congress appeared willing to ratify Siles Zuazo's election, but the military considered him a threat to its existence. He had been president once before and had cut the military budget sharply.

On July 17, the hopes for the new government were shattered by the coup. Siles Zuazo went into hiding. Arrested by paramilitary troops, interim president Lydia Gueller, who had just three more weeks left to serve in her term of office, was forced to give a tearful resignation, which was broadcast over Bolivia's airwaves. The new military junta promptly dubbed itself the "Government of National Reconstruction" and said the armed forces had been obliged to take power because of the "fraudulent" elections the month before and to save the country from "anarchy, international communism and chaos."

A 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew was imposed; the universities were closed; and the government began a massive roundup of opponents, both real and imagined. Most telecommunications with the outside world, including wire services, were stopped. La Paz's airport was closed, and with the nine-hour curfew in effect, all transportation in and out of the country was sharply reduced. Foreigners in Bolivia were ordered to register with the Interior Ministry, and long lines of tourists, missionaries and businessmen formed around the building. The local diplomatic corps, by making a co-

ordinated protest, citing international norms of protocol, avoided this requirement.

Though I was not in Bolivia when the overthrow took place, I had been there for the June 29 elections. From the start I was one of those foreign observers who thought that perhaps this time the country might successfully inaugurate a civilian-elected democratic government and join that club of young democracies in South America made up of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. When I came back late in July, I had assignments to write articles for various American, British and Canadian periodicals, including *Financial Times* and *The Economist*, and dutifully reported to the Interior Ministry to register myself as a foreign journalist. Other foreign journalists I knew had been threatened or harassed, but I had no reason to be afraid—so I thought. As a free-lancer, I was a small fish, and the fact that I am constantly told I look much younger than I am made me think I would escape notice.

I had not counted on the volatile personality of Interior Minister Colonel Luis Arce Gómez. A former head of Bolivian Army Intelligence, he is one of the most frightening figures in the new regime: a petulant, potbellied man in his 40s with unruly black hair and the temperament of a spoiled child. It was widely rumored that he had his own gang of cocaine traffickers, that he had personally tortured countless persons arrested on the vague charges of "subversion," that he had been responsible for a plane crash last June that had killed several members of the Democratic Popular Union, the coalition of parties that backed Siles Zuazo, as well as for a number of other mysterious deaths.

In one article I sent from La Paz I made passing reference to a past cocaine scandal involving one of Arce's business partners, Colonel Norberto Salomon. This had earlier been reported in the Bolivian press, and the government eventually sent Salomon out of the country, as military attaché to the Bolivian embassy in Caracas, Venezuela.

There are many other allegations concerning the junta's drug connections. Among them:

—Junta leader Gen. Luis García Meza is said to have already received millions of dollars from one of the biggest drug traffickers in Santa Cruz, Bolivia's second largest city and the center of the cocaine industry.

—Interior Minister Arce has long-standing contacts with the cocaine trade and has in the past used his influence to undercut drug enforcement efforts in Bolivia.

The cocaine trade brings over \$800 million into Bolivia annually, surpassing even tin, the country's largest legal export. The leaves of the coca plant are sold openly there and used as a brew for tea. Siles Zuazo, in his campaign for president, had promised to combat the illegal cultivation of coca leaves, which U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration officials es-



Upon her release Mary Helen Spooner showed the effects of her six-day imprisonment and the repeated threats to kill her by Interior Minister Arce Gómez (top).

He climbed aboard an army plane and said he would cut my throat.

imate amounts to 27,000 tons a year. One U.S. State Department plan for Bolivia had been a project involving the substitution of other cash crops for the coca plant. But when the military seized power in July, this and other U.S. drug enforcement programs in Bolivia were severely curtailed.

The García Meza government has denied any links to the drug trade, just as it steadfastly maintains that the June 29 elections were fraudulent and that intervention was necessary in order to save the country. It does not like to have its statements contradicted in the press—especially the foreign press. And it made its point by expelling a handful of foreign journalists. Following the coup, dozens of Bolivian journalists were arrested, interrogated and in many cases tortured. But I thought it would be safe for me to return for another professional visit. I was wrong.

At 6 p.m. on August 8, as I came through the door of my hotel in La Paz, I was arrested. I was ordered to pack my bags, while two plainclothesmen from the Interior Ministry confiscated my books, notes and papers. I was brought to the Ministry, and for nearly eight hours I was interrogated by several different officials, including Minister Arce himself.

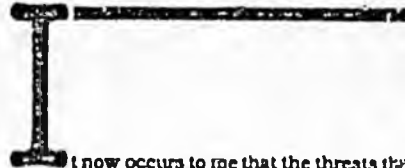
The first of my interrogators, a short, stocky man wearing a hooded green military jacket, who called himself Major Lindsey and told me he was chief of special operations, rummaged through my box of papers, pulled out a copy of a political piece I had written days earlier for *Financial Times* of London and launched into a tirade.

"Why are you telling lies about my country?" he demanded. Did I know I was aiding the subversives and Communists around the world with such stories? Why, he asked, did Americans always meddle in other countries? "You were once a great country," he said, "but now you are in decline.

"No one respects you. You are losing all your friends," he added. "Bolivia is going its own way now—we do not need you." And then the threats began.

How did I prefer to die? he asked. By being tossed out of a window several stories to the ground? Would I rather be shot? Had I ever visited a plastic surgeon—because I was going to need one, he said, parting a dagger hanging from his belt.

I said nothing and tried to act as impassive as possible.



It now occurs to me that the threats the Interior Ministry officials made during that long first night of interrogation were terribly reminiscent of vintage Hollywood gangster movies. Later, when I was called upstairs to Minister Arce's office, the comparison between gangsters and Bolivian military officials was brought up by Arce himself.

"Next to me, your John Dillinger was nothing," Arce said to me, grinning at his colleagues, who stood in a circle around us. He fumbled with a Swiss army knife and told me he was going to cut off my head.

I kept very quiet. I was afraid that if I expressed my terror, it would stimulate further mistreatment—in much the same way as blood attracts sharks. If I challenged my interrogators openly, they might cut out their throats just to prove themselves.

They wanted to know my sources and contacts, and I tried to stall. The article that had precipitated my arrest mentioned the well-publicized cocaine scandal. But I did have sources with links to Siles Zuazo. The would-

be president was issuing statements from his hideout calling for resistance to the military government; the day before he had declared a civilian underground government to oppose the García Meza regime.

Eventually I named one diplomatic source, along with several foreign journalists who I knew had already left Bolivia. This seemed to satisfy them. Throughout the confrontation I tried to portray myself as a naive, simple young woman who did not know very much about anything, I was hoping as I frantically wracked my brain to remember if I had any material among my papers and notes that would compromise my sources, that my youthful appearance and my captors' machismo would combine to support this impression.

It must have worked. Arce finally, after eight hours, looked around at his colleagues in disgust. "After all this effort we have only captured a fly," he said. "What shall we do with her—cut off her head or sentence her to thirty years in jail?"

At daybreak I was led to the storage closet and locked inside. "Wait," I was told.

For the next six days I was kept in that closet, let out only to use the rest room and to meet briefly with U.S. consular officers—who were allowed to visit me two days after my arrest. I was not permitted to bathe or change clothing. As the hours and days passed my mood slowly worsened. I could not stand the way my clothing felt—my jeans were unbearably gritty, the white blouse I had been wearing at the time of my arrest was gray. My jacket was streaked with dust, and my hair had separated into greasy strands.

I tried to think about other things. I thought about the U.S. embassy hostages in Iran, about Billy Hayes in *Midnight Express*. Then I thought about the thousands of Latin Americans who through innumerable political changes had undergone the most brutal forms of torture and confinement. Did I have so much cause for despair? Through it all, I kept being afraid Arce would come back.

Though I didn't know it, my editors from *Financial Times* and *The Economist* had arrived in La Paz from London to try to negotiate my release. A deal was struck: they would read a signed statement lamenting the situation their correspondent had caused—and the three of us would then be able to leave the country.

Late in the afternoon on Tuesday, August 12, I was led, dazed, from my closet and driven to the offices of *Presencia*, Bolivia's largest daily newspaper. I was taken to a room and once again told to wait.

Suddenly the door to the room flew open. I was shoved before a crowd of photographers and reporters for one confusing moment, and then my editors from London appeared and hurriedly led me away.

The next morning we flew to Peru. On that day the U.S. State Department began to present its own evidence of the García Meza regime's drug links, generating I hope, huge amounts of "defamatory libel" against Bolivia's frightening and repressive rulers. ♣



In Lima, Peru, Spooner was happily greeted at the airport by American freelance journalist Ray Bonner, who earlier had narrowly escaped arrest in Bolivia.

Bolivia General Unleashes Terror In Consolidating the Army's Rule

By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 9 — Since the military under Gen. Luis García Meza Tejada seized power in Bolivia on July 17, hundreds of Bolivians have been arrested and tortured.

Hundreds more have become fugitives, including businessmen who held meetings with politicians and youngsters who fashioned street barricades out of paving stones in the days after the coup. They move from secret dwelling to secret dwelling each night trying to elude government agents.

Participants or witnesses have told of incidents that illustrate life in the country since the generals prevented the winner of the June 29 elections, Hernán Siles Zúñiga, from assuming office.

In one episode, three young priests were blindfolded and seated side by side in the headquarters of the Terapacá armored regiment on a windy ridge overlooking this capital. Officers thrust the butts of their pistols into the priests' mouths. Nearby, another officer fired into the air and a soldier threw himself noisily to the floor, screaming in simulated pain.

Ordeal at Army Headquarters

This gruesome game completed, the three shaken clerics were taken to military headquarters in downtown La Paz where they were made to lie face down for three days in manure-filled stables.

A shoemaker from the hillside slum of El Alto Norte was picked up, for no stated reason, by the army one recent Sunday and taken to the city's new soccer stadium. There he was beaten with rifle stocks and forced into a dressing room so packed with other prisoners that the men had to sleep standing up and relieve themselves in place.

After two days, soldiers pinned left-wing party legends on the chests of 15 of them, took them in a truck to a nearby cliff and lined them up. The shoemaker, tumbling into a crevice below the precipice in the midst of the ensuing murderous fury, was the only one to live to tell what had happened. The Government reported that 14 men had died trying to storm a garrison.

In the town of Huanchal, in western Bolivia, a young soldier trained his rifle on

the shack of a miner involved in the strike protesting the military coup. When he hesitated in firing, his commanding officer ordered him to get on with it. The youth explained that it was his own house. His parents and several brothers watched in horror from the window as the officer shot the young man in the head.

A 16-year-old boy was trundled into a room at the Miraflores army headquarters in La Paz and ordered to lower his trousers. An officer holding a kitchen knife approached. Either the youth would go on television and testify that he was making bombs for the leftist political party that had won the just-completed elections or the officer would butcher his genitals, he was told. That night he became one of three similarly tormented people to make his "confession" before the cameras.

Coups, some 200 of them, have come and gone with such frequency in this nation of 5.5 million people that commentators have often described its political life in comic opera terms. In one three-day period 10 years ago, the country had three separate presidents.

General García Meza, on the other hand, has been deadly serious since taking power. In his zeal to root out what he says are "Communist extremists" in Bolivia, he has created a harsh society devoid of personal liberties. All television broadcasts now emanate from the Miraflores headquarters, and the La Paz daily *El Diario* heralds the junta's cause enthusiastically.

On the same day this week that the newspaper was headlining General García Meza's pledge to respect human rights, military guards delivered so many kicks to the kidneys and spleen of the Rev. Julio Tumiro Javier, head of the Bolivian Permanent Assembly on Human Rights, that, according to fellow prisoners later sent to the Papal Nuncio's house for deportation from the country, he is not able to urinate.

Foreign correspondents have been

threatened repeatedly with death, followed by paramilitary thugs, and, in one case, arrested and held for trial.

The most feared vehicles of destruction are no longer the tanks that have traditionally been rolled into the presidential palace square to oust an occupant in whom the military has lost confidence but commandeered ambulances and Toyota jeeps with their license plates removed and members of General García Meza's anonymous "paramilitares" inside. People joke grimly in La Paz these days, "If I'm hurt, please don't call an ambulance." People forced to take a ride in them are often never seen again. They "disappear" in the manner that Argentines, Brazilians, Chileans, Paraguayans and Uruguayans have become accustomed to under the military dictatorships after which Bolivia today is modeling itself.

As in those countries, life appears to go on untroubled. The street markets pulse with activity and tourists intent on outings in the spectacular mountain settings greet each other heartily each morning in hotel coffee rooms dressed in knee-high cable-knit socks, biking boots and bulky alpine sweaters.

But away from the city center, Bolivians are being picked off street corners, removed from their cars, or intercepted on their way to work and spirited away to jails and detention camps.

Repression Is Called Essential

The country's security chief, Interior Minister Luis Arce Gómez, has admitted to holding only 500 political prisoners, but the Archbishop of La Paz, Jorge Munrrique, said the correct number is 2,000.

There can be no mistaking that the García Meza regime has chosen intimidation of its opponents as a deliberate policy. A construction company executive who is expected to head a key agency in the new Government explained:

"We must have repression until we have complete control of the situation. But I ask you, if you were the military institution, what would you do? You should put on a uniform for a second and think about it. Of course the policy creates resentments. People don't like the 9 o'clock curfew or the constant demand for identity cards. But we must create discipline. There is no alternative."

He recalled the November seizure of power by Col. Alberto Natusch Busch that failed after 16 days in the face of organized popular opposition. "The problem with Natusch was that he came in and said the labor federation can stay open, human rights will be honored and

Have Bolivian Leaders

Sold Out to Drug Trade?

By JIM ANDERSON
United Press International

WASHINGTON — Government officials say they have evidence that drug traffickers may have bought themselves an entire country — Bolivia.

Carter Administration officials said that there are established financial links between the new military government in Bolivia and drug traffickers and that they fear Bolivia could become a sanctuary for growers and dealers.

Administration officials said the overthrow of Bolivia's democratically elected government in July was a sharp setback for plans to control and cut back the cultivation of coca, the base for the drug cocaine.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT also said Wednesday that it is cutting the size of the staff at the U.S. Embassy in Bolivia because "of the implicit threat posed to our personnel." The department also has halted all drug-enforcement operations because it feels the military junta would not cooperate.

Spokesman David Passage said the regular embassy staff is being reduced to 80 from about 100. The U.S. ambassador, Marvin Weisman, and 19 other embassy personnel were withdrawn in July in a show of U.S. displeasure over the July coup.

"There is an implicit threat to our personnel in the arrests of missionaries and newsmen," Passage said. He cited "several incidents," including one last week in which three U.S. Marines were beaten in a restaurant.

Passage said that incident "raised real questions about whether there was official complicity" in the violence against the Americans.

He said that all drug enforcement-related activities by the embassy have been halted "because we reached the conclusion that the many allegations of the involvement of the government in drug-related activities give no reason to believe that we will get the necessary cooperation from the Bolivian government."

SEN. DENNIS DeConcini (D., Ariz.) asked a Senate foreign relations subcommittee to open an investigation into the links between the Bolivian junta and the "Santa Cruz Mafia," the wealthy Bolivian growers who control the cultivation and sale of the coca plant.

"Coverage of events in Bolivia," DeConcini said, "is virtually unanimous in characterizing the present regime as little more than an appendage of the criminal organizations that dominate the flourishing international cocaine trade."

"For the first time," a State Department official said, "the drug trade may have bought itself a government."

Despite the fresh concern from Washington, it generally is known that growing coca, regardless of the government in power, is a long-established practice in Bolivia.

The arrival of strongman Gen. Luis Garcia Meza in power could affect the size of the coca traffic in Bolivia, but it marked no significant change in the country's already laissez-faire attitude toward cultivation and use of the plant.

GROWN FOR centuries in the semi-tropical valleys separating the high Andean altiplano from the flatlands of the Santa Cruz region, coca has served for more than 1,000 years as a stimulant for mountain Indians in Bolivia, Peru and parts of several other countries. The leaves, which are chewed, are sold openly in La Paz markets.

International preoccupation with the plant has strengthened sharply only in the last decade with the dramatic increase in its exportation as the raw material for cocaine.

The drug, manufactured from Bolivian and Peruvian plants refined in clandestine laboratories in Colombia and other countries, is worth an estimated \$50 billion a year in the United States.

In an interview published Tuesday in The New York Times, Garcia Meza denied that the new regime was involved in drugs: "I would like to remind you that the drug problem in the world is masterminded and financed as a multibillion-dollar operation in the Northern Hemisphere," he said. "We deny emphatically any involvement with this 'drug mafia.'"

Sensitivity to the accusations also resulted in the detention of American freelance writer Mary Helen Spooner, 26, after she filed stories suggesting the involvement of Garcia Meza and other military coup leaders in the cocaine trade.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT long had contemplated a double-edged plan involving substitution of other cash crops for the coca plant and active enforcement of a ban on the plant's growth. Those plans were scrapped when the Bolivian military junta overthrew the civilian government.

"The revolution was not ideological," administration officials said. "It was greed, pure and simple."

The officials believe that the new military government — "which has established financial links, running into hundreds of thousands of dollars, with the Santa Cruz Mafia" — will further facilitate cultivation and sale of the raw material for the international traffic in cocaine.

"As long as this Bolivian government is in power, we can't get at the problem. As long as the traffickers are operating in Bolivia, and the military government is in power, they will have a license to do what they want," administration officials said.

**PLEASE NOTE: THE PRECEDING PAGES WERE TREATED
AS A UNIT IN THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.**

A M E N D M E N T

OFFERED IN THE SENATE

TO: SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 11

Page 1, line 25:

Delete "Ossinging" and insert "Ossining"

Page 2, line 9:

Delete "by" and insert "that"

Following "Legislature" insert "supports United States Representative
Richard L. Ottinger's resolution urging"

Page 2, line 10:

Delete "should"

Page 2, line 11:

Delete "should"

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We need the tin and antimony that we
receive from Belvid -

Bolivia delays debt repayments

BY PETER MONTAGNOR IN LONDON

BOLIVIA has begun delaying debt repayments to international banks pending signature of the first part of a debt restructuring agreement covering some \$160m. The agreement, which was to have been signed on Monday, has been postponed indefinitely.

Sources close to the banks involved said yesterday that the postponement, the second in three weeks, was because more time was needed to sort out technical details of the agreement. But some Euro-bankers are now beginning to question whether the uncertain political situation in Bolivia and U.S. opposition to the new regime render restructuring commitments imprudent at the present time.

Under the proposed agreement, debt falling due between August 1 and the end of the year would be extended to next January 5. Even though the first signing target date of August 1 has now passed, the agreement would be retroactive which explains why Bolivia has now decided to hold back debt service payments.

Banks signing the agreement would receive a flat 4 per cent restructuring fee together with a margin above interbank rates of 15 per cent or the spread on the original loan whichever is higher.

By the time of the expiry of the agreement next January 5, it is hoped that Bolivia would have been able to negotiate a larger consolida-

tion loan covering the debt maturing during 1981 as well as that extended in 1980.

Negotiation of the consolidation loan would be helped by further support from the IMF. At present, the Fund's policy appears to be to stick to its present commitments to Bolivia.

It is not at all clear, however, how the IMF Board would react to any requests for additional assistance, especially now that the U.S. has halted all economic aid to Bolivia.

There was no indication yesterday when the debt extension agreement would be signed, although it is understood that arrangements for the signing could be completed at very short notice.

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NEW REGIME HAS TO CURE BOLIVIA'S AILING ECONOMY IF IT EXPECTS TO LAST LONG

By TOM FENTON
Associated Press

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The new right-wing military regime has subdued its civilian opponents, but there is a growing consensus here that it faces a tougher battle in trying to cure Bolivia's ailing economy.

Diplomats and Bolivian sources believe that the life span of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's government depends now on its ability to keep the nation from sinking deeper into an economic quagmire. They also say the outlook is grim.

Bolivia does not feed itself despite vast stretches of arable land. It also is over its head in debt and with an annual per capita income estimated at less than \$400, it is South America's poorest nation.

Production of tin, the historical foreign exchange earner, is declining and the nation's oil wells are running dry.

Economic growth has declined every year since 1976. Last year, real growth dropped to 1.4 per cent while inflation as measured by the La Paz consumer price index galloped at 45 per cent.

The volatile political situation, which produced five governments in the past year and 190 in 155 years of independence, has driven off private investors.

The government now controls 75 per cent of all businesses, many of which run at a loss.

The one major income earner is the cocaine trade, estimated to generate some \$600 million a year.

Bolivia's economy generated about \$4 billion last year while the public debt climbed to \$3.5 billion, most of it owed abroad. Debt servicing alone should cost \$626 million this year — if the government can make payments.

The balance-of-payments deficit was \$148 million in 1979, a 20 per cent increase over the \$123-million deficit recorded in 1978. The deficit is expected to soar

even higher next year.

"About \$200 million in commercial bank loans come due at the end of the year. If the government can't roll over those loans, they're in deep trouble," said an International Monetary Fund source.

Finance Minister Gen. Jose Sanchez Calderon said the new government, which toppled President Lydia Gueiler July 17, will seek to defer payments on the loans, which are from a consortium of 103 banks. The banks appear to have little choice.

Earlier this year, the IMF began a one-year emergency stabilization loan program designed to keep Bolivia from bankruptcy by pumping \$120 million into the economy over a 12-month period.

The source said the change of government will not affect IMF payments as long as Bolivia meets the belt-tightening financial stabilization goals set by the fund.

"What worries me is that the government doesn't seem to have a coherent financial plan," said a businessman and former congressman who asked to remain anonymous.

"I'd give them six months in power at the outside," he said.

On Aug. 5 the government set prices on 11 food items, forcing rollbacks of as much as 25 per cent on some items at La Paz open-air markets.

Sugar was set at the equivalent of 26 cents a pound in La Paz, coffee, 49 cents, beef, \$7 cents and a quart of milk, 23 cents.

The prices were popular with many Bolivians, more than half of whom are poor Indians, but economists warn that keeping prices artificially low will only discourage production and drive up the country's bill for imported food.

Bolivia imported about \$100 million worth of food last year.

IMF holds up loan payment to Bolivia

BY MARY HELEN SPOONER IN LA PAZ

BOLIVIA has not received a \$17m loan payment which the International Monetary Fund was due to deliver from its standby fund on July 31.

This is the first concrete indication that Bolivia's ability to renegotiate its foreign debt, estimated at \$3.7bn, is being called into question after the military takeover of the government on July 17.

Last December Bolivia's Finance Minister signed a letter of intent with the IMF for a one-year standby arrangement which would provide financial assistance totalling \$110m. In this letter the Government indicated that at the end of this one-year programme Bolivia would sign a medium-term extended fund facility programme with the IMF for 1981-83.

The IMF's failure to deliver the \$17m payment came amid rumours that the U.S. may be pressuring the

Fund to halt all aid to the three-week old government of General Luis Garcia Meza.

But approval of this payment depends upon the country's economic performance over the past six months, when Bolivia was governed by a civilian interim president. Financial sources in La Paz indicate that the \$17m is likely to be approved if the new military regime delivers the necessary technical papers to IMF officials. To date these documents have not been delivered.

Delivery of the IMF loan payment would trigger a \$10m credit for development projects from the Andean Fund, the financial arm of the International Andean Pact, a common market accord among Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador.

While the Andean Pact is chiefly

an economic organisation, its members in the past have exerted political pressures against such Latin American governments as Sr Anastasio Somoza's dictatorship in Nicaragua. The governments of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru (all civilian democratic regimes) are currently studying possible sanctions against the Garcia Meza government.

IMF approval will also affect Bolivia's debt rescheduling with a handful of foreign private banks. These include Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Bank of America, Citibank, Bank of Nova Scotia, Crocker, Deutsche Südamerikanische and the Libra Bank of London.

Bolivia is seeking to renegotiate \$200m to cover obligations during the second half of this year.

Bolivia Gov't Vows to Honor Finance Pacts

By WENDY COOPER
Journal of Commerce Staff

The new military regime in Bolivia, which seized power three weeks ago in an action designed to thwart the coming to office of a democratically elected government, has announced that it will stand by the financial agreements negotiated by its predecessors and is in the process of renegotiating about \$200 million in debt with a group of private banks.

To date, only a handful of countries has formally recognized the regime of General Luis Garcia Mera Tejada. The United States has suspended economic aid and withdrawn its ambassador to La Paz. And the European Economic Community has condemned the coup.

Banking sources in Caracas, Venezuela, where the debt renegotiation effort is being coordinated, acknowledged the "delicate" nature of the situation late last week. "We have not come to the final stage yet," they said. But an agreement to extend the country's remaining maturing debt, originally scheduled for Aug. 1, should be signed later this month.

Banks involved in the renegotiation include Bank of America, Citibank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Bank of Nova Scotia, Crocker, Deutsche Südamerikanische, Libra of London.

Despite reports that the International Monetary Fund may have been holding up payment of \$17 million from its standby fund to Bolivia because of pressure from the U.S., IMF sources said last week that the drawing is, in fact, being made. The State Department would make no comment on the reports.

Last December, Bolivia's Finance Minister signed a letter of intent with the Fund for a one-year standby arrangement which would provide a total of \$110 million. The government also indicated that at the end of this one-year program, Bolivia would sign a medium-term extended fund facility program with the IMF for 1981-83.

As long as Bolivia complies with the macro-economic conditions laid down in the standby agreement, drawings are automatic. Fund sources explained. To date, the country reportedly has drawn \$53 million of its total credit. The next quarterly review of the situation will take place in September.

Gen. Garcia Meza, the ambitious general who had himself made president of Bolivia by the military commanders who helped him take over the country, has declared the military coup saved Bolivia from "Castro and

Communism." Argentina's president, Gen. Videla, says the Bolivian coup was necessary in order to avoid a "situation in the heartland of South America that would amount to what Cuba represents in Central America." But, except for military officers and their archconservative business supporters who are passionately convinced that university students are Marxist, and by definition that union members are communists, it is hard to find anyone in Bolivia who believed the communists posed any threat to their country.

Asked why Bolivia's generals are so interested in political battles, a conservative, pro-military executive answered with surprising candor, "power and money."

"Not political ideology," adds a senior U.S. military adviser in Bolivia, who says, "There probably isn't a communist guerrilla in this entire country."

Neither Garcia Meza nor Videla have shown any deep aversion to dealing with the Russians. Argentina has been sending wheat by the shipload to the Soviet Union since the United States' grain boycott in response to the Afghanistan invasion.

"Russia has already offered us economic assistance," says Bolivian banker Fernando Bedoya Ballivian, a close adviser and personal friend of Garcia Meza. "The general doesn't want to accept it, but he has told us not to reject it yet."

Most of the world has shunned Bolivia's new military regime. The country's major financial backers—the United States, Venezuela and West Germany—have terminated economic assistance.

The Andean Pact (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela) and the Organization of American States have

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strongly rebuked Bolivia's personally ambitious anti-democratic generals—who have responded by threatening to withdraw from the first organization, and accusing the latter of meddling in the country's internal affairs.

Gen. Garcia Meza's dictatorship has been recognized by only a few countries. Argentina, not surprisingly, was the first, followed by the other southern cone dictators. They have been joined by less than a dozen other countries, among them Israel, Egypt, South Africa, Guatemala, the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan.

"Not exactly a distinguished list of the world's democracies," laments a Bolivian doctor, expressing keen disappointment about Israel's action, but adding hope that the international boycott would continue.

Meanwhile, Bolivia's ruling generals are preparing a new battle plan. They are negotiating with a New York public-relations firm and free trips are being offered to selected journalists.

In contacting a public-relations firm, Bolivia also follows Argentina's lead. Several years ago Argentina hired Burson Marsteller, a New York-based firm, to improve that country's image.

As a result more people may learn where Bolivia is, but it is doubtful they will receive any enlightenment about a regime that is being compared with the military governments in Argentina and Chile, which rule by force, fear and repression. □

Roy Banner, a journalist previously based in Latin America, was recently forced by the military to leave Bolivia.

EDITORIAL

NYT

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Paternity, Brutality and Bolivia

Argentina's ruling generals won't take credit for actually fathering the military junta in neighboring Bolivia — but they are passing out cigars, and want to improve the infant's prospects in an unfriendly world. Their sympathetic attitude is deplorable. But even more troubling is the suspicion that Argentine officers participated directly in the coup.

Cooperation between the two regimes is a matter of mutual self-interest. The Bolivian junta needs friends to overcome the stigma that its flouting of free elections, its murder and brutality, and its reported links to the international narcotics traffic have produced. Argentina's interests are also plain. A neighboring democracy "would have spread ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence here of a military government." The words are those of Argentina's President Jorge Videla. But by good fortune, sigh the Argentine generals, their country is again surrounded by authoritarian regimes.

But did they trust to luck alone, betting on the internal dynamics of Bolivia's junta-happy politics? Despite Argentina's denials, well-informed diplomats insist that Argentine officers were actively involved in the planning, and the execution, of the Bolivian coup.

President Videla, defending Argentina's concern, noted: "We don't want a situation in South America that would amount to what Cuba is for Central America." Neither do we. But the trouble with Mr. Videla's parallel — besides its oversimplification of Central American politics — is its suggestion that the contagion of armed Communist revolution is the same as the peaceful spread of democracy. The true parallel in his remark is unintended: If charges of direct Argentine involvement in Bolivia's coup prove correct, Argentina would be guilty of exporting armed dictatorship.

As a result of the Bolivian junta's attempts to intimidate the foreign press, the world is only beginning to learn the details of Bolivia's nightmarish rule. Our colleague Warren Hoge this week describes the junta's atrocities aimed at discouraging civil resistance. Torture and humiliation of priests, mass executions of slum dwellers and threats to mutilate teenagers repel civilized nations. American attempts to ostracize the government responsible have been admirably tough. That Argentina isn't appalled is itself appalling.

Bolivia Becomes a Battleground

Fearful of Democracy, Argentina Hopes for a Buffer of Repression

By RAY BONNER

Bolivia—"Where is it?" is the customary first question when the nation is mentioned. "Who cares what is happening there?" is the cynical sequel.

Landlocked. Sparsely populated. By most standards (it has the highest infant mortality, the lowest life expectancy, and only Haiti has a lower per capita income) the poorest country in all of Latin America. Although potentially rich in minerals, the country's political instability—15 changes of government since 1954, and depressing corruption when the military has been in control—have paralyzed the country's development. The most recent coup took place July 17, when Bolivia's right-wing military led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada took over to prevent the inauguration of Hernan Siles Zuazo, the country's democratically elected president.

But there is considerable foreign interest in this country, the size of Texas and California combined, that sprawls from the Andes Mountains on the Chilean-Peruvian borders to the Amazon jungle basin the Bolivians share with Brazil.

It's not primarily a battle ground for markets or resources. But for political ideologies—more specifically, democracy.

"Argentina especially wants to destroy our democracy because it does not want to share a border with a democratic country," says a former Bolivian ambassador to the United States.

Argentina—the third most populous (after Brazil and Mexico) and one of the most economically powerful countries in Latin America—is ruled by military strongman Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, who came to power in a 1976 military coup in his own country.

Soon after the right-wing military colonels and generals robbed Bolivians of their democracy, Videla declared that an elected government in Bolivia posed "a high degree of risk because of the possibility that such a government would promote ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence of military governments."

The continent's "southern cone" countries—Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay—are all controlled by military strongmen.

But democracy had been creeping south. And the United States, particularly since adoption of President Carter's human rights policy, was being praised or damned, depending on the speaker's perspective.

Within the past two years, Bolivia's northern neighbors, Peru and Ecuador, have held elections that sent the military men back to their barracks. And a democratic liberalization is in process in Brazil.

As for Bolivia, a democratic drought of almost 15 years—a number succession of military coups, followed by seven years of right-wing dictator Gen. Hugo Banzer Suarez—ended with elections in 1978.

"Mr. Carter didn't send me a letter ordering elections," Banzer said recently in a private interview. "But we could feel the pressure."

As Bolivia turned down the democratic road, Washington turned on the spigot, making Bolivia one of the largest recipients of economic aid—nearly \$200 million last year—in the world.

"I wish the United States would do more," says a Bolivian journalist cautiously. "I hate to even think it, but I almost wish the CIA would get involved—or your country would do something—to help us get rid of this fascist government."

But U.S. intervention—overt or covert—is highly unlikely, and contrary to the wistful talk of some young Bolivians, neither Cuba nor Nicaragua is likely to get involved. Both of those governments are struggling with their own domestic problems, and are listening to pleas from closer, more geopolitically important countries.

So that leaves Argentina to meddle in Bolivia.

Argentine fingerprints are all over the Bolivian coup that prevented honestly elected 67-year-old Siles from entering the presidential palace in the more than two-mile-high capital city.

"They are up to their necks in this thing," says one knowledgeable Bolivian about the Argentines.

"The Argentine military did everything but tell Gen. Garcia Meza the day to pull it off," adds a U.S. military adviser in Bolivia.

According to information received by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs from what are described as high-level Argentine military officials, the coup was planned in Buenos Aires, where, among other things, a computerized list was prepared of potential leaders of the opposition who were then imprisoned, exiled or killed during the early hours of the coup.

At a luncheon for Argentine reporters in Bolivia, another senior Argentine military adviser is reported to have bragged that the coup was successful because of his country's involvement. He even ridiculed the Bolivian army for allowing people to escape when they shot up a meeting of union, religious and political leaders, gathered to plan resistance to the military takeover.

The center of official Argentine military activity in Bolivia was, and remains, Cochabamba, Bolivia's third-largest city, 250 miles southeast of the capital of La Paz. Here, almost in the center of a landlocked country which has no more than 2,000 navy personnel and only a few boats patrolling Titicaca, the world's highest navigable lake, Argentina maintained a naval mission with more than a dozen advisers. Most worked in intelligence.

Altogether, Argentina had more than 20 military advisers in Bolivia, "an inordinately large number," says one diplomat, and more than twice the size of the U.S. military mission in Bolivia.

According to reliable reports, there were more than 200 Argentine military personnel in Bolivia to help with the takeover. One Argentine "adviser" was among the heavily armed paramilitary forces who prowled the city in ambulances during the first days of the coup.

With the army controlling Bolivia, the majority of South America's resources and people are now under the domination of right-wing dictators.

Jack Anderson

Bolivian Coup, With an Argentine Accent

Last month, a coterie of generals suffocated democracy in Bolivia. It was a brutal coup that had the secret backing of the military rulers across the border in Argentina. It was a sad setback for free government in Latin America.

Calamities and coups have become commonplace in Bolivia, a piece of earth abused by man and nature. These Bolivians who have clung to the mountain slopes are a simple but stoic people, more Indian than Spanish in ancestry, who scratch the gray, rocky soil for meager subsistence. For most of them, life is labor, and death comes early.

The succession of dictators who have ruled them have made their lives even more harsh and oppressive. But last month, it looked at last as if a constitutionally elected president, Herman Siles Zuazo, was about to take power. Until the coup on July 17, the outlook for civilian rule in Bolivia was optimistic.

An interim president, Lidia Gueiler Tejada, was ready to hand over the government. Then a military clique, headed by Gen. Luis Meza Garcia, seized power at bayonet point. A sad Lidia Gueiler was compelled to deliver the government to the junta. "God save Bolivia," she said mournfully.

The Argentine generals have denied reports that they intervened. But this is not the word that has reached the State Department. Sources in high places, who for diplomatic reasons don't want to be identified, contend the coup could not have occurred without the foreknowledge, secret support and military planning of the Argentinians.

"You won't find a smoking gun there," one source told my associate

Bob Sherman, "but what you will find is a weapon with Argentina's fingerprints all over it." Here are some of those identifying prints:

- Prior to the coup, Argentina increased the size of its mission in the Bolivian capital of La Paz. "They did it slowly at a time when people weren't paying much attention to them," explained an observer.

- "It was an Argentine-style operation and not Bolivian," said another insider. "It was very well planned and that in itself is not Bolivian." During the first 24 hours of the takeover, the military rounded up 1,000 people and eventually arrested 2,500 potential opponents. "The roundup was very brutal," related an eyewitness. "Within 24 hours, they had neutralized the leadership and the opposition. Those who weren't in custody went into hiding or sought asylum, and others just disappeared—Argentine style."

- Some Bolivians who were released after the roundup reported that during their interrogation, men with Argentine accents dressed in civilian clothes appeared to be directing the Putsch.

- Argentina unhesitatingly became the first foreign government to recognize the new regime. In contrast to the United States, which withdrew its ambassador and cut off all aid, the Argentine militarists offered economic assistance. The Bolivian generals asked for \$200 million in foreign help, and Argentina's President Jorge Videla pledged to respond.

A top American official called the Argentine role a clear case of meddling in the affairs of its neighbors. "The Argentinians have a history of this," he

said. "They intervened in Uruguay a few years ago, and they don't hesitate to move into another country if it serves their interest."

Larry Birns, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs and a critic of the Argentine ruling clique, said the junta has followed a policy that "the only acceptable government on its borders is one that it controls." In Birns' view, the collapse of the Bolivian democracy will have serious repercussions. "Bolivia is the front gate to the democracy of the northern regimes and the back gate to the authoritarian regimes in the south," he explained. "It is a very pivotal place."

Apologists for Argentina have argued that Bolivia under a left-of-center democracy would have become a sanctuary for guerrillas opposing the Argentine military government. But a Washington official scoffed at this as political paranoia.

"The Argentinians fear the cancer of communism," he said. "Their remedy is immediate-removal surgery. They always fear that their neighbors will harbor subversives. Bolivia is an unlikely threat. The Montenero guerrilla movement is an urban, not a rural group. The idea that Bolivia would become a base for subversion is unlikely."

Footnote: A spokesman for the Argentine Embassy replied to my reporter's inquiries with a prepared statement that denied that Argentina "may have interfered in any way in the events that recently took place in Bolivia." As a matter of principle, the statement declared, Argentina does not interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign nations.

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'Sympathetic' Argentina Will Aid Bolivian Regime

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

BUENOS AIRES, Aug. 6 — President Jorge Rafael Videla said today that Argentina would offer food and financial assistance to Bolivia because of the "sympathy" felt here for its new military rulers.

President Videla denied at a news conference in Córdoba that Argentina's armed forces had actively supported the military takeover in Bolivia July 17, but he did not hide the satisfaction of the military regime here over the cancellation of election results that would have given the Bolivian presidency to Hernan Siles Zuazo, the candidate of a moderate leftist coalition.

"The formally correct thing," said General Videla, "would have been for a government resulting from elections to have taken power, but this represented for us a high degree of risk because of the possibility that it would spread ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence here of a military government."

Argentina, he said, could be a source of food supplies and financial credits for Bolivia. Reports from La Paz, the Bolivian capital, indicate Bolivia is expecting \$200 million in immediate financial aid to meet payments on a foreign debt that exceeds \$3 billion.

Argentina was the first country to recognize the Bolivian military regime headed by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza. The United States and most Latin American countries that are not under military rule have not recognized it, and the suspension of military and economic aid by the United States, Venezuela, Spain, West Germany and other lenders makes the financial outlook for Bolivia bleak.

Argentina's support for the Bolivian military, which, American sources say, included shipments of food rations and ammunition before the coup, has added new frictions to this country's relations with the United States.

Bolivia lies on Argentina's northern border and the military regime here views it as part of its national security area. "We don't want a situation in South America that would amount to what Cuba is for Central America," General Videla said.

The United States Government made repeated diplomatic representations to Argentina for a hands-off policy, but the military here decided to back the Bolivian Army elements opposed to giving the presidency to Mr. Siles Zuazo, who had

the Communist Party among his backers. Mr. Siles Zuazo was President from 1956 to 1970; he was then considered a moderate.

The United States Government abruptly canceled a scheduled visit here by William G. Bowdler, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, the day after Argentina recognized the new Bolivian regime.

Occidental Petroleum Agrees to Develop Gas Field in Bolivia

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

LOS ANGELES—Occidental Petroleum Corp. said it signed an agreement with Bolivia's national oil company to develop the Porvenir gas and condensate field in southeastern Bolivia.

Occidental Boliviana Inc. will operate the field and, with Canadian Occidental Petroleum Ltd., will receive 50% of the gas and condensate sold, after payment of taxes. Occidental's share of the liquid production will be sold to the national oil company, Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales Bolivianos, at world market prices. Canadian Occidental has a 25% interest in the field.

Occidental said production initially will total as much as 6,000 barrels a day of oil-like condensate, which will be recovered from 100 million cubic feet of natural gas a day. The gas will be reinjected into the field and sold later, the company said.

Occidental said the agreement also provides for it to drill additional wells in the Tita gas and condensate field, where the company currently produces 50 million cubic feet of gas and over 2,000 barrels of oil a day.

Occidental, which discovered the Porvenir field in 1978, has said it may hold as much as 300 million to 500 million cubic feet of gas.

Bolivia to expel journalist

LA PAZ—BOLIVIA'S military government has confirmed the arrest of Mr. Albert Brun, Lima-based correspondent of Agence France Presse, and said he would be expelled from the country.

Sen. Daniel Salamanca, Under-Secretary of the Interior, made the announcement on state-owned television.

He charged that Mr. Brun,

who was arrested at a La Paz hotel on Monday, had transmitted "false" reports and would be expelled "ipso-facto." He did not elaborate.

The French embassy said the correspondent, a French national, was taken from the Sheraton Hotel by seven men in civilian clothes and brought to the Ministry of the Interior.

The embassy said the men took away a teleprinter that the news agency was using to transmit despatches from the hotel.

Mr. Brun arrived in La Paz last week, but had been sharply criticised by the

government for his report of the July 17 coup that toppled President Lidia Gueller.

The news agency began working from the hotel after its transmitting facilities were destroyed by the new right-wing military. At least 30 journalists have been arrested, although most have been freed shortly afterwards.

FT AUG 27 1980 814

Miss Mary Helen Spooner, 28, a Financial Times correspondent, spent six days in a cupboard at Sen. Luis Arce Gomez's interior ministry, after being accused of defaming Bolivia.

Mr. Brun is 60. He was born in Spanish Morocco. AP

BOLIVIA FREES, OUSTS FRENCH JOURNALIST

MH AUG 31 1980 815

From Herald Staff and Wire Reports

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Albert Brun, a French journalist arrested five days earlier and accused of defaming Bolivia's new right-wing military rulers, was handed over to the French ambassador Friday. The Interior Ministry said Brun, 60, a correspondent for Agence France-Presse, would leave the country immediately. The correspondent, arrested in his La Paz hotel, was one of more than 30 journalists arrested by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's military regime, which took power in a coup last month. Most were released within a few days.

Bolivia: military boot well in

ML AUG 31 1980 816

A MONTH after the coup d'etat organised by General Garcia Meza, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and admirer of Chile's General Augusto Pinochet, Bolivia is finally under military rule. The "uncommon putsch" of July 17 not only put a sudden stop to a slow return to democratic institutions (a process greatly encouraged by the United States), but has set up a new order based on violence and contempt for fundamental liberties.

Large-scale arrests, summary executions, strict state control of the press and the radio, a courageous Catholic church hostile to the regime subjected to vexations, concentration camps set up for political opponents and a military occupation of the mining districts of the Altiplano which are the strongholds of the Labour Confederation — Bolivia's army leaders, who have been implicitly accused by the US State Department of collusion with cocaine smugglers, have really opted to ape the regrettable methods of those who toppled Salvador Allende in Chile.

Gangs of civilians armed and controlled by the authors of the coup d'etat stormed the Labour Confederation premises and cold-bloodedly cut down Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, the head of the young Bolivian Socialist Party. Its

success in the June 29 presidential elections helped to exasperate the military, who refused to accept the probable election as president of Hernan Siles Zuazo, leader of the centre-left Democratic Popular Union (UDP) coalition which emerged as the winner on June 29, and whom the Congress was getting ready to appoint to the presidency on August 4.

All union activity was ordered stopped in La Paz on August 19. The powerful COB (Bolivian Labour Confederation) was disbanded and nine universities in the country closed until further notice. All the student organisations were also dismantled and the entire body of teachers in higher education establishments dismissed.

New labour legislation is expected to be brought in providing for union representatives to be replaced by "delegates" picked by the government. Minister of the Interior Luis Arce Gomez announced that the COB headquarters in La Paz would be demolished to make way for a parking lot.

After a week-long fact-finding visit to Bolivia, Johannes Galland and Joe Nordmann (representing the French General Confederation of Labour — CGT — and the International Association of Democratic Jurists) were able to

report that Simon Reyes (a Communist congressman and miners' leader) and Juan Lechin (head of the COB) had not been killed as was feared. But their testimony confirms the brutality of the repression.

The two French investigators also condemn the "very active role" played by Argentina in the Bolivian coup. A US State Department spokesman has formally accused the Buenos Aires government of "involvement" in the Bolivian putsch, and according to a COB official now in exile, it is Colonel Oswaldo Chimeno of Argentina who is running the civilian and military "groups" placed at General Garcia Meza's disposal by General Videla.

Now that the Bolivian junta has gone the way of Latin America's most authoritarian repressive regimes, the under-1 government formed by Siles Zuazo can no doubt expect the US state Department and the other member states of the Andean Pact, the Socialist International and Christian Democrat International, to show it some sympathy. But sympathy alone will not be enough to prevent the Bolivian military leaders from establishing their power for two score years as they plan

(August 21)

FT writer 'threatened with death' in Bolivia

By Our Foreign Staff

MARY HELEN SPOONER, the Financial Times correspondent held for six days by Bolivia's military Government, was on her way back to her home base in Santiago, Chile, last night after describing the conditions under which she was detained.

Miss Spooner, who left La Paz, the Bolivian capital, for Lima, Peru, on Wednesday accompanied by editorial executives of the Financial Times and the Economist newspaper of the UK, told Associated Press she had been held in a closet and "threatened with death and everything in between" by Col Luis Arce Gomez, the Bolivian Interior Minister.

Miss Spooner was arrested on August 6 at her hotel in La Paz in a crackdown on the foreign press by the Bolivian junta, which seized power in a coup on July 17.

Her release was negotiated by Mr J.D.F. Jones, managing editor of the Financial Times, and Mr Robert Harvey of The Economist.

Miss Spooner said two men from the Interior Ministry took her to the ministry building, where she was submitted to intensive interrogation in an attempt to find the sources of her reports to the Economist, which linked the Bolivian junta with the country's cocaine dealers.

She was first questioned by a man she identified as the Chief of Special Operations. "He delivered a very bitter diatribe about everything the United States had ever done in Bolivia," she said. He made "a lot of threats."

Miss Spooner said she was taken to another room to make a statement and was warned by a lesser official that she should be careful because "as a woman, there are certain things that can happen to you."

"I got called upstairs to the Interior Minister himself," she said. "He screamed and yelled. There were several officials and more threats. This went on for a few hours." Asked what kind of threats were made, she replied, death and you know, everything in between. "Asked if the death threat came from the Minister himself, she responded: Yes."

U.S. Journalist Freed By Bolivians Describes Threats of Mutilation

LIMA, Peru, Aug. 14 (UPI) — An American journalist held in a Bolivian ministry for seven days said today that she received threats of mutilation and death from her military captors but was not harmed physically.

Mary Helen Spooner, 25 years old, of St. Louis, was seized Aug. 6 at the La Paz Hotel in the Bolivian capital for writing articles, termed defamatory, that linked elements in the newly seated military Government with drug rings.

Miss Spooner, a freelance reporter for The Financial Times of London and the magazine The Economist, was released Tuesday after representatives of both publications who had flown from London read a prepared statement in which they "lamented" her activities.

The Bolivian armed forces, led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada, took power July 17 after ousting the interim President, Lydia Gueller Tejada, a cousin of the general's, in a violent coup. The stated objective was to prevent the newly elected President, Hernán Siles Zuazo, a leftist, from assuming office.

Reporters Being Harassed

Since then military and paramilitary organizations have been harassing both foreign and Bolivian reporters.

Miss Spooner, in an interview at her Lima hotel, where she spent the night en route to her home base in Santiago, Chile, said: "After being detained I was taken to the Interior Ministry, where I was interrogated for eight hours. They wanted to know who were my news sources, and I was warned that if I failed to give them what they wanted I would be killed or mutilated. One man asked if I had ever visited a plastic surgeon and I said no. He then said, 'Well, you are going to need one after we are through with you.'"

Miss Spooner said she gave in to their demands but did not give them "all my sources, especially those that were vulnerable."

FT writer freed by authorities in Bolivia

LA PAZ - The Bolivian authorities have released an American woman journalist arrested after a military coup last month and accused of defaming senior members of the Government.

Mary Helen Spooner, 29, a part-time correspondent for a number of publications in the U.S. and Britain, including the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*, was ordered to be expelled from the country after her release.

Sr Luis Arce Gómez, Interior Minister and Fernando Palacios, Information Minister, handed over Miss Spooner to two British press executives.

The ministers said she must leave the country immediately. She was arrested on August 6.

Miss Spooner came to Bolivia to cover the aftermath of the coup on July 17 and sent a story alleging that General Luis Garcia Meza, the coup leader, and other senior members of the armed forces were involved in drug trafficking.

The authorities said that Miss Spooner's story was a "flagrant violation of national and international laws."

Mr J.D.F. Jones, managing editor of the *Financial Times*, and Mr Robert Harvey, editorial executive of the *Economist*, arrived on Sunday to try to arrange Miss Spooner's release.

Mr Harvey read a statement that both he and Mr Jones had signed. It said they expressed "regret before the Government and people of Bolivia for the situation which has resulted from the activities of a correspondent of our organisations."

The statement continued: "The Bolivian Government has stated that it considers Miss Spooner's behaviour to have been improper and that it has reason to believe that she attempted to have published certain material which it considers a falsification of the truth."

"We wish to point out that the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* did not publish this material from Miss Spooner. The responsibility of our newspapers does not permit us to print this sort of news, a fact which is confirmed by the Bolivian Government."

"As senior executives of the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*, we have visited La Paz, where we have been given a detailed description and explanation by the Bolivian Government of the activities of Miss Spooner in recent weeks which it considers objectionable."

"As a result of these discussions, the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* have decided to withdraw Miss Spooner immediately from her functions in Bolivia. The Bolivian Government has agreed to free Miss Spooner from detention and she will leave the country within a few hours," the statement concluded.

Reuter

Journalist Freed by Bolivia Permitted to Leave for Peru

The following dispatch was filed by Rev Bonner who left Bolivia on Monday Bonner, a freelance journalist, has filed stories to *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek*, and *The Associated Press*.

LIMA, Peru, Aug. 12—Mary Helen Spooner, an American journalist held for six days in jail in Bolivia on charges of defaming the military government there, arrived here today after being released from detention and expelled.

Spooner, a freelance writer for the *Financial Times* and the *Economist*, both British publications, and the *National Catholic Reporter* of Kansas City, Mo., was released after editors for the two British papers, at the request of the Bolivian government, expressed regrets for her alleged violations of stringent new press regulations.

The expulsion of Spooner and my own escape from Bolivia after her arrest, along with other expulsions and jailings, have left few foreign correspondents in that country to report on the harsh government of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, who took power in a coup a month ago.

Garcia charged in a recent speech that "the press has been infiltrated by international extremist elements" and his government has stepped up its virulent campaign against foreign correspondents.

On the day of the coup, military officers ordered journalists, at gunpoint, to stop sending reports abroad. Two Brazilian reporters fled the country after being detained. A *Newsweek* photographer was beaten and held for three days and the *Associated Press* bureau chief in La Paz, a Bolivian, was expelled.

Other correspondents continue working—from places in hiding, using false names—as the regime continued to denounce their activities.

A week ago, I learned that Spooner had just been arrested in the same hotel that I was in. "They're downstairs looking for you," a friend warned me.

I was led out of the hotel, through alleys and to an embassy where I spent the night, with another journalist who had fled the hotel.

Mary Spooner

EDITORIAL

ON TUESDAY of this week the *Financial Times* signed a statement in La Paz which regretted the situation that had arisen out of the activities of our correspondent, Mary Helen Spooner. We appeared to cast doubt on the responsibility of her reporting.

We want to make it quite clear that this statement was

extracted under duress and that our sole purpose in making it was to secure the release of our correspondent from detention during which she had been threatened with death.

As we have told the Bolivian authorities, we stand by all the reports from La Paz printed in the *Financial Times* under Miss Spooner's byline as constituting fair and accurate reporting.

Bolivia to Put U.S. Reporter on Trial

WP

AUG 8 1980

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By Ron McCrea

Special to The Washington Post

Bolivia's military rulers announced yesterday that they would try an American journalist arrested Wednesday night for libeling and defaming the country's leaders, news agencies reported.

In the escalating campaign against foreign press operating in Bolivia, two other reporters were arrested and held briefly Wednesday night, and others were questioned or went into hiding.

Amnesty International announced last night it was appealing to the Bolivian leadership to release all political prisoners and publish a list of people killed or injured since the July 17 coup. The human rights organization, which estimated that 1,000 people had been arrested, sent a list of 55 known prisoners and asked for information on their health and whereabouts.

A State Department spokesman said Mary Helen Spooner, 28, a stringer for the London-based Financial Times, was being held at the Interior Ministry in La Paz and Bolivian authorities had refused a U.S. Embassy request for consular access to her.

Interior Minister Col. Luis Arze Gomez told Reuter news agency that Spooner had sent a story to London in "flagrant violation of national and international [press] laws."

Spooner's story alleged that President Luis Garcia Meza and other leaders were involved in drug trafficking and accused Arze Gomez of personal misconduct during clashes between Bolivian miners and the Army in 1967, Reuter reported.

"There are foreign news correspondents who are abusing the facilities they have in Bolivia," the colonel said. "They are transmitting tendentious news based on false information without any sources."

He said Spooner would be tried in a civilian court and that she was in good health. He also absolved two other journalists from responsibility for the article. Reuter staff correspondent Rene Villegas and his assistant Gerardo Irujo had been ordered arrested earlier when it was believed they had written the article.

Arze Gomez said the two could continue working but warned them and other journalists "not to commit this kind of offense."

Two other American correspondents were arrested with Spooner Wednesday night, Beryl Bernay of NBC Radio and Gary Tredway of the Voice of America. Their employers said they were held for three hours and released after questioning.

New York Times correspondent Warren Hoge was also questioned yesterday by police about the whereabouts of Ray Bonner, an independent correspondent who has filed reports for The Washington Post. Bonner is believed to be at liberty but could not be contacted.

In a broadcast transmitted by the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp., Tredway said he was arrested two hours after checking in at his hotel, and "apparently my only offense was being a journalist."

He said he returned to the Interior Ministry after being released to find out what the "lies" were that police had complained about. "They would not tell me what the lies were, and an official in the Inter-

rior Ministry refused to be interviewed by me when I asked him to explain what were the lies and what was the truth," Tredway said.

He also said that at least one Bolivian journalist who worked for American news agencies had taken refuge at the U.S. Embassy. Reuter said about 10 Bolivian journalists who worked for international news agencies before the coup have either been arrested, expelled, or gone into hiding.

Four foreign correspondents avoided coming back to their hotel Wednesday night after being advised that police were looking for them. Agence France-Presse reported they were Jorge Casal of London's Visnews, Ricardo Benozzo of the Italian news service ANSA, Peter Johanson of Swedish television and Jan Schmentz of Dutch radio.

Jurek Martin of the Financial Times Washington office said Spooner is a native of St. Louis, Mo., who has worked in Latin America for nearly three years. From 1976 to 1979 she was based in Caracas, Venezuela, and reported for Dow Jones, The Washington Star, Time Magazine, and ABC News. She went to Chile in January 1980 to research the foreign policy of the Chilean military rulers with a grant from the Inter-American Press Association. While in Chile she wrote for the New York-based Fairchild publications and for the London Economist, as well as for the Financial Times.

In another development, the Associated Press reported that two Maryknoll priests were arrested and jailed by the junta yesterday after they refused military requests to celebrate mass for the success of the new government. They are Rev. William Coy, 61, of Danvers, Minn., and Rev. John Moynihan, 45, of Brockton, Mass.

MH

AUG 10 1980

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Arrested Journalist 'Is In Good Shape'

LA PAZ, Bolivia — A U.S. Embassy officer was allowed on Friday to visit U.S. journalist Mary Helen Spooner, arrested by the new military government. She "is in good shape and has not been mistreated," an embassy spokesman said.

He said the embassy official met with Spooner for 45 minutes in the Interior Ministry. It was the first visit authorized by the government since Spooner, 28, was arrested Wednesday night at the Hotel La Paz.

The military junta led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza has accused Spooner of filing "false and distorted" news about the situation in Bolivia following the July 17 military coup and said she would be tried for violating the press law. The freelance journalist, from St. Louis, came to La Paz for The Financial Times, of London.

BOLIVIA REGIME SENDS REPORTER OUT OF COUNTRY

LA PAZ, Bolivia — (AP) — Harold Olmos, The Associated Press correspondent in La Paz, has been expelled by Bolivia's new military regime, which gave unspecified "political reasons" for its action.

Olmos, 35, a Bolivian citizen and veteran AP reporter, apparently had been sought by paramilitary agents since a July 17 coup toppled President Lidia Gueiler.

Armed men, who wore civilian clothes and drove unlicensed jeeps, repeatedly visited The Associated Press bureau in the Bolivian capital and asked for him.

Olmos surrendered his passport to Information Minister Fernando Palacios Thursday and applied for an exit visa.

The minister assured Olmos that the government had nothing against him, but the passport was returned on Friday with a warning that he must leave the country within 24 hours.

One page of the passport carried a large red stamp with the words: "Expelled for political reasons."

Olmos left La Paz Saturday on a flight to Lima, Peru.

A number of Bolivian journalists are among more than 1,000 persons believed arrested by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's government.

BOLIVIANS AGAIN MOVE TO HAMPER REPORTING

Harold Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The three-week-old military government suspended Telex and satellite communications abroad for a time Wednesday and ordered two Bolivian correspondents of the Reuters news agency arrested for allegedly sending false information.

In another development, the government expelled three U.S. Marine embassy guards from the country for screaming "insults" against Bolivia at a La Paz hotel. Diplomatic sources said four arrested American missionaries were released.

The military leaders have met continued resistance since their takeover July 27. The interior minister, Col. Luis Arce Gomez, said on television Tuesday night that some "bad Bolivians" were distorting the situation.

Arce said Wednesday he had ordered the arrest of the local Bolivian correspondents of the Reuters-Latin wire service, identified as Rene Villegas and Jaime Irujo.

"These gentlemen will have to pay for their guilt, because they are sending untrue Telex information and are also slandering high dignitaries of the state," he said.

Last Saturday, the government

expelled The Associated Press correspondent in La Paz, Harold Olmos, citing unspecified "political reasons."

A sign displayed in the Telex booth of the La Paz Hotel for a time Wednesday said that all Telex communications had been suspended on government orders. Leased satellite communication channels used by news services also were shut down.

Announcement of the Marines' expulsion came Tuesday in an Interior Ministry bulletin charging that the three — identified as Patrick Burns, Stephen McDaniels and Vincent Bell — were screaming "insults" at Bolivia Monday night in a hotel plaza here. The U.S. Embassy did not comment immediately.

Diplomatic sources said that David Ratterman, a priest from St. Louis, and Sister Mary Elko, a nun from Virginia, were released, along with two unidentified Roman Catholic missionaries. The two were picked up Thursday in a raid on a church in the northern mining town of Carabuco, 100 miles north of here.

Church opposition to the Garcia Meza takeover has prompted other reprisals from the government.

EDITORIAL

WP

AUG 9 1980

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A Correspondent in Danger

THE MILITARY GANG that took over the Bolivian government in a coup on July 17 and has since been ravaging the country's frail freedoms has now turned with a vengeance upon the foreign press. Passing beyond the crude intimidation that is the stuff of journalistic life in many Third World countries, the military rulers in La Paz have declared that they will try Mary Helen Spooner, an American correspondent who has been working for London's Financial Times. The story for which she was arrested alleged that the new president, among others, was involved in the drug trade, and it reviewed certain episodes in the past of the interior minister, the head of the police. She is accused of libeling and defaming the country's leaders—a charge leaning heavily on the pernicious sort of criticism of the foreign press that has seeped through the Third World in recent years.

We realize that many Bolivians have suffered greatly since the coup; there have been scores of kill-

ings, perhaps a thousand arrests and mass deprivation of rights. Nothing that has happened to the foreign press corps compares with those depredations, and, anyway, foreign correspondents take their chances when they go to places where the normal protections cannot be counted on. But none of this is justification for the harsh threat to Ms. Spooner.

It is common knowledge that the new Bolivian leadership includes some of the top dealers in the country's thriving cocaine trade. Informed Bolivians point out that one reason for the coup was the promise of the newly elected president to move against the drug trade. If the Financial Times correspondent was exposing further details of this traffic, then she was only amplifying a record that has already stigmatized the Bolivian military in the eyes of the whole hemisphere. The threat to bring her to trial will be taken as a desperation move and as a confirmation of the darkest allegations made about the makers of the coup.

Bolivia Is Prepared to 'Walk Alone' If Aid Is Denied, New Leader Says

By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 9 — Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada said today that Bolivia was prepared to "walk alone" if disapproving nations continued to withhold recognition and economic assistance from his regime.

In the first interview he has granted since seizing power July 17, the Bolivian President said that the "Bolivian reality" had been "altered, distorted and, as often is the case, misunderstood at an international level.

"The situation," he said, "is different from the one shown by certain segments of the media abroad, who are apparently interested in installing a new Cuba in the heartland of South America. However, this is merely what you in English call 'wishful thinking.' In 1967 we defeated Che Guevara, who wanted to do the same. The time will come when everybody will clearly realize that my country had no other option than the one we have taken."

A 1,500-member United States-trained force eliminated Mr. Guevara and a 30-man band 13 years ago in the last notable leftist agitation in Bolivia. Bolivian Communists are so ineffectual that they failed to field any candidate in the elections June 29 that General Garcia Meza's coup overrode, although 14 candidates were running. He has justified his takeover by saying that the armed forces had to save the country from Communism.

Opponents' Charges Denied

The general discussed his coup during a break in a daylong informal outing at the suburban La Paz home of Gen. Waldo Bernal Pereira, the air force commander who is the second ranking member of the three-man military junta. He was dressed in militarily tidy mufti — highly shined loafers, sharply creased century trousers and an open-necked shirt. An air force officer with dark glasses and a swirl of golden lanyards around his shoulder guarded the cut-glass french doors leading from a hallway.

The Garcia Meza regime has been accused of having denied the popular will as expressed in the June elections, having given Argentine agents a principal role in the coup and the subsequent harsh crackdown on opponents, and having acted in the interest of the highly lucrative cocaine trade. The general today denied all the charges.

"I reject emphatically any participation by a foreign nation in our change of government," he said. "It is amusing to hear all the fuss over foreign participation in the change of government while nobody said anything regarding the blatant meddling of several foreign nations

during the last three elections in my country." The reference was to financial help given Bolivian candidates by Social Democrats in West Germany, Spain and Venezuela.

"I would like to remind you," he continued, "that the drug problem in the world is masterminded and financed as a multi-billion-dollar operation in the Northern Hemisphere. We deny emphatically any involvement with this drug mafia."

The United States suspended all aid to Bolivia after the July coup, and a number of South American and European nations have allowed their assistance to lag in an act of protest.

The general was asked whether Hernán Siles Zuzo, the election winner, figured in his estimation that Bolivia would have become Communist had the democratic process been allowed to go forward.

"I will let you form your own opinion about whether or not Dr. Siles is a Communist," he said. "He talks like a Communist, he acts like a Communist, he declared himself to be a faithful leftist and stated his intention to govern as such. He ran for President with the full support of the Moscow Communist Party and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, which is known in Latin America as the most extremist party of all, and, like Nicaragua, was supported by the Carter Administration, so what do you think?"

The general said that Americans were misguided in thinking that democracy would work in Bolivia. "Bolivia is neither the United States nor the European Common Market. At the very announcement of presidential elections, everything comes to a standstill in Bolivia until election day, and remains that way even afterwards until the new administration becomes consolidated."

By most accounts, this June's election was the cleanest in Bolivia's history, but General Garcia Meza disputed that conclusion. "The electronic computers demonstrated massive fraud," he said.

He said his respect for nonintervention in the affairs of other countries prevented him from declaring his favorite in the American Presidential race, but he added that he thought President Carter and Ronald Reagan were "very different, as we see them, in their sincerity." Backers of the regime have been outspoken in hoping for Mr. Reagan's election.

Bolivia is expecting assistance from the authoritarian governments of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay and tacit support from its longtime territorial rival, Chile.

Bolivian Rivals, One in Hiding, Assert Right to Lead

NYT

AUG 7 1980

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By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 6 — Bolivians heard Independence Day addresses today from two men each claiming to be President of this landlocked nation of 5.5 million people.

Gen. Luis García Meza Tejada, who seized power July 17, spoke over national radio before a gathering of uniformed leaders seated in ornate high-backed chairs in a chandeliered ballroom in the Presidential Palace.

Hernán Siles Zuazo, the winner of elections held June 22, issued a statement from his hideaway somewhere within the country. At the time of the military coup, Mr. Siles was headed for almost certain congressional affirmation of his electoral victory and would have taken office today.

General García Meza attacked the Carter Administration for betraying the leadership of President John F. Kennedy and for "shaming its own noble people" by indulging in "negative propaganda that protects its true enemies." The United States has deplored the coup and suspended all aid to Bolivia.

The general denounced the other countries of the Andean Pact, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, which have also condemned the coup, for being "overprosecutorial" in their attitudes toward their neighbors. He lamented the poor image his National Government of Reconstruction had projected internationally and said it stemmed from distortions.

"Bolivia has encountered a public opinion premeditatedly against it and this cannot have come about through any other manner than the domination of the means of communication by the extreme left."

Mr. Siles declared that he was assuming the Presidency today "in clandestinity as the only and legitimate representative of the Bolivian people." Calling the García Meza regime "the Government of national destruction," Mr. Siles accused it of "cold and calculated repression" and said it would inevitably "crumble because it is illegitimate, antinational, antipopular and antidemocratic."

The Siles address did not reach the airwaves, which are under the military regime's control, but circulated instead in document form. The two counter-addresses marked the only activity of Bolivia's 155th anniversary celebration. The

García Meza Junta banned the customary parades.

The junta scored a significant victory last night in its campaign to gain a tight grip on the country. Col. Arturo Doría Medina, commander of the feared Tarapacá armored regiment quartered on the high plain above La Paz, abandoned his opposition to the military rulers and, in a televised get-together with General García Meza, pledged his "total and absolute respect" for the new Government.

Col. Luis Arce Gómez, the junta's security chief, said that political dissidents now under arrest would be formed into work gangs and sent to Bolivia's eastern jungles to build roads. Colonel Arce disputed reports that more than 1,000 people were being held as political prisoners, saying the correct number was 500.

Continuing its publicity campaign against the United States Embassy, the Government expelled three Marine guards, saying they had refused to pay their bill in a hotel bar and had called Bolivia "a North American colony." A diplomat said the incident appeared to have been a "setup" involving Bolivian intelligence agents.

The Government, which has imprisoned scores of reporters and exiled the Associated Press bureau chief, Harold Olinos, a Bolivian, today ordered the arrest of the Reuters bureau head, René Villegas.

FT

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Siles Zuazo declares alternative government 'in hiding' for Bolivia

BY MARY HELEN SPOONER IN LA PAZ

SR HERNAN Siles Zuazo, who would have assumed the presidency of Bolivia yesterday if the military had not seized power on July 17, has declared a constitutional government in hiding with his would-be vice-president, Sr Jaime Paz Zamora.

Photocopies of a statement bearing Sr Siles' signature have been circulated by hand in La Paz. The declaration noted that the presidency of Sr Lidia Gueller, the interim President deposed by the military, would have officially ended yesterday, Bolivia's Independence Day. For this reason the new government in hiding was making its announcement on this date.

Citing the norms of Bolivia's constitution, Sr Siles said his government considered itself the legitimate representative of the Bolivian people and would seek support from "all democratic forces" such as the country's congress and labour unions which were dismantled by the military regime of Gen Luis García Meza.

Sr Siles has apparently managed to meet secretly with the surviving representatives of the militant Bolivian workers central (COB) to coordinate plans for a government in hiding. The future success of this scheme will depend upon the clandestine government's ability to gain recognition abroad. Likely supporters include Nicaragua, where Sr Paz Zamora recently attended the anniversary of the overthrow of the Anastasio Somoza dictatorship, as representative of the would-be civil

ian government in Bolivia. Nicaragua has broken relations with the García Meza regime along with Ecuador, a member of the five-nation Andean Economic Group, which includes Bolivia.

Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela are considering sanctions against the García Meza regime and collective recognition of the Siles clandestine government seems a strong possibility in the future.

Meanwhile, Gen García Meza has moved to quash rumours of divisions within the army's various regiments by visiting the Tarapacá regiment, which was said to be forming a counter-coup against the three week old regime.

Bolivia Expels 3 Marines

LA PAZ, Bolivia—The government ordered three U.S. Marines out of the country, apparently because of an argument in a hotel bar.

The U.S. Embassy confirmed the expulsion order. Witnesses at the hotel said several Marines argued with unspecified other patrons at the bar Monday night. Heavily armed Bolivian soldiers rushed in and took the three Marines away, the witnesses said.

The newspaper *Ultima Hora* reported that the minister of interior had ordered the expulsion "because the Marines had insulted Bolivia."

From news services and staff reports

**Don't Go to Bolivia,
You Might Get Jailed,
U.S. Citizens Warned**

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — The State Department has issued an urgent warning to U.S. citizens to avoid travel in Bolivia, saying 18 Americans have been arrested and released by military authorities in the Latin American nation in the past month.

Spokesman David Passage said Thursday that the U.S. Embassy was denied access to the 18 Americans, whose period of detention ranged from a few hours to five days.

"We advise Americans against travel to Bolivia at this time," Passage said.

He also said that the department has recurring reports of mistreatment and torture of Bolivian citi-

zens by the military government of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, which ousted the nation's civilian government in July.

"These reports look to be in the pattern of human rights violations," he said. "We continue to deplore it."

He also said that reports of "Argentinian complicity" in the Bolivian military coup persist, adding, "These reports are of concern."

The United States has stopped its military assistance program to Bolivia, cut back on economic aid and stopped its drug enforcement program because "There is no reason to expect the cooperation of the Bolivian government," officials have said.

Pirate Kingdom

UNHAPPY BOLIVIA—poor and divided in the best of times, and now fallen into the hands of a junta with close ties to the international drug traffic. The Carter administration began cutting down its aid to Bolivia last month, a few days after the coup. Now the State Department is pulling out all of its narcotics control programs. "We have no basis to expect the kind of cooperation from the Bolivian authorities that makes it worthwhile to continue," a State Department official dryly observed.

Bolivia is becoming the nightmare state in which the underworld takes over the government. The process, incidentally, is not a gentle one. There are now perhaps 2,000 political prisoners, according to a leading clergyman, and the stories of sudden disappearances and torture are multiplying. That is why the new government has been harassing and threatening the few foreign news correspondents remaining in the country. It wishes to choke off all reporting of these practices.

Any country that organizes itself as a haven for criminal activity becomes a menace to all the others. If a clique of generals can seize a government, run up the skull and crossbones and turn their land into a pirate kingdom, they become an active danger to every other government struggling to enforce international

law and, in this case, stamp out the drug trade. Unfortunately, Bolivia fits into a larger pattern.

South America is now divided, politically, into two zones. In a crescent along the north and west lie the three democracies, Venezuela, Colombia and now Peru. Below that line, the continent is ruled by military governments that vary only in the degree of their authoritarian repression. The first foreign government to recognize the new Bolivian regime was Argentina's, which has been providing generous aid and technical assistance to Bolivia's secret police. Recognition came next from Brazil, which has been training Bolivian military officers. Then came Paraguay, a simple dictatorship in the style of the last generation.

Bolivia is conceivably the world's least stable state. It has been through some 200 coups in its century and a half of independence. To explain the latest of them does not require any theory of foreign subversion. But to the extent that Bolivia's neighbors—particularly Argentina—now support the junta in La Paz, they must accept some measure of responsibility for the evils that will flow from its involvement in the drug business. Even Argentina's military men might ask themselves whether it's not a high price to pay for the stifled silence that now passes for political order in most of South America.

Bolivians Kidnap Bishop.

MH

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Methodist Official Reports

SAO PAULO, Brazil — (UPI) — Bolivian paramilitary squads have kidnaped the executive secretary of the Methodist Church in Latin America, the head of the Brazilian Methodist Church said in Porto Alegre Wednesday.

Bishop Mortnir Arias was abducted Monday by plainclothes gunmen at the airport of Cochabamba, some 150 miles southeast of La Paz, Brazilian Methodist Bishop Sady Machedoda Silva said.

He said the reports reached Brazil via church sources in Geneva, Switzerland.

In Geneva, the World Council of Churches Wednesday urged Bolivian military authorities to release Bishop Arias.

"We request the immediate release of [the] Rev. Dr. Arias and ask all churches to join in prayer for him and the Bolivian people," WCC general secretary Philip Potter's message to the Bolivian authorities said.

Arias was in Brazil recently and returned to Bolivia Monday, flying directly to the airport of Cochabamba city where he lived with his family, da Silva said.

He said reports spoke of Arias' family receiving two visits from paramilitary squads while the bish-

op was in Brazil on church business.

"We are going to ask the Brazilian government to make inquiries," the Porto Alegre bishop said.

Da Silva said he had no information of any previous threats made against Arias, a Bolivian citizen, who was Methodist bishop for Bolivia before taking up the post of executive secretary of the Council of Evangelical and Methodist Churches in Latin America.

Gueiler Can't Leave, Regime Says

AP Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The military government has reversed itself and decided that interim President Lidia Gueiler, ousted in the July 17 coup, will not be permitted to leave Bolivia, the newspaper Ultima Hora says.

Gueiler gained refuge in the La Paz residence of the Vatican's ambassador to Bolivia shortly after the coup.

Ultima Hora Friday quoted the interior minister, Col. Luis Arce Gomez, as saying that Gueiler had violated the rules of political asylum by making false statements about the new government and that she would not be given safe conduct out of the country.

The junta had said previously that Gueiler, 51, was free to leave Bolivia at any time, but sources close to her family denied that and said she was made a virtual prisoner by the troops around the papal nuncio's home.

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Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's regime apparently is angry at statements attributed to Gueiler and passed to journalists in which she denied she resigned voluntarily.

Ultima Hora quoted Arce Gomez as saying, "This is false. She abandoned her post in the presence of Msgr. Alfio Rapisarda, the papal nuncio, former Foreign Minister Gaston Araoz Levy, aides, personnel from the presidential palace and members of the press."

Peru Wants Gueiler To Leave Bolivia

LIMA, Peru — The newly seated Peruvian Senate has instructed its president "to take whatever needed steps" to obtain safe passage out of Bolivia for ousted President Lidia Gueiler.

Gueiler, overthrown July 17 in a military coup that brought army Gen. Luis Garcia Meza to power, took refuge in the Vatican mission

in La Paz, waiting for a safe conduct pass out of the country.

"On a unanimous vote, the senate [late Thursday] agreed to instruct its president, Oscar Trelles, to take whatever needed steps so that former Bolivia President Lidia Gueiler may obtain the needed authorization to leave the country," said Sen. Javier Alva Orlandini.

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"We hope that Mrs. Gueiler will be able to abandon the nation in a few days."

The legislators' sentiment was shared by Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry, who said Friday that his government was "keenly interested in Mrs. Gueiler, for whom we have always professed a great admiration and respect."

Two American Priests Detained By Bolivia Military, Report Says

From Herald Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia — A spokesman for the Maryknoll religious order said that two American priests have been detained by authorities despite the military regime's promise to stop arresting priests and nuns.

Another American, journalist Mary Helen Spooner, of St. Louis, also was being held by police after her arrest Wednesday night along with two other reporters. The others later were released.

The Maryknoll spokesman identified the two arrested priests as the Rev. John Moynihan, 45, of Brockton, Mass., and the Rev. William Coy, 51, of Minneapolis. He said the priests, who both belong to the Maryknoll order, were arrested by troops two days ago in Kiberalta, a town in the northern lowlands of Bolivia.

"IT'S JUST a part of the general harassment against us," the spokes-

man said.

Since seizing power in a July 17 coup, Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's military regime has arrested 14 priests and nuns, raided churches and taken over church radio stations, destroying some of them.

However, earlier this week, the regime released 11 priests and nuns and promised church authorities there would be no more such arrests.

The Maryknoll spokesman said Coy was vicar for the northern Pando region of Bolivia and that Moynihan had been in the Pando since 1967, working with the leadership of the towns along the rivers of the region.

In London, Amnesty International

al said Friday that it has appealed to Garcia Meza to release all political prisoners and to publish a list of persons killed or injured since the coup.

The international human-rights organization estimated that about 1,000 persons had been arrested since the coup, and said the violence and brutality reported since the military takeover prompted fears for the safety of prisoners.

AMNESTY SAID the reports it had received "about summary executions, arbitrary arrests and torture have led us to believe that international standards to which Bolivia is committed are being violated."

WP

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Bolivia's Bishops Promise Help For Those Arrested

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 10 (UPI)—The military government vowed today to deal harshly with people spreading "subversive rumors," while Bolivia's Catholic bishops promised to aid anyone arrested by the regime.

In a statement, the bishops said some of 16 imprisoned priests and nuns were freed following negotiations with the military, but they said others were still unable to leave the refuge of the office of the papal nuncio.

American priests William Coy, 61, of Danvers, Minn., and John Moynihan, 45, of Brockton, Mass., arrested Tuesday, were freed unharmed, according to a spokesman for the Maryknoll Fathers.

Interior Minister Luis Arce promised the bishops that priests will not be arrested in the future and that troops have orders not to force their way into parish houses without the prior authorization of the church, the bishops' statement said.

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Bolivian Military Threatens to Imprison Outspoken Archbishop

LA PAZ, Bolivia (UPI)—Bolivia's military regime, moving toward a direct confrontation with the Roman Catholic Church, warned Saturday it may jail the archbishop of La Paz if he continues to speak out against summary executions.

Bolivia's strong man, Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, who seized power in a coup July 17, accused Archbishop Jorge Manrique of "collaborating with the extremists when he talks about executions."

Manrique, an outspoken critic of the regime, has accused the military of engaging in arbitrary arrests, torture and executions since it took power nearly a month ago.

By Manrique's estimate, 2,000 people, including priests and nuns, have been arrested since the coup that ousted the civilian government of interim President Linda Guerler Tejada. The military has acknowledged 500 arrests.

U.S. Priest, Nun Reported Held in Bolivia

From Times Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia—A Bolivian army regiment raided a northern mining town to indoctrinate villagers against communism and beat up two men guarding a church, taking an American nun and priest hostage, a diplomatic source said Friday.

"Prior to picking the two missionaries up, they tore the hell out of the church and beat two villagers who were guarding it," the source said of the raid on Matildi near Carabuco, 100 miles north of La Paz.

The soldiers picked up the American priest and nun along with a Bolivian nun Thursday evening,

sources said. They were part of a mission that includes two other nuns.

La Paz Archbishop Jorge Manrique said later he was informed that Msgr. David Ratterman of St. Louis and the American nun, Mary Elka of Virginia, were brought to La Paz on military orders, along with the Bolivian nun, Carmen Toledo.

"His mission is pastoral," the archbishop said of Ratterman, who he said has worked in Bolivia for 15 years. "It has nothing to do with politics."

Manrique charged that the new military regime, which seized power on July 17, is refusing to let a

church commission visit more than 2,000 political prisoners despite a previous agreement to that effect. Since Gen. Luis Garcia Meza ousted President Lidia Gueiler Tejada from power and then barred her elected civilian successor from taking office, the government has repeatedly attacked the Catholic Church.

In another development Friday, Garcia Meza decreed that all Bolivians are subject to compulsory "patriotic government service."

The announcement means that Bolivians can be called to work for the government for up to two years, doing whatever it sees fit. Refusal could mean spending the time in jail.

"No citizen whose services are needed under the present decree will be excused," the announcement said. It added that those called to serve will be chosen by the Ministry of the Interior, which handles police functions.

Church Demands Bolivia Free 11

LA PAZ, Bolivia -- (UPI) -- Bolivia's Catholic Church, alleging a campaign of repression by the new military regime, has demanded the immediate release of 11 imprisoned

priests and nuns, including two American missionaries.

Monsignor Jorge Manrique, the archbishop of La Paz, asked in a statement Sunday that the military account for all those missing after last month's coup as "the least sign" it is respecting human rights.

At least 2,000 people have been rounded up by the military since General Luis Garcia Meza wrested power from interim President Lidia Gueiler in a coup July 17, Manrique said.

"We wish to express our concern not only for our priests but also for the many other people who have been put in jail and are not even allowed to receive visits from their families," Manrique said.

"The authorities should allow what the immediate publication of a

list of prisoners, dead and injured people would greatly contribute, to a reduction of the tension that hundreds of Bolivian families are living," he said.

The nuns and priests held by the military include David Rattermann, of St. Louis, and Sister Mary Elka, of Virginia, who was working with Rattermann. Diplomats said the American missionaries were arrested during a raid on a church in the northern mining town of Carabuco, 100 miles north of La Paz.

"I am tired of hearing stories of people being tortured," Manrique said. "I have heard stories of people being hung mouth down over human excrement, of the son of a factory union leader who was detained so his father would turn himself in."

On Bolivian Atrocities

From Herald Wire Services

LONDON — Amnesty International says it has a witness's account of killings, abductions and rapes by Bolivian troops in the aftermath of the July 17 military coup.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winning human rights organization said the atrocities occurred Aug. 4 in the mining town of Caracoles, 166 miles southeast of the Bolivian capital, La Paz.

As many as 500 persons disappeared after the attack, Amnesty said, although it was not known how many died and how many were detained.

The report marked the first Amnesty attempt to document alleged atrocities during the post-coup security crackdown by the government of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza.

IN LA PAZ Thursday, the Council of Bolivian Bishops strongly protested an official campaign to discredit the Archbishop of La Paz.

Msgr. Jorge Manrique, an early and outspoken critic of the Garcia Meza government.

Msgr. Manrique has accused the armed forces of "executing" its opponents and denounced a series of human rights violations, including the "arbitrary arrests" of about 2,000 persons. The government says no more than 500 were detained.

"We protest and firmly reject the absurd campaign against such a dignified pastor, which has been carried out through insulting statements, contradicting the truth, and through unjust and threatening expressions," the bishops said.

They added that "very high officials of the government have made frequent and baseless attacks" against the archbishop.

Interior Minister Luis Arce has called Msgr. Manrique a "well-known agitator," threatening, "if we have not yet detained Manrique it is because of his age, but everything has limits."

IN LONDON, the Amnesty International report said the organization's efforts to get more information about the reported troop brutality in Caracoles were being hindered by a clampdown on communications and press reporting.

Amnesty said the Caracoles report, filed Thursday, was the most detailed of a number of reports of violence against unarmed civilians in Bolivia's tin and copper mining areas, where there were attempts to organize strikes and opposition to the coup.

The amnesty report said the Max Toledo regiment of the Bolivian army, based at Vitecha, used artillery, planes and tanks to bombard Caracoles.

Amnesty, quoting the unidentified witness, said miners attempted to resist by stoning the troops.

TROOPS PURSUED fleeing civilians, killing an unknown number, beheaded some corpses before loading them into three army trucks, and disposed of others by throwing them down wells, the report said.

They raped an unspecified number of women and girls and killed one miner by stuffing gunpowder into his mouth and blowing him to pieces, the Amnesty report said.

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Bolivia Denies Violating Rights

Bolivia's new military regime labeled Amnesty International's accusations that it violated human rights as "bold lies" and "Marxist propaganda." The accusations included summary executions, arbitrary arrests and torture. Meanwhile, the junta agreed to release an American journalist, Mary Helen Spooner of St. Louis, jailed for violating new press laws. Editors of two British newspapers for which she did free-lance work flew to La Paz to express regrets over the situation. They said her report was not published.

NYT

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18 Americans Have Been Held

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14 (Reuters) — Eighteen American citizens have been detained in Bolivia for periods ranging from a few hours to five days since the military coup last month, a State Department spokesman said today.

American officials were not notified of the detentions and, except in one case, consulate officials were refused permission to visit those held, the spokesman said. He added that as far as he knew no Americans were being detained in Bolivia now.

Bolivia Purging Schools, Unions

Calls Them Leftist Agitation Centers

LA PAZ, Bolivia—The military rulers Tuesday formally began a major purge of Bolivia's labor unions and universities, describing them as centers of leftist agitation.

In a series of decrees, the ruling junta:

- Declared all labor unions suspended, substituting government-approved worker representatives for union leaders.
- Ordered the country's nine universities closed indefinitely.
- Fired all academic administrators and faculty.
- Dissolved the students' organizations.

The decree suspending the unions

also dissolved the powerful Bolivian Workers Confederation, whose leader, Juan Lechin Oruendo, has been under arrest since the July 17 coup that toppled interim President Lidia Gueiler Tejada. Interior Minister Luis Arce Gomez said the confederation headquarters will be demolished for a private parking lot.

Union leaders will be replaced by coordinators chosen by the Labor Ministry from three-man lists to be submitted by workers on a company-by-company basis.

Persons who have previously served as representatives cannot be nominated.

Education Minister Ariel Coca said Tuesday night after swearing in two commissions charged with reorganizing the universities, that Bolivian education had been "submitted to an aggressive ideological machinery which turned it into a political training exclusively serving left-wing groups."

Coca said the reorganization was designed to replace the universities' current Marxist ideology with a "nationalist, Christian and

humanistic doctrine."

(Within a week of the coup, the United States had recalled its ambassador, cut off all military assistance and economic aid, withdrew most U.S. military personnel and sharply cut back its embassy staff.

Last week, the state department said it is terminating the American anti-narcotics program in Bolivia and strongly suggested that key elements of the junta were engaged in drug trafficking.

'Further Step Backward,' U.S. Says

School, Labor Curbs By Bolivia Assailed

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — The State Department charged Wednesday that the Bolivian military government's crackdown on labor unions and the closing of universities is a "further step backward" for that country.

Spokesman David Pastore told reporters that these actions, as well as recent threats against the Catholic Church, "have been the hallmark of the current Bolivian regime."

The spokesman issued the following statement when asked about the latest developments in Bolivia:

"We have seen the press reports about a purge of labor unions and the closing of universities and would simply say that the suppression of labor unions and the

closing of universities — if true — follows the pattern of oppression of opposition and repression of dissent that has been the hallmark of the current Bolivian regime.

"This is extended to the Catholic Church as well, where in recent days condemnations and threats by Bolivian government authorities have been made. We regret these as further backward steps and remain deeply concerned about the situation in Bolivia."

Education Minister Col Ariel Coca Tuesday denounced the purge of university leadership and suspended instruction until a reorganization is complete. He said "international terrorism" is trying to implant in Bolivia "a political education that would serve exclusively leftists."

U.S. Terminates Drug Enforcement Programs in Bolivia

By Jacqueline E. Sharkey
Special to The Washington Post

The State Department announced yesterday that it is terminating all anti-narcotics programs in Bolivia and is reducing the size of its embassy staff there even further.

In announcing the move, State Department spokesman David Passare would not confirm or deny allegations that members of the military junta that took control of the country last month are involved in the international narcotics trade.

"We have examined the allegations very carefully, and reached the conclusion that we have no basis to expect the kind of cooperation from the Bolivian authorities that makes it worthwhile to continue the [drug enforcement] program," he said.

Both the State Department and the Drug Enforcement Administration have programs to fight narcotics traffic in Bolivia.

Officials in State's Bureau for International Narcotics Matters said their program's budget this fiscal year was \$26 million, but that only \$250,000 had been spent because Congress had not appropriated foreign assistance funds this year.

Officials said that four Americans and two Bolivians were directly involved in the programs, and that the Americans would be returning to the United States "very soon."

Officials at the DEA — which is part of the Justice Department — said their programs involved about \$140,000, not including salaries and administrative expenses.

They said that five Americans were working in the programs, and that they would be leaving Bolivia "within a week."

State Department officials said additional U.S. Embassy personnel will be withdrawn during the next several weeks. The embassy staff was reduced from 120 persons to 80 shortly after the coup. Officials were unsure yesterday how many additional persons will be called back.

Meanwhile, Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) has asked the chairman of the foreign operations subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee to schedule hearings about the alleged ties between the military junta and international drug traffickers in Bolivia.

Reliable Senate sources said today that U.S. narcotics officials have information that Army Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, the head of the junta, allegedly has received "millions of dollars" from Jose Abraham Baptista, whom the sources alleged is "a major known drug trafficker based in South Cruz, Bolivia."

Sources said that two relatives of Baptista—who allegedly are also known cocaine dealers—reportedly have been given jobs in the Bolivian customs services.

The sources said that the junta's interior minister, Luis Arce Gomez—former head of the Bolivian military intelligence—allegedly has longstanding connections with major traffickers.

The sources added that the country's education minister, Col. Ariel Coca, was allegedly involved in a drug transaction that ended when 220 pounds of cocaine were seized in Panama in 1979.

Garcia Meza has denied that he or any of his officials are involved in the international narcotics trade. In an interview Tuesday with The New York Times, he said:

"I would like to remind you that the drug problem in the world is masterminded and financed as a multimillion dollar operation in the Northern Hemisphere. We deny emphatically any involvement with this drug mafia."

But sources in the Senate said there is "unimpeachable evidence" that a number of high-level Bolivian officials are involved.

The State Department would not confirm these reports. A spokesman said today that the administration had decided not to present the results of investigation into the involvement of the new military rulers in the drug traffic because of concern for the safety of American personnel still in Bolivia.

The State Department's programs had included assisting the Bolivian customs service in trying to reduce the smuggling of coca leaves—from which cocaine is made, according to officials in State's Bureau for International Narcotics Matters. Officials said the Bolivian customs office had received river patrol boats, communications equipment and vehicles from the United States as part of that effort.

Officials said the department had also assisted the Bolivian government in trying to establish a board to regulate the production and sale of coca to be used legally such as for medical purposes.

The board would have had a monopoly on the licensing and purchasing of cocaine production, State Department officials said. But they added that work on this project "had never really gotten off the ground."

Officials at the DEA said their programs involved exchanging information on international drug traffickers, and training and assisting local police with drug-related investigations.

Have Bolivian Leaders Sold Out to Drug Trade?

By JIM ANDERSON
United Press International

WASHINGTON — Government officials say they have evidence that drug traffickers may have bought themselves an entire country — Bolivia.

Carter Administration officials said that there are established financial links between the new military government in Bolivia and drug traffickers and that they fear Bolivia could become a sanctuary for growers and dealers.

Administration officials said the overthrow of Bolivia's democratically elected government in July was a sharp setback for plans to control and cut back the cultivation of coca, the base for the drug cocaine.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT also said Wednesday that it is cutting the size of the staff at the U.S. Embassy in Bolivia because "of the implicit threat posed to our personnel." The department also has halted all drug-enforcement operations because it feels the military junta would not cooperate.

Spokesman David Passage said the regular embassy staff is being reduced to 80 from about 100. The U.S. ambassador, Marvin Weisman, and 19 other embassy personnel were withdrawn in July in a show of U.S. displeasure over the July coup.

"There is an implicit threat to our personnel in the arrests of missionaries and newsmen," Passage said. He cited "several incidents," including one last week in which three U.S. Marines were beaten in a restaurant.

Passage said that incident "raised real questions about whether there was official complicity" in the violence against the Americans.

He said that all drug enforcement-related activities by the embassy have been halted "because we reached the conclusion that the many allegations of the involvement of the government in drug-related activities give no reason to believe that we will get the necessary cooperation from the Bolivian government."

SEN. DENNIS DeConcini (D, Ariz.) asked a Senate foreign relations subcommittee to open an investigation into the links between the Bolivian junta and the "Santa Cruz Mafia," the wealthy Bolivian growers who control the cultivation and sale of the coca plant.

"Coverage of events in Bolivia," DeConcini said, "is virtually unanimous in characterizing the present regime as little more than an appendage of the criminal organizations that dominate the flourishing international cocaine trade."

"For the first time," a State Department official said, "the drug trade may have bought itself a government."

Despite the fresh concern from Washington, it generally is known that growing coca, regardless of the government in power, is a long-established practice in Bolivia.

The arrival of strongman Gen. Luis Garcia Meza in power could affect the size of the coca traffic in Bolivia, but it marked no significant change in the country's already *laissez-faire* attitude toward cultivation and use of the plant.

GROWN FOR centuries in the semi-tropical valleys separating the high Andean altiplano from the flatlands of the Santa Cruz region, coca has served for more than 1,000 years as a stimulant for mountain Indians in Bolivia, Peru and parts of several other countries. The leaves, which are chewed, are sold openly in La Paz markets.

International preoccupation with the plant has strengthened sharply only in the last decade with the dramatic increase in its exportation as the raw material for cocaine.

The drug, manufactured from Bolivian and Peruvian plants refined in clandestine laboratories in Colombia and other countries, is worth an estimated \$50 billion a year in the United States.

In an interview published Tuesday in The New York Times, Garcia Meza denied that the new regime was involved in drugs: "I would like to remind you that the drug problem in the world is masterminded and financed as a multibillion-dollar operation in the Northern Hemisphere," he said. "We deny emphatically any involvement with this 'drug mafia.'"

Sensitivity to the accusations also resulted in the detention of American freelance writer Mary Helen Spooner, 26, after she filed stories suggesting the involvement of Garcia Meza and other military coup leaders in the cocaine trade.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT long had contemplated a double-edged plan involving substitution of other cash crops for the coca plant and active enforcement of a ban on the plant's growth. Those plans were scrapped when the Bolivian military junta overthrew the civilian government.

"The revolution was not ideological," administration officials said. "It was good, pure and simple."

The officials believe that the new military government — "which has established financial links, running into hundreds of thousands of dollars, with the Santa Cruz Mafia" — will further facilitate cultivation and sale of the raw material for the international traffic in cocaine.

"As long as this Bolivian government is in power, we can't get at the problem. As long as the traffickers are operating in Bolivia, and the military government is in power, they will have a reason to go what they want," administration officials said.

Congress can continue. It was a coup of the intellectuals. You are not in the United States, my friend, you are in Bolivia."

There are no intellectuals in the Garcia Meza Government. One diplomat described the new Cabinet as "a bunch of clowns" and said that even far down in the civil service ranks specialists were being replaced by relatives of the officers who have just come into power. The regime is notably short on people with economic experience at a time when Bolivia is, for all intents and purposes, bankrupt and all its legal industries are in decline.

The only business that is booming in Bolivia is the cocaine trade, and, though the nature of the transactions makes proof hard to come by, most people, including the construction executive, believe the drug traffic and the new riders are closely linked.

Past military coups in Bolivia have had more to do with the access to foreign automobiles, marked-down land and fine homes the officers obtain through holding power than with ideology, and the soaring cocaine profits make that objective all the more enticing now.

Foreign correspondents have pursued

this lead and have consequently been harassed. Mary Helen Spooner, a 25-year-old reporter from St. Louis who is based in Santiago, Chile, and working under an Inter-American Press Association scholarship, was arrested Wednesday for having filed an article containing the widely aired allegation that Colonel Arce, the security chief, was himself a cocaine trafficker. The colonel ordered her held for trial under Bolivian libel laws that call for three to 15 years in jail on conviction.

[Miss Spooner was released and flown to Lima, Peru, after the editors of the British publications for which she was working, *The Economist* and *The Financial Times*, flew here. They confirmed that the article had not been published and disavowed the charge.]

"I know we have given the international press a rough time," said the construction executive. "But you must understand, you are part of the internal political problem."

This correspondent was interrogated the night of Miss Spooner's arrest by a paramilitary man wearing the same army-issue thin nylon flight jacket President Garcia Meza favors. The questioner spoke fluent Portuguese, the language of neighboring Brazil, where Boliv-

ian officers have increasingly sought advanced training as United States military assistance programs have been cut back. The questioning stopped when the interrogator was advised that this correspondent had a interview with General Garcia Meza scheduled the next day.

The regime has created a lot of enemies among working people by closing down unions and dismissing from their jobs people who supported Mr. Siles.

"These people are defiant," said a priest in a poor neighborhood. "But they have no weapons, and there's nothing they can do right now."

The regime has made the church a particular target. As in most Latin American countries today, the Bolivian church has identified with the problems of the poor.

The armed forces have arrested a number of priests and in La Paz alone have invaded five parish houses and two convents. In the Don Bosco parish, the soldiers stole all the appliances, furniture and clothing.

Opponents of the Garcia Meza junta see as their only hope the possibility that another, more moderate military group will throw him out.

Carter's Policy Gets Blame As Aid to Bolivia Anarchy

From Herald Wire Service

LA PAZ, Bolivia — A high-level military officer said that President Carter's policy toward Bolivia helped to create disorder in the coup-prone Andean nation.

Col. Oscar Angulo Torne, commander of the "Colorados" army division, blamed U.S. policy and the activities of Bolivia's two main political parties for the "chaos and anarchy" he said existed during the rule of deposed President Lidia Gueiler.

Bolivian military officers led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza overthrew Gueiler's government July 17 when it appeared that a moderately leftist candidate would win the upcoming presidential vote in the Congress.

The United States strongly supported the elections. After the coup,

it cut off all military aid, recalled the American ambassador and said suspension of economic assistance was being considered.

Angulo Torne spoke at a military ceremony in La Paz, which was attended by Garcia Meza, now the head of the military government.

Angulo Torne said that the Popular Democratic Unity Party and the

National Revolutionary Movement Party, the two most important political groups in Bolivia, tried to turn the nation "into a new Cuba."

After Angulo Torne's speech, Garcia Meza said that "none can impose on Bolivia a form of government," an apparent reference to statements made abroad condemning the coup.

Bolivia's new foreign minister, Javier Cerruto Calderon, said in Montevideo, Uruguay, that the Bolivian regime would welcome aid from the Soviet Union.

"We are interested in aid, whatever it comes from," Cerruto said. "Undoubtedly, if the Soviet Union offers us some aid, it will be well received."

Bolivia General Unleashes Terror In Consolidating the Army's Rule

By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 9 — Since the military under Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada seized power in Bolivia on July 17, hundreds of Bolivians have been arrested and tortured.

Hundreds more have become fugitives, including businessmen who held meetings with politicians and youngsters who fashioned street barricades out of paving stones in the days after the coup. They move from secret dwelling to secret dwelling each night trying to elude government agents.

Participants or witnesses have told of incidents that illustrate life in the country since the generals prevented the winner of the June 28 elections, Hernán Siles Zuazo, from assuming office.

In one episode, three young priests were blindfolded and seated side by side in the headquarters of the Tarapachá armored regiment on a windy ridge overlooking this capital. Officers thrust the barrels of their pistols into the priests' mouths. Nearby, another officer fired into the air and a soldier threw himself headfirst to the floor, remaining in simulated pain.

Ordeal at Army Headquarters

This gruesome game completed, the three shaken clerics were taken to military headquarters in downtown La Paz where they were made to lie face down for three days in manure-filled stables.

A shoemaker from the hillside slum of El Alto Norte was picked up, for no stated reason, by the army one recent Sunday and taken to the city's new soccer stadium. There he was beaten with rifle stocks and forced into a dressing room so packed with other prisoners that the men had to sleep standing up and relieve themselves in place.

After two days, soldiers planned left-wing party legends on the chests of 13 of them, took them in a truck to a nearby cliff and lined them up. The shoemaker, tumbling into a crevice below the precipice in the midst of the ensuing murderous fury, was the only one to live to tell what had happened. The Government reported that 14 men had died trying to storm a barricade.

In the town of Huancuni, in western Bolivia, a young soldier trained his rifle on

the stack of a miner involved in the strike protesting the military coup. When he hesitated in firing, his commanding officer ordered him to get on with it. The youth explained that it was his own house. His parents and several brothers watched in horror from the window as the officer shot the young man in the head.

A 16-year-old boy was trampled into a room at the Miraflores army headquarters in La Paz and ordered to lower his trousers. An officer holding a kitchen knife approached. Either the youth would go on television and testify that he was making bombs for the leftist political party that had won the just-completed elections or the officer would butcher his genitals, he was told. That night he became one of three similarly tormented people to make his "confession" before the cameras.

Coups, some 120 of them, have come and gone with such frequency in this nation of 5.5 million people that commentators have often described its political life in comic opera terms. In one three-day period 10 years ago, the country had three separate presidents.

General Garcia Meza, on the other hand, has been deadly serious since taking power. In his zeal to root out what he says are "Communist extremists" in Bolivia, he has created a harsh society devoid of personal liberties. All television broadcasts now emanate from the Miraflores headquarters, and the La Paz daily El Diario heralds the junta's cause enthusiastically.

On the same day this week that the newspaper was headlining General Garcia Meza's pledge to respect human rights, military guards delivered so many kicks to the kidneys and spleen of the Rev. Julio Tunstir Javier, head of the Bolivian Permanent Assembly on Human Rights, that, according to fellow prisoners later sent to the Papal Nuncio's house for deportation from the country, he is not able to urinate.

Foreign correspondents have been

threatened repeatedly with death, followed by paramilitary thugs, and, in one case, arrested and held for trial.

The most feared vehicles of destruction are no longer the tanks that have traditionally been rolled into the presidential palace square to oust an occupant in whom the military has lost confidence but commandeered ambulances and Toyota jeeps with their license plates removed and inspectors of General Garcia Meza's anonymous "paramilitaries" inside. People joke grimly in La Paz these days, "If I'm hurt, please don't call an ambulance." People feared to take a ride in them are often never seen again. They "disappear" in the manner that Argentines, Brazilians, Chileans, Paraguayans and Uruguayans have become accustomed to under the military dictatorships after which Bolivia today is modeling itself.

As in these countries, life appears to go on untroubled. The street markets proliferate with activity and tourists intent on outings in the spectacular mountain settings greet each other heartily each morning in hotel coffee rooms dressed in knee-high cable-knit socks, hiking boots and bulky alpine sweaters.

But away from the city center, Bolivians are being picked off street corners, removed from their cars, or intercepted on their way to work and spirited away to jails and detention camps.

Repression Is Called Essential

The country's security chief, Interior Minister Luis Arce Gómez, has admitted to holding only 500 political prisoners, but the Archbishop of La Paz, Jorge Manrique, said the correct number is 2,000.

There can be no mistaking that the Garcia Meza regime has chosen intimidation of its opponents as a deliberate policy. A construction company executive who is expected to head a key agency in the new Government explained:

"We must have repression until we have complete control of the situation. But I ask you, if you were the military in situation, what would you do? You should put on a uniform for a second and think about it. Of course the policy creates resentments. People don't like the 9 o'clock curfew or the constant demand for identity cards. But we must create discipline. There is no alternative."

He recalled the November seizure of power by Col. Alberto Natusch Busch that failed after 16 days in the face of organized popular opposition. "The problem with Natusch was that he came in and said the labor federation can stay open, human rights will be honored and

Bolivian General With Iron Fist

Luis Garcia Meza Tejada

By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 12 — Luis Garcia Meza Tejada began talking of his plan to be President of Bolivia nearly 40 years ago, and sentimentality has not stood in his way.

When the general grabbed power July 17, the person he threw out of the presidency was his cousin, Lydia Gueller Tejada, and the most prominent person killed by his troops

was an old colleague on Bolivian equestrian teams, Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, the Socialist candidate in the elections of June 29.

"We're used to coups here, but this is different," said a woman who has seen more than a score of Bolivian governments overthrown. "Everyone's afraid."

Helped by Argentine intelligence agents with experience in intimidating dissidents physically, General Garcia Meza has installed a regime that is exacting blood debts from its opponents.

Chilean Is His Model

He has compared himself to Augusto Pinochet, the military dictator of Chile, an unusual model for Bolivians, who for years have carried on a bitter territorial dispute with their southern neighbor. "Yes," said a local publisher, "the Bolivian people hate Pinochet, but what's important to Garcia Meza is that they fear him too."

In November, the general was chosen army commander by a feckless colonel named Alberto Natusch Busch, who tried to seize the Government at that time but had to abandon the effort after 16 days of organized protest by peasant and labor groups.

In the aftermath, Lydia Gueller was selected by Congress to become President until the June elections. One of her first moves was to name her own military commanders. General Garcia Meza responded by barricading himself inside the army headquarters in La Paz and convening military officials from around the country in a show of support. Seated at the middle of a large conference table in an amphitheater filled with uniformed officials, he demanded and received expressions of

confidence in his leadership from all the major unit commanders in the room. Miss Gueller had to back down.

"It was a real macho thing to do, standing up to the President that way," said a witness to the encounter. "At the time he did that, the military were so out of favor that many of them went around in civvies. He gave them back their morale."

Envoy's Ouster Demanded

By May, General Garcia Meza was actively plotting a government takeover to head off the scheduled elections. American Embassy officials warned him that the United States would suspend all aid, as it had during the November episode. The general's response was characteristically pugnacious. He demanded the ouster of the United States Ambassador, Marvin Weissman, as persona non grata, and dispatched paramilitary mobs into the streets of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia's second largest city, to sack the American consulate and firebomb the Bolivian-American Center. The next day he declared that this urban unrest showed that the country was not prepared for democracy.

Since being in office, General Garcia Meza and his director of security, Col. Luis Arce Gomez, have shown no quarter with those who do not give them total support. Colonel Arce has rounded up hundreds of political opponents and announced that more remain to be jailed. General Garcia Meza has pledged a "war" on domestic "extremists".

Known by the nickname of "Lucho," commonly given to Bolivians named Luis, he was born Aug. 8 in La Paz to an army family. The year is in dispute. On the celebration of his birthday four days ago the presidential palace put out word that he was 55. In an interview, however, the general said he was 49, then, in answer to a question, said he was born in 1932, which would make him 48.

His father was an army colonel, and young Lucho was educated at the fashionable La Salle School and the Colegio



His regime is exacting blood debts from its opponents.

Militar in the capital. A friend who knew him at the time recalled that at age 14 he was talking of someday becoming President of Bolivia.

He was suspended from the army in the early 1950's for having been too cruel in the hazing of cadets. The suspension turned out to be fortunate, however, because it meant that he was not an active member of the service when the military establishment was disbanded after the 1952 revolution and replaced with militia forces.

The general is an avid horseman, and has passed along his passion for the sport to his wife, Olima, who is known in La Paz for her eye for high fashion. The couple have one daughter and four sons, none of whom have followed their father into military service.

The general's personal life is olive drab. "He is a very ascetic man," said Fernando Bedoya, Bolivian, head of the Banco de Bolivia and a longtime friend. "He likes to ride horseback, he doesn't smoke and he doesn't like to drink. He's a man of the high plains; here we are very serious, very solemn."

"He's very disturbed about the Sandinistas and Fidel Castro, and he believes he is fighting for Bolivia. The army is fun for him. He doesn't think he is primarily the President of Bolivia. He feels he represents the army, and the army is fighting to the death against Communism."

Bolivia Turns Its Back on The Andes and Looks South

By WARREN HOGE

BOLIVIA is the poorest nation in South America, and its public life is in a state of permanent instability. Its two principal legal industries, mining and petroleum, are both in irreversible decline. A Spanish diplomat named Carlos Badia Malagrida once went so far as to devote a 500-page book to the thesis that the country had no right to exist at all. Yet people keep fighting over it.

Its neighbors have coveted its property so much that its original northeastern territory is now part of Brazil, its southern plains now belong to Paraguay, and its coastline has been Chilean for 100 years. Political opportunists, most of them in uniform, have vied for the leadership of what remains with such frequency that the government has changed hands nearly 200 times in 155 years.

In his 1910 book "The Geographic Factor in South American Politics," Mr. Badia Malagrida argued that Bolivia's creation compromised the geographical integrity of three major continental areas, the Amazon, the Andes and the River Plate basin. "In terms of a state and its relation to its own territory, Bolivia simply is not geographically or historically a nation," he concluded. Seventy years later, those same factors continue to bedevil attempts to forge a country with clear definition, responsible leadership and a coherent relationship with the rest of the continent.

A Coup Between Cousins

The most recent political convulsion has set the ship of state lurching in a new direction. Before Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada figuratively threw his cousin, President Lydia Gueiler Tejada, off the bridge on July 17, Bolivia was following in the wake of the other Andean Pact nations, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru. That lane led to democracy. Now the prow has been pointed determinedly toward the military dictatorships of the so-called "Southern Cone."

For three years, Bolivia has tried to bring democracy back to a country controlled for most of the past 16 years by military regimes. The first two Bolivian elections were inconclusive and fraud-ridden, but on June 29 the balloting gave a 39 percent plurality to Hernán Siles Zúñiga, a left-of-center former President. In subsequent weeks, Mr. Siles appeared to have put together a coalition necessary to meet himself the required Congressional approval.

Aware of the precariousness of his position in view of continued armed forces suspicion, Mr. Siles privately told the military high command, including General Garcia Meza, then the army commander, that he would not replace them, a striking concession given Mr. Siles's constituency. The deal was struck, and, according to former President Gueiler, Mr. Siles sincerely believed in it.

Mr. Siles is now pondering his misplaced faith in hiding, as the self-proclaimed President of a "clandestine" government. General Garcia Meza is presiding over a regime that has turned its back on Andean ideals of democracy and has fully embraced the rule that characterizes the governments of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay.

General Garcia Meza is expected to formalize that switch soon by taking Bolivia out of the Andean Pact, but in other ways the change has already occurred. The general has chastised the Andean nations and the Carter Administration for championing democracy in the region. He has praised the Southern Cone nations, which, along with the modified military administration of Brazil, promptly recognized his junta. Argentina was actively involved in the Bolivian coup, masterminding the takeover strategy and supplying the coup leaders, by diplomatic estimates, with some 200 military and intelligence people.

It was always the view of the Southern Cone's military dictators that the populations of this part of the continent lacked the sophistication required for democracy and that the United States was forcing a system of government upon people ill-prepared to practice it. Those attitudes have gained wide credence within the Bolivian military, which, due to reductions in United States military assistance programs, has turned increasingly to Brazil and Argentina for officer training. "They don't hear much over there about human rights," commented one military observer.

General Garcia Meza has emphatically endorsed the philosophy of "national security" on which the Southern Cone nations base their authoritarian rule, and in his public comments he has modeled himself on Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, the Chilean strongman. The Bolivian general has declared war on internal subversion, warning that bands of "extremists" are loose in the land. In fact, Bolivia is one of the few Latin American nations with no recent history of leftist terrorism.

Fernando Bedoya Ballivián, head of the Banco Nacional de Bolivia and a key backer of the Garcia Meza regime, made it clear who the country's allies are now as he discussed Washington's suspension of all but humanitarian aid. "We hope that your Government will understand that the blockade of this Government is going to be very bad for your Government," he said. "Everyone's going to be with us, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile."

Bolivian tin miners write a bitter chapter in their history

HIGH IN the mountains of Bolivia's altiplano, a bitter and violent struggle is claiming hundreds of victims. Bolivia's 70,000 tin miners have almost always resisted military dictatorships, and the July 17 removal of the civilian Government has sparked a conflict which goes to the root of Bolivia's economic foundations.

Tin brings in over 60 per cent of Bolivia's export earnings, and its production is the country's main claim to a voice in international affairs. Control of the tin mines virtually means control of Bolivia.

At the time of writing, troops have occupied the largest mines, south of La Paz. The state mining corporation, Comibol, has announced that work in most mines has resumed, with miners signing agreements to return to their jobs. However, many reports say the miners are being forced to work at gunpoint, and that threats are being made, and reprisals taken, against their families.

In Viloco, a small mining community 80 kilometres south-east of La Paz, miners began mobilising within minutes of hearing morning radio reports of the Bolivian Army's Sixth Division revolt on July 17. Strike committees were organised, meetings were held among the miners, their families and local peasant farmers, and road-blocks were erected on the way to the mines. The miners brought out primitive hunting rifles, sticks of dynamite and 50 or so vintage German Mauser rifles which the community acquired a few decades ago. With these weapons, the people of Viloco prepared to defend themselves against tanks, cannons and machine guns.

Radio Viloco, the miners' radio, contacted other miners' radios in half a dozen communities to co-ordinate the resistance. A few days later the chain of clandestine radios was broken as troops occupied most mines. The Viloco miners hid their transmitter in a mine shaft and waited.

Most workers at Viloco and

other tin-producing areas have performed similar exercises four or five times during their lives, as successive military rulers have seized control of Bolivia. Bolivian tin miners may be the most militant labour group in Latin America and are keenly aware both of their importance in the world's third-largest tin-producing country and of the miserable living and working conditions they have to endure.

Mining unions began to form in Bolivia after 1916, many, if not most, influenced by Marxist and anarchist labour trends. The most important early union, the Uncia central labour Federation, was organised by workers in the large mines in the southern Oruro and Potosi region. Its leaders attempted to organise all workers both inside and outside the mines owned by Sr. Simon Patiño, the Bolivian tin baron. When company officials asked that union organising be confined to the local area, labour leaders ignored them, proposing to establish ties with all the country's unions.

This dispute eventually led to one of the first of many massacres in the tin mines. The federation's leaders were arrested and four army regiments sent to Uncia. When workers and their families gathered to protest against the arrests, the soldiers were ordered to open fire.

Bolivia's 1952 revolution, which sought to bring about massive social reform, also brought more power to the miners. The largest mines were nationalised, and miners were given a voice in the administration. Sr. Juan Lechin, their charismatic leader, was named Minister of Labour. The revolutionary Government did not last, but the miners'

increased awareness of their power did. Subsequent conflicts with the Government, and army massacres at the mines, only enhanced this tradition of political militancy.

But poverty and the miners' brutal working conditions offer a far stronger motive for militancy than political indoctrination. Most miners at Viloco earn from \$1 to \$1.30 a day, and this does not include the so-called "marginal workers," who earn even less extracting ore from "tailings," the refuse from the mines.

An estimated 20,000 men, women and children scratch out a living by working small deposits too poor to attract Comibol's interest and selling what ore they find to the state mining company. These mines in many cases are little more than holes in the ground worked by one or two men. Working conditions are so difficult, and the financial returns so small, that neither would be accepted were it not for desperate need.

Life expectancy in Bolivia as a whole is 46. For the tin-miners it is around 25. Silicosis is common, and many retired miners spend their final days coughing up pieces of their lungs.

Many communities surrounding the mines are company towns, subsisting on supplies brought from outside. Although Comibol miners and their families enjoy the use of company stores, management failure to stock these stores with enough food and medicine can easily spark strikes and protests.

For all these reasons, unrest at the mines is never far away, even under the most progressive Bolivian Government. But miners have a special reason for opposing the military regime headed by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza. Sr. Juan Lechin, the veteran miners' leader, was arrested during the military takeover. After being forced to make a televised statement telling Bolivians not to resist the new regime, Sr. Lechin was reportedly kicked to death by his captors. This tragedy, and the violence now at the mines, are adding another bitter chapter to the tin miners' history.

Bolivia Regime Looks to Its Friends to Help Foil U.S.

By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 5—The military Government of Bolivia is struggling to circumvent an American-led ban on economic aid by making financial deals with neighboring military dictatorships and a few other countries that have formally recognized it.

Bolivia is dependent on outside assistance and investment, and its economy was already in crisis before the United States, Venezuela and several European countries suspended their aid programs in protest over the seizure of power by Gen. Luis Garcia Mesa Telada. The coup July 17 prevented Hernán Siles Suazo, the leftist winner of elections June 29, from assuming office as scheduled tomorrow on Bolivia's Independence Day.

The military junta that General Garcia Mesa heads has banned the customary Independence Day celebrations as it continues its campaign to silence opponents of the coup, by most counts the 182nd in Bolivia's 165-year-old history.

The American move, one of several instances in which the Carter Administration has attempted to obtain political objectives through economic sanctions, has had a noticeable effect on Bolivia, South America's poorest nation.

Ways to Survive Noted

"We are very preoccupied with it," said Fernando Kruent Bunker, a La Paz importer and supporter of the Garcia Mesa Government. "If it continues, we will die, and who will be responsible?"

"Mr. Peanut," he said, in a slighting reference to President Carter.

Fernando Bedoya Bolivian, head of the Banco Nacional de Bolivia and a principal backer and longtime friend of General Garcia Mesa, agreed that the suspension of aid was making life "very difficult" for Bolivia and might "kill" the country within six months. But he argued that the nation had ways to survive.

"We hope that your Government will understand that the blockade of this Government is going to be very bad for your Government as well as ours," he said. "Everyone's going to be with us, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile, and they will help us."

Echoing the junta's assertion that it was obliged to seize the Government to check a threat from "extremists," Mr. Bedoya said: "Mr. Carter is wrong. I don't understand why the American Government is doing this. We are fighting against Communism just as you are. Do you want to have a Communist Government here? This is the heart of South

America and it can mean Communism for the whole continent."

The only nations to have granted formal recognition to the Garcia Mesa regime are Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Israel, Nationalist China, Paraguay, Uruguay and South Africa. Chile, while looking favorably on the new rulers, cannot say so publicly because of a longtime diplomatic rupture stemming from territorial disputes.

Argentine Role Reported

Argentina reportedly played a major role in the coup and has promised substantial aid to keep the new group in power. Brazil has revived dormant agreements on trade and construction and Israel and South Africa have offered military and economic assistance, according to Mr. Bedoya.

The Soviet Union, increasingly active in South America, has also offered help, the banker said. "General Garcia Mesa told us not to accept it but also not to refuse it because if the Carter Administration doesn't change its position, we will talk to everybody."

Mr. Bedoya repeatedly referred to the coming American elections, saying that the junta felt sure that the Republicans would win and that Ronald Reagan would restore aid.

The junta, apparently trying to demonstrate that it is as tough in foreign relations as it is at home, has mounted a noisy campaign against the American Embassy over a incident in which officials permitted an American reporter to file his dispatch over a diplomatic telex on a day when soldiers had imprisoned a number of journalists and cut communications lines. The first incident the generals have assigned their Foreign Minister, Brig. Gen. Javier Cerro Caldeza de la Barea, is a trip this weekend to Uruguay.

Opponents of the coup, some in the business community, have been urging United States officials to hold fast to the suspension of aid in the hope that the resulting economic difficulties will bring General Garcia Mesa's Government down.

The American action was announced personally in Washington by Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie. Administration backing had played a key role in the return of democracy to the neighboring Andean nations of Ecuador and Peru, and Washington had reportedly warned the Bolivian armed forces against interrupting the scheduled restoration of civilian rule here.

As part of the American response, Am-

bassador Martin Weissman returned from La Paz to Washington and is now active in coordinating State Department policy toward the junta. Were the American sanctions to remain in effect, officials estimated, Bolivia would lose some \$200 million in aid over the next three years.

Venezuela followed the American moves with an announcement that it was withholding a promised \$40 million. West Germany recalled its Ambassador and began to reduce its aid, though not at a pace rapid enough to satisfy Social Democratic critics in Bonn. Belgium, which supplied the rifles with which fatigued troops are currently patrolling the streets of this mountain capital, halted its three-year \$35 million military assistance program.

Projects operated by Canada, France, Britain and Japan have been lagging because of the absence of formal relations between those countries and the junta.

Projects Called 'Very Important'

"American aid has always been at low interest and long range, specific projects that were very important to the whole structure of our economy," said Eduardo Arze Cuadros, a Bolivian economist. "These projects are politically important projects."

Mr. Arze pointed out that Bolivia's two main legal industries, mining and petroleum, had both been operating for years at large deficits and concluded, "Argentina is simply in no condition to cope with this."

As for the junta's assertion that it can turn its back on the Andean Pact and make substitute arrangements on its own with its neighbors, Mr. Arze noted that a 1974 contract with Brazil calling for the building of a steel plant and the construction of two major rail lines was still unfulfilled.

Bolivia is estimated to be generating some \$500 million from sales of coarse sulphate, but much of this money leaves the country. At least, said a businessman about to assume a position in the Garcia Mesa administration, it provides a "cushion" to keep the currency afloat.

There is a noticeable absence of economic experts among the people General Garcia Mesa has brought into a Government facing a financial crisis. "I knew at least four real right-wing economists who were asked to join and refused," a forcefully leftist said. In response, the junta has issued a decree telling anyone who is requested to perform "patriotic service" for the Government to do so.

150 in Bolivia Find Refuge at 2 Missions

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From Herald Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia — At least 150 persons, including leading Bolivian politicians and their families, have taken refuge in the Venezuelan and Mexican embassies to escape reprisals from the military regime, diplomatic sources said.

The regime of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, which wrested power in a coup July 17, has jailed about 2,000 persons since the takeover.

"The problem of these people may become serious because they will be stuck in asylum until the respective governments establish diplomatic relations," a source said. "Only then will they be able to leave the country."

The Venezuelan Embassy, home to about 100 refugees, is the only nation of the Andean Pact, of which Bolivia is a member, that has allowed more than one person inside

its compound.

"The Venezuelan Embassy is believed to have made a protest to Colombia, Peru and Ecuador, accusing them of a lack of solidarity," the source said.

Among those in the Venezuelan mission are former Bolivian President Walter Guevara Arze, who served from August to November last year, and Jose Zegarra, former president of the House of Representatives of the Bolivian Congress.

The Mexican Embassy is housing about 50 persons, including entire families, the sources said. One resident is Alcides Alvarado, a congressman of the Popular Democratic Unity Party.

Lidia Gueller, president until she was ousted in the coup, has taken refuge in the Vatican mission.

Other leading political figures, including former President Hernan Siles Zuazo, winner of the June 29

presidential election to replace Gueller, also have gone into hiding.

While several European embassies temporarily have housed "guests" since the coup, the only other embassy reported to have granted asylum to a person is Peru.

The military regime accused the U.S. ambassador to Bolivia, Marvin Weissman, of allowing a freelance journalist for The Washington Post to send a dispatch through an embassy channel. It said the alleged action violated international law and was interference in Bolivian affairs.

Weissman, who left here July 20 to protest the coup three days earlier, could not be reached for comment.

BOLIVIAN MISSIONS GIVE ASYLUM TO AT LEAST 177

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AUG 18 1980

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From Herald Staff and Wire Reports

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The Bolivian diplomatic community has granted asylum to at least 177 people seeking refuge from Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's new military government.

The impromptu guests include at least two former Presidents, other ex-officeholders, journalists, priests and a suspected leftist agitator.

At the same time, the Garcia Meza government claims it has "no more than 500" prisoners, but these include two former Cabinet ministers and the leader of the Bolivian Workers' Confederation, Juan Lechin, one of the nation's most influential figures.

A full embassy census is impossible to obtain because only limited information is being released by the legations and foreign ministries of the countries involved.

The Vatican Embassy is holding "about nine people," according to church sources. These include former President Lidia Gueller, ousted in the July 17 Garcia Meza coup, as well as five priests, two foreign nuns and one civilian.

The Venezuelan Embassy has about 100 people, the largest contingent, according to information from Caracas. Its principal "guests" are former President Walter Guevara Arze, former vice-presidential candidate Flavio Machicado and journalist Augusto Montecinos.

The Brazilian Embassy shelters Walter Guevara Anaya, son of ex-president Guevara; Hugo Zapata, ex-chief of the state mining corporation; and Luis Anez, ex-minister of peasant affairs.

Also in the Brazilian mission is the wife of former president Hernan Siles Zuazo and one of their daughters. Siles Zuazo, leftist winner in the recent presidential elections that prompted the coup, is in hiding.

The rest of the sheltered fugitives include 57 in the Mexican Embassy and five in the Peruvian, among them among them journalist-priest Eduardo Perez Eriban and the women's leader Isabel Araujo.

The Bolivian army has said the Panamanian Embassy granted asylum to a Colombian identified as Luis Eduardo Rodriguez Torres, accused of leading of an extremist group.

The government has published the names of only 91 prisoners. Besides Lechin, these include two of Gueller's Cabinet ministers, Oscar Pena, information, and Fernando Salazar, economic integration; union leaders Simon Reyes and Liber Forti, and Rev. Julio Tumari, secretary general of the Bolivian Assembly of Human Rights.

Bolivian Military Regime Breaks Relations With Nicaragua Junta

From Herald Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's military regime announced Saturday it was breaking relations with Nicaragua and accused the left-wing junta ruling that Central American country of intervening in Bolivian affairs.

"This break in relations is with the Sandinista government and has nothing to do with the Nicaraguan people," the Bolivian Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

Nicaragua has called on all nations in the Western Hemisphere to break relations with the rightist Bolivian regime, which ousted interim President Lidia Gueller July 17 to thwart the expected selection by the Congress of a leftist president.

Nations that have recognized Bolivia's military government include Argentina, Paraguay, Taiwan, South Africa, Brazil, Israel, Egypt and Uruguay.

The United States has recalled its ambassador to Bolivia, Marvin Weissman, and canceled military aid to show its displeasure with the junta's takeover, but it is maintaining diplomatic relations.

In another development, diplomatic sources reported that Bolivian Army troops raided a mining town,

beat up two men guarding a church and took two American Catholic missionaries hostage.

Archbishop Jorge Manrique said he was informed that Msgr. David Ratterman of St. Louis, and a nun, Sister Mary Elka of Virginia, were brought to La Paz along with a Bolivian nun also seized on army orders.

The raid at Matildi, 100 miles north of La Paz, took place Thursday.

The raid apparently was part of a widespread campaign against the Roman Catholic Church in Bolivia by the new regime.

Archbishop Manrique said the military regime is "abusing the church," refusing to let a church commission visit more than 2,000 political prisoners arrested in the last two weeks despite a previous agreement to that effect.

Diplomatic sources said the troops raided Matildi in an attempt to indoctrinate the peasants on the evils of communism.

"Prior to picking the two missionaries up, they tore the hell out of the church and beat two villagers who were guarding it," one source said of the raid at Matildi.

"For some reason, after beating the villagers, they shaved their heads," the source said.

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Bolivia cuts links

Bolivia's new military rulers have broken relations with Nicaragua, after its repeated efforts to convene a meeting of the Organisation of American States Foreign Ministers to discuss the situation in Bolivia following the July 17 coup, Mary Helen Spooner writes from La Paz.

The Bolivian Foreign Ministry charged Nicaragua with supporting sanctions against the new regime, and that this was blatant interference in Bolivia's internal affairs.

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Bolivian Ambassador Defects in Mexico

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 21 (AP)—Bolivia's ambassador here, Javier Torres Goitia, says he has moved out of the embassy and opened a new one loyal to Bolivia's elected president, Hernan Siles Zuazo, and not the military junta that took power July 17.

A spokesman for Torres who asked not to be identified said the ambassador made the decision yesterday and notified the government in La Paz.

President Declares All Bolivians Eligible for 'Patriotic Service'

LA PAZ, Bolivia — (AP) — Bolivia's new strongman president on Friday decreed all Bolivians eligible for compulsory "patriotic government service."

The announcement by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza means that Bolivians can be called to work for the government for as long as two years doing whatever it sees fit. Refusal could mean spending the time in jail.

"No citizen whose services are needed under the present decree will be excused," the announcement said. It added that those called to serve will be chosen by the Ministry of Interior, which also handles police functions.

DIPLOMATIC sources said the service could be used to silence opponents of the new regime, which toppled interim President Lidia Gueiler July 17.

Interior Minister Luis Arce Gomez said earlier that political prisoners who are not expelled from the country will be sent to work on road gangs in eastern Bolivia.

The decree could provide a legal mechanism for the action, observers said.

The program appears similar to the "civilian service" enacted by Gen. Hugo Banzer in 1974. That service also was used to keep potential political opponents out of circulation.

More than 1,000 persons are unaccounted for after being arrested in the wake of the latest Bolivian coup. The government has refused to account for them and arrests continue in an apparent campaign to eliminate all possible opposition.

MANY BOLIVIAN political, labor and intellectual leaders are in hiding or have sought refuge at embassies in La Paz.

The government said that Gueiler, in asylum at the papal nuncio's residence, has been issued a passport and probably will leave the country next month.

(Hernan Silas Suarez, a leftist lawyer who was the leading vote-getter in Bolivia's now-annulled June 29 presidential election, called in a clandestine interview for "per-

manent civil disobedience" against the Garcia Meza regime, which he called a "government of national destruction." He said his own Democratic Popular Union Party is ready to organize opposition to the regime.

(A text of the La Paz interview was released to news organizations in Buenos Aires Friday.)

MEANWHILE, Miguel Longo, a reporter for the influential Roman Catholic daily Presencia, was arrested as he arrived for work.

Presencia sources said that Longo was carted off by armed civilians. On Monday Presencia editor Mario Maldonado was arrested at his home. The paper appealed for Maldonado's release Friday.

Carlos Arce, a Presencia reporter and part-time correspondent for The Associated Press, was released Thursday night, the paper said. Arce could not be located for comment.

Associated Press correspondent Juan Leon, arrested along with Arce when the coup took place, still was under arrest.

The Bolivian Worker's Central (COB), once the nation's most powerful union confederation, passed a message to journalists saying it is "forming a popular government to overthrow" Garcia Meza's government.

THE ONE-PAGE announcement did not say who would be in the new government.

The head of the COB, Juan Lechin Oquendo, was taken prisoner during the coup. A few days later he appeared in a televised interview in which he called for cooperation with the new regime. He has not been heard from since.

Nighttime sporadic and sometimes heavy gunfire has continued for two weeks in La Paz, which remains under a 9 p.m.-to-6 a.m. curfew. The government does not report casualties.

New Bolivian leader consolidates support

BY MARY HELEN SPOONER IN LA PAZ

BOLIVIA'S GENERAL Luis Garcia Meza has demoted two high army officials and replaced them with military officers more supportive of his regime.

The commanders of the seventh division of the army in Cochabamba and the second army corps in Santa Cruz were replaced by two colonels thought to be Garcia Meza supporters.

In addition, the civilian director of the Bolivian post offices has been replaced by an army official, the former commander of the first military district in La Paz.

Brazil has announced it will extend formal diplomatic recognition to the new Bolivian regime, making a total of four countries which have recognized the Garcia Meza government.

Brazil has wanted to see whether the new regime in Bolivia would fulfill what the Foreign Ministry called the prerequisite for recognition, namely continued commitment to continuing relations with

Brazil, and commitment to other international relations.

In the vote taken by the Organization of American states where 15 Latin American countries condemned the military coup in Bolivia, Brazil abstained.

It is understood that the 1,326 kilometres of common frontier with Bolivia, and a long-standing Brazilian aspiration to buy substantial quantities of natural gas from Bolivia, led the Brazilian government to a pragmatic recognition of the new regime.

Nevertheless, President Joao Figueiredo of Brazil, told the press that he found the coup in Bolivia "lamentable." However, he added, "we have no choice but to recognize the new regime."

The Soviet Union, which has been building a \$50m tin processing plant near the southern city of Potosi, is reportedly seeking some form of cooperation with the new regime, possibly using Argentina as an intermediary.

Bolivia to reschedule some debts as planned

By Peter Montagnon

BOLIVIA is going ahead with plans to reschedule some of its foreign debt despite the political uncertainties following the military coup earlier this month. International banks are hopeful that an agreement can be signed in New York on Friday, August 1.

The agreement will cover all maturities due in the second half of the year. They are put at a total of some \$160m compared with the country's total debts to commercial banks of about \$850m and overall public sector external debt of around \$2bn.

Terms of the agreement provide for a flat rescheduling fee of 4 per cent and a margin above interbank rates of 1½ or the spread on the

original loan, whichever is higher. The debt will be rescheduled until January 5, 1981.

At that date, it is hoped that Bolivia will be in a position to sign a large loan consolidating this debt together with maturities falling due in 1981. This credit, to be backed up by further assistance from the International Monetary Fund, would be negotiated during the Autumn.

The terms of the agreement due to be signed this week were negotiated originally by the previous government of ousted President Lidia Gueiler. At its request, a steering committee of international banks was formed to handle nego-

tations. Banks involved are Bank of America, Bank of Nova Scotia, Citibank, Crocker, Deutsche Südamerikanische Bank, Libra Bank and Manufacturers Hanover Trust.

Following the coup, the negotiations were taken up by the new military government, which now has the task of negotiating the consolidation loan. How far progress can be made on this in the time allowed is still a matter of doubt for some international bankers. While the first stage of the rescheduling seems relatively secure, it looks, therefore, as though the final outcome is still not assured.

Agreement on debt delayed

BY PETER MONTAGNON IN LONDON

SIGNATURE of the agreement between Bolivia and international banks to extend this year's remaining debt maturities has been delayed. Originally planned for August 1, it has had to be postponed for some weeks, officially because of the amount of administrative work involved.

Bankers close to the agreement denied suggestions in Euro-market circles that the decision to delay the signing was connected to the U.S. decision over the weekend to halt economic aid to Bolivia because of the recent military coup.

They said that the true reason for the delay is to allow more time for accurate completion of Bolivia's debt maturing between June 30 and the end of the year - the period covered by the extension agreement.

In addition, banks involved in the rescheduling need time to study the agreement before signing.

But the U.S. decision to halt economic aid does cast a shadow over the second part of the debt renegotiation. This is to be a consolidation loan covering the extended 1980 maturities as well as all debt falling due in 1981.

It is due to be ready for signing by next January 5 and should be backed up by further credit from the International Monetary Fund. There is a strong feeling in some banks that the consolidation loan itself might run into political opposition from U.S. banks, while the Carter administration's decision to halt aid might also make it harder for the IMF to extend financial support.

Under the extension agreement, banks will extend until January 5 next year all debt maturing in the second half of 1980 for a flat renegotiation fee of 4 per cent. Bolivia will pay the original margin on these borrowings or 1½ per cent, whichever is higher.

Despite the delay there was little doubt that the extension agreement would be signed eventually. As one banker put it, "we've got to extend because we know we can't collect the money we're owed."

Argentina Confronts Latin Democracies in Contest Over Bolivia

By Charles A. Krause
Washington Post Foreign Service

LIMA, Peru, July 30—As the presidents of Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Latin America's newest democracy, Peru, met last night to draft a statement condemning the recent coup in Bolivia, word reached Lima that Argentina had become the first nation to recognize the new military dictatorship in La Paz.

The timing was not accidental. Argentina's right-wing military government backed the Bolivian coup, two weeks ago and is now providing "technical assistance" to Bolivia's secret police.

In the hope that diplomatic isolation might weaken the resolve of Bolivian Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's government to remain in power, the United States recalled its ambassador and cut off aid.

Bolivia's Andean Pact partners, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Peru, meanwhile, are leading a diplomatic offensive against Garcia Meza's government.

Argentina, on the other hand, is determined to keep Garcia Meza in power, citing fears that neighboring Bolivia might have become a haven for leftist terrorists if a new left-wing civilian government had come to power as expected on Aug. 6.

As a result of Argentina's support, which reportedly includes a promise of \$200 million in economic

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and military assistance, the issue of the new military regime's survival is pitting South America's democracies to the north against right-wing military governments in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Paraguay to the south.

In the view of diplomats and government leaders gathered here since Monday's inauguration of Peru's newly elected president, Fernando Belaunde Terry, the Argentine decision to recognize Bolivia's new government was designed to counter the impact of last night's statement here.

Signed by Spain, Costa Rica and Nicaragua as well as Peru, Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, the statement condemned the Bolivian coup in the strongest terms and left no doubt that the signatories have no plans to recognize Garcia Meza's rule.

"The reinitiation of democracy in Peru is an event which fills all democrats in Latin America and the world with pride, optimism and hope," Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins said before signing the statement last night. In contrast, he said, "the interruption of the democratic process in Bolivia ... merits only condemnation."

Colombian President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala said today that he could envision no circumstances under which his government or the other signatories would recognize the military junta in Bolivia as it presently exists. Ecuador took the formal step of breaking relations with La Paz.

Turbay recalled that a similar strategy of diplomatic isolation contributed to the downfall of Col. Alberto Natusch Busch, who seized power in Bolivia last November when he overthrew Walter Guevara Arze. Natusch lasted three weeks.

There is no doubt that President Garcia Meza's government is angered by and worried about the fact that, until yesterday, no country had recognized it and most, including the United States and the Soviet Union, have condemned it.

Garcia Meza said yesterday in La Paz that "we are not obliged to ask permission from Russia, China, Cuba or the United States to do one thing or another. Only Bolivians will decide their destiny."

The new rulers have moved ruthlessly against their opponents, claiming that Bolivia was threatened by a "Marxist plot ... to create another Vietnam in the heart of South America."

Garcia Meza, meanwhile, has said he is prepared to remain in power for 20 years and has warned that "we will be inflexible in applying measures against bad Bolivians who obstruct" the new government.

The question now is whether Garcia Meza's opponents, both inside Bolivia and outside, will also be so inflexible in their opposition as to dislodge the military and encourage civilian rule.

Last night's statement here seems to indicate that a long diplomatic siege lies ahead.

Human Rights Leader Seized by Junta

LA PAZ, Bolivia — (AP) — Bolivia's 14-day-old military junta stepped up mass arrests of its opponents Wednesday, and among those seized was the head of the country's Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, diplomatic sources said.

The sources said Julio Tumiri, the human rights official, was arrested by armed civilians as he was leaving his office in La Paz.

Armed civilians also searched businesses and residences, apparently working from lists of influential Bolivians provided by the military, according to the sources.

Political observers say that up to 1,500 persons have been arrested since the military toppled interim President Lidia Gueiler July 17, to avert the expected selection of a leftist president by the Congress.

THE SOURCES, who asked not to be named, estimated that 60 to 100 persons have been killed in clashes in La Paz.

Martial law is in effect, the press is under self-censorship, radio stations are linked to the government chain and few persons are willing to talk to reporters.

The government said Wednesday that it would guarantee the safety of any delegations wishing to visit Bolivia to investigate the situation.

Col. Luis Arce Gomez, the minister of interior, said that some "bad Bolivians" and foreigners had been spreading false reports about the situation.

In another announcement, the government said that any actions

considered detrimental to the economy would be viewed as "acts of treason."

The government also ordered all Bolivian publications to register or reregister with the Ministry of Information.

THE GOVERNMENT has refused to say how many people have been arrested or what has happened to those arrested. The government has said only that some people were being released and that more arrests were under way.

Earlier, the junta chief, Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, accused the Organization of American States (OAS) of interfering in Bolivia's internal affairs.

In his first formal meeting with reporters since being named head of the three-man junta that seized power July 17, Garcia Meza said Tuesday that his government accepts "no impositions on our sovereignty and we insist that the OAS respect the principal of self-determination."

The OAS voted last week to condemn the coup that ousted Gueiler's interim government and blocked the anticipated selection by Congress of Hernan Siles Zuazo as president Aug. 4. Siles Zuazo and his

left-wing coalition won a plurality in the June 29 elections.

Argentina's right-wing military government has been accused of helping the Bolivian generals plan the coup, and Argentina became the first government to recognize the junta. It announced recognition Monday night and was followed Tuesday by Paraguay, which has been ruled for 26 years by Gen. Alfredo Stroessner.

IN AN OBVIOUS move to express disapproval, the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires announced that William Bowdler, assistant secretary of state for Latin America, had postponed a visit to Argentina that was scheduled to begin Wednesday.

Bowdler attended Monday's inauguration of President Fernando Belaunde Terry in Peru and had planned to fly on to Buenos Aires. Instead, he left for Washington aboard the jet returning the U.S. delegation from Peru.

During a refueling stop in Puerto Rico, Bowdler was asked about the reports that Argentina had helped in the Bolivian coup. He said he had heard "reports of that nature," but later said, "We don't have any confirmed information."

Argentina's Foreign Ministry has

denied that Argentina helped organize and finance the Bolivian coup, but an Argentine army general in Buenos Aires said that "moral support" had been given the Bolivian military.

THE GENERAL said the Argentine army welcomed the coup because it did not want neighboring Bolivia to become a base for leftist subversion.

Garcia Meza, in his press statement, said the OAS vote against the junta "signifies an open intervention in the affairs of our country."

"We are not obligated to ask permission from Russia, China, Cuba or the United States to take one step or another. Only Bolivians can decide their destiny."

He accused the OAS of serving "as a colonial ministry for the great power of the north," referring to the United States.

Garcia Meza also said Bolivia might pull out of the Andean Pact because the other members — Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela — were "involving themselves in internal affairs."

Instead, he said, Bolivia could establish bilateral trade treaties with friendly countries.

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Why Bolivia's soldiers marched back to dictatorship

Repression has begun in Latin America's least-stable nation, writes Mary Helen Spooner in La Paz

SPRAY-PAINTED swastikas have appeared on walls in La Paz, Bolivia's capital. The two week-old Government led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza has declared its intention to remain in power until "all traces of the Marxist cancer" have been eliminated. The new Interior Minister said with a straight face that the Government could not reveal the number of political prisoners because more arrests were being made. Reliable reports in La Paz say torture is being used against detainees.

Less than a month ago Bolivia, which has had 189 coups in its century and a half of independence, was on the verge of joining the club of young democracies in South America. The June 29 election, in which Sr. Hernan Siles Zuazo, a Left-wing moderate, gained the most votes, were among the fairest in Bolivia's history. Congress was willing to ratify Sr. Siles as President. Bolivia, the most insular and poverty-stricken nation on the continent, seemed to be approaching political maturity.

These hopes were shattered on July 17, with the revolt of Bolivia's Sixth Army Division. While Gen. Garcia Meza's regime faces a highly uncertain future in the face of mounting international censure, the fact that it managed to seize power in the first place illustrates the fragility of the country's political institutions.

Many Bolivians have commented with sad irony that the biggest achievement of Sr. Lidia Guerber, the interim President deposed by the military, was that she managed to remain in power as long as she did—a total of eight months. Between 1925 and 1952 no Bolivian head of state has completed his term of office, and 17 people have held the presidency since 1901.

This instability has earned Bolivia the mocking amusement of even its Latin American neighbours. But behind the incomprehensible plots and counterplots is a poor nation desperately trying to modernise

itself both politically and economically.

The 5m inhabitants of this landlocked but stunningly beautiful country have the lowest life expectancy—47—and lowest intake of calories in Latin America. Infant mortality is the highest in the region and only Haiti has a lower per capita income than Bolivia's \$380. Illiteracy is about 40 per cent. Two thirds of the population is made up of Indian peasants, most of whom are outside the monetary economy. And the potential for indigenous development is also limited, since most people live in the *altiplano*, the barren uplands, rather than in the richer lowlands and jungle.

Despite years of military rule, Bolivia has never won a war. Losses of territory to Paraguay and Chile during the nineteenth century, including Bolivia's outlet to the Pacific Ocean, only increased its isolation. A small group of wealthy families of Spanish and other European descent effectively controlled the country for decades, with the support of the military which provided a kind of social ladder for poor but ambitious Bolivians.

The multiple changes of these early military Governments rarely affected for better or for worse the great majority of Bolivians, and were usually accomplished without bloodshed or social unrest. Instead, the changes tended to reflect internal power struggles within the military, rather than new directions in political outlook.

This picture changed considerably with Bolivia's 1952 revolution, which sought to bring about massive social reform. The armed forces' share of the national budget was cut from 23 per cent to less than 7 per cent. The military academy was closed and some 60 per cent of officers were forced into retirement.

As a result many older Bolivian military officials tend to equate civilian rule and

social reform with attacks on their institutions. These fears were heightened last year when the Bolivian Congress began an investigation into corruption and human rights violations during the seven-year military dictatorship of Gen. Hugo Banzer.

These factors, plus the repeated failure of military-backed presidential candidates such as Gen. Banzer to win any of the three elections held since 1978, laid the groundwork for the country's last two military takeovers.

The coups of November 1979 and July 17 this year represented this final showdown between civilian and military rule in Bolivia. The short-lived reign of Col. Alberto Natusch last year was defeated by massive civil resistance, including the refusal of the Bolivian Congress to recognise the new head of state. This year, the military attempted to avoid such civilian resistance by kidnapping the very leaders who helped bring down Col. Natusch. The military also received the tacit support of Right-wing political groups and those with links to the country's massive cocaine trade, which Sr. Siles had promised to combat.

One diplomat in La Paz, with uncharacteristic bluntness, described the Bolivian military as "a group of thugs," which the upper classes were perfectly content to use to keep things under control to their liking.

This assessment seems unfair in view of the progressive-minded officers within Bolivia's armed forces. But much of the thinking of the military high command has been coloured by earlier training from U.S. military advisers who espoused cold war fears of Communist subversion. More recently, Bolivian soldiers have been influenced by their Argentinian counterparts, who have provided extensive military training since 1977.

With a conservative military Government in power, Bolivia

now belongs to the authoritarian bloc. With a liberal Government headed by Sr. Siles, the country would have closer ties with Cuba and Nicaragua, as well as Andean democracies such as Venezuela and Peru. Bolivia's strategic importance for both groups, as well as its serious economic problems and internal opposition to military rule, make future political unrest inevitable.

and others."

Miningstrikes throughout the country have been leading the resistance to the military junta, which ousted civilian president Lidia Gueiler July 17.

The United States had strongly supported Gueiler.

Army troops are trying to break the miners' resistance by sealing off areas such as Huanuni, Siglo and Cotavi, and attempting to starve miners and their families into submission.

Reports from clandestine radio stations say jet fighters have attacked some mining villages.

Troops reportedly killed more than 20 persons in Huanuni, a major mining center about 120 miles south of La Paz.

Most were women and children killed by soldiers who "shot their automatic weapons into the houses," according to a miners' union leader in Oruro.

Union leaders say one soldier was executed by his commanding officer when he refused to fire on the miners.

Miners leading the Oruro strike feel the mining unions can exert significant economic pressure on the military government.

Minerals, especially tin, account for 70 percent of Bolivia's export earnings. The country's economy is already staggering under a \$3.1 billion foreign debt. Union leaders believe that if the miners continue their strike, the economy could collapse.

In La Paz, the government-controlled media are reporting that the country's miners have given up the fight, and that the strikes occurring now are not having a significant impact on the country.

But the striking miners here tell a different story. The cramped rows of plastered adobe houses are sprayed with political slogans revealing the vigorous political debate that took place here during the national elections.

The rusting ore wagons loaded with rock are standing empty at the entrance to the mine, which is usually worked by 200 men.

The miners' unions historically have been in the forefront of democratic political movements in Bolivia.

Their living conditions indicate some of the reasons why. The miners earn less than \$2 a day, and their life expectancy is 35 years.

"We produce the country's wealth, but we get paid less than a messenger for the mayor," said a union leader who has worked underground for 30 years. He makes a base pay of \$1.60 a day. He takes home approximately \$90 a month, including bonuses.

Bolivia has the highest infant mortality rate and the lowest life expectancy of any Latin American nation.

"Our hospitals don't have medicines. The teachers in our schools aren't well prepared," one union leader said. "Instead of knocking on the door to the university, our sons knock on the door of their father's job" in the mines."

During the past 30 years, miners have actively supported attempts at civilian government in Bolivia.

Tin miners led the fight against the Army in the country's 1952 revolution, which, along with those in Mexico and Cuba, is considered one of the most sig-

nificant in Latin America. Indians and women were given the right to vote, most of the country's resources were nationalized and many of the largest estates were broken up.

Last November, when another right-wing Army officer deposed a civilian government, tin miners refused to work — even after Bolivia's powerful labor unions had lifted their general strike — until the colonel left the presidential palace.

Although Bolivia's new military rulers say there is freedom of the press, the Army tried to prevent several journalists — including myself — from reaching Oruro.

The government had issued us "safe conduct passes," which are supposed to allow reporters to travel freely.

But the passes are almost useless on the desolate road to Huanuni and other mining centers, where Indians tending their small llama herds seem perplexed by the Army encampment that blocks reporters and food from reaching the miners.

In a row of pup tents behind some sage, soldiers wrapped in heavy green wool uniforms cradled tin coffee cups in the bitter early morning cold. On the other side of the narrow road, a lookout post sat on top of the only hill.

The scene seems unreal. Even the mud adobe bricks used as a roadblock are not enough to stop a vehicle. But the soldiers carry black Belgian-made automatic rifles, and when they motion us to stop, we do. The safe conduct pass gets a young officer to call the colonel, who emerges from behind a high mud adobe wall. He looks like a movie character — pressed green camouflaged jungle trousers, gray flight jacket over a white turtleneck sweater, sideburns, bone-handled knife.

We show our pass. "Sorry," he says, smiling under his neatly trimmed moustache. "But this isn't valid here. This is a military zone."

Finally, he allowed us to pass. But when we had finished interviewing the miners and were leaving the area, we encountered more problems.

We had gone just a few blocks down the dusty road leading from the mine when a well-dressed young man halted our cab. He got in and ordered the driver to go to the internal security office. We hid tape recordings and film in our socks and boots.

But we were soon moved to the Army headquarters nearby. A colonel with slicked back hair smiled and informed us that the minister who had issued the safe conduct passes "has no authority in my military zone."

We were searched, and our belongings were confiscated.

Two hours later, we were released. Officials refused to return tapes, film and my notebook.

When I pointed out that the junta had declared there was freedom of the press, a civilian official glared at me and snapped, "Yes, there is freedom of the press, but there is also censorship."

Then he drew a line across his throat with his hand and said, "There is a limit, you know."

Crackdown on Opposition

By John Eiders

Special to The Washington Post

COCHABAMBA, Bolivia—Bolivia's new military rulers, who seized power two weeks ago, are conducting a massive crackdown on political opponents including an attempt to starve into submission thousands of tin miners and their families resisting the takeover.

Widespread arrests, torture and other means of pressure are reported underway as the Bolivian junta appears to be using methods similar to those employed by the Chilean military regime of Gen. Augusto Pinochet in the months following the 1973 coup there.

Military spokesmen are saying that "communist elements" were inciting resistance, especially among the tin miners in the mountainous area south of La Paz.

The new Bolivian strongman, Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, has said that he ousted civilian president Lucia Gueiler to prevent a leftist takeover and that the armed forces would remain in power until the "Marxist cancer" is fully removed—best "5, 10 or 20 years."

In his first formal meeting with reporters since being named head of the three-man junta that seized power July 17, Garcia Meza criticized the organization of American States for condemning the coup.

"We accept no impositions on our

sovereignty, and we insist that the 'Organization of American States' respect the principle of self-determination," he said. Garcia Meza refused to answer questions.

Diplomatic sources in La Paz said up to 1,050 persons had been arrested. Interior Minister Luis Arce Gomez, however, said it was too early to give figures "because arrests are still going on."

Only one country, Argentina, has extended diplomatic recognition to the new regime. The Catholic Church and liberal political groups led by former Union Democratic Popular presidential contender Hernan Siles Suazo have announced their opposition to the new regime.

With martial law and a curfew in effect, the government has imposed news censorship. There were unconfirmed reports of major clashes between Army troops and miners. Air Force planes bombed into silence a clandestine radio station at Huanuni mine, near Potosi, last week following clashes there, these reports said.

In an effort to break the resistance of miners, Army troops have sealed off the mining area, especially Huanuni, Siglo and Catavi, to prevent food shipments. Miners are demanding the release of detained union leaders. They also demanded the appearance of Juan Lechin, head of the labor federation, who was taken prisoner in the coup. Lechin's colleague, Marcelo Quiroga de Santa Cruz, was said to have been killed at that time.

In spite of the hard handed tactics, the government has not been able to consolidate its grip on the country. A visit by Garcia Meza Sunday to Cochabamba went unannounced, and there were no public ceremonies or appearances of the new chief executive. Observers here see this as part of the military's efforts not to incite the population.

Foreign companies, meanwhile, are waiting to see how the regime's "nationalist and anti-imperialist" economic plans are defined.

Some foreign investors are clearly concerned. "My company is very worried about this new military man," says Matiza Villaroel, an accountant at the Texas-based Tesoro Corp., active in oil exploration in Bolivia's Tarija region south of here. "It looks like he is against foreign investment."

Aside from the country's politically active groups, the clergy appears to be hard hit by the new repression in Bolivia. Priests and nuns throughout the country have had their houses and church centers searched and ransacked by paramilitary troops searching for opposition and labor leaders.

Some members of the clergy have been forced to go into hiding themselves. "Anyone who works with peasants is on the blacklist," a nun in Cochabamba commented. "Things are very tense for us."

The archbishop of La Paz and the Episcopal Conference of Bishops of Bolivia have reflected this state of affairs in their condemnation of the military's human rights abuses and called upon the government to release its many prisoners.

Bolivia's Striking Miners Vow to Continue Protests

By Ray Bonner

Special to The Washington Post

ORURO, Bolivia, July 30—Leaders of a local miners' union are protesting the recent military takeover of the government by leading a strike from the bottom of a 1,600-foot shaft.

The men have been living at the bottom of the shaft since the three-man junta seized power two weeks ago. They sleep on blankets laid over rocks and in crevices.

"We will not go to work for this government that has taken away our democracy," one of the miners said.

"This mine will not operate until the union leaders are released and the persecution ends."

Some of the miners wear sticks of dynamite like bandoliers, but they say their resistance is "passive."

"Our weapon is an economic one," a union member said during an interview at the bottom of the shaft. "And we hope for support from your country

Argentina Recognizes New Bolivia

BUENOS AIRES — (AP) — Argentina's right-wing military junta has become the first government to recognize Bolivia's 14-day-old military regime.

The Argentine Foreign Ministry, making the announcement Monday night, said that "diplomatic relations with Bolivia continue normally. The ambassador [of Argentina] in Bolivia has been duly instructed of this."

Argentina has rejected charges by Hernan Siles Zuazo, the apparent winner of Bolivia's June 29 presidential election, that the Argentine regime organized and financed the coup to overthrow interim President Lidia Gueller and annul the election's outcome.

However, there has been evidence that the takeover was planned and executed by about 30 Argentine military advisers, who have been in Bolivia for several months. One of the key figures is believed to be Lt. Col. Julio Cesar Duran, an adviser to the Bolivian military intelligence school.

An Argentine officer was heard bragging here last week about the major role his country played in the coup, said by observers to have been the most sophisticated of the 190 military takeovers in Bolivia's 155-year history and similar in execution to one in Argentina in 1976.

Sources quoted the Argentine officer as saying the coup was planned in Buenos Aires and that its leader, Bolivian Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, was advised shortly beforehand.

Diplomatic sources, who speculate that the Argentines stepped in to prevent a leftist government from winning power, reported Saturday that 16 more Argentine advisers arrived last week in Bolivia.

There have also been reports that men with Argentine accents helped carry out the takeover. The pronunciation of Spanish by Argentines is different from that spoken anywhere else in Latin America.

Meanwhile, in La Paz, the Bolivian capital, diplomatic sources said that from 200 to 1,000 persons had been arrested since the coup. However, an Interior Ministry spokesman said that it is too early to estimate the number "because arrests are still going on."

Bolivian junta aids departure of Gueller

By Mary Helen Spooner
in La Paz

BOLIVIA'S MILITARY regime is willing to grant deposed President Lidia Gueller the necessary documents to allow her to leave the country for the destination of her choice.

Sra Gueller's interim government was overthrown on July 17 and replaced by a three-man military junta led by General Luis Garcia Meza.

The new regime which calls itself the Government of National Reconstruction, has claimed that

Sra Gueller voluntarily resigned and turned over the government to the military. She has since sought refuge in the apostolic nuncio in La Paz and Venezuela has offered her political asylum.

The Garcia Meza government has received no official diplomatic recognition from other countries, except Argentina. The Argentine Foreign Ministry in Buenos Aires announced that relations with Bolivia "would continue in their normal manner."

Argentina has also denied any involvement in the coup. Diplomatic sources in La Paz scoff at this denial and note the numbers of Argentine military officials in the country.

La Paz junta 'backed by people'

By Our La Paz Correspondent

BOLIVIA'S General Luis Garcia Meza has claimed that the "climate of normality" in the country demonstrated the Bolivian people's support for his Government.

He said his Government would remain in power until the goal of "national reconstruction" had been fulfilled and repeated his earlier claim that deposed President Lidia Gueller had willingly turned over the Government to the armed forces in view of what he claimed was social and economic chaos in the country.

Gen. Garcia Meza charged that Bolivia's efforts to establish an elected civilian Government had been undermined by the politicians. Foreign interests had openly interfered in the elections, while Cuban-style communist groups had conducted terrorist activity in the country.

The recent condemnation of Bolivia by the Organisation of American States constituted an open interference, he said, and if the Andean Pact countries continued their critical stance, Bolivia might withdraw from membership.

The Garcia Meza regime has received recognition from only three countries, Taiwan, Paraguay and Argentina, which is said to have played an active role in bringing the new regime to power.

Gen. Jose Sanchez Calderon, the new Finance Minister, has stated that the regime would honour its agreement with the International Monetary Fund and continue efforts to renegotiate the country's foreign debt, estimated at \$3.7bn (£1.6bn).

He denied that Argentina had promised Bolivia a special economic aid programme to replace loans and credits cut off by other countries as a reprisal for the military takeover. According to reports, Argentina is preparing a \$2m package of loans and other aid for Bolivia.

Bolivia Opposition Forms Underground

From Herald Wire Services

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Church leaders Sunday condemned the violence of Bolivia's two-week-old military regime, and sources said the nation's leading opposition figure had formed a clandestine government.

Hernan Siles Zuazo, 67, the apparent winner of last month's presidential elections, formed the left-center underground government while in hiding in La Paz, friends of the politician said.

They said a ministerial council had been appointed, and the ambassadors of former President Lidia Gueiler had been asked to represent his government abroad.

Siles Zuazo's government is backed by the Popular Democratic Unity, a coalition of three left-center parties, including the Communist Party. Siles Zuazo received 39 per cent of the votes in the June 29 election.

THE RESULTS of the presidential election were annulled after Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, a 54-year-old anti-communist, ousted Gueiler in a military coup July 17.

But Garcia Meza's regime still has not received diplomatic recognition from any foreign government and has been condemned by the United States and other countries for interrupting the democratic process and violating human rights.

In its first week in power, the military regime detained and tortured leading politicians, journalists and labor leaders and sent troops against striking miners and other workers.

In a mass Sunday, the archbishop of La Paz, Monsignor Jorge Manrique, read a statement by the Bolivian Council of Bishops strongly condemning the injuries, deaths and jailings that have occurred since the coup.

THE ARCHBISHOP said Bolivians are living in a climate of fear.

"I have witnesses to the executions of four youths in La Paz," he said. "I have told the youths to be calm, to be level-headed and not provoke the army. They [the youths] answer, we have dynamite."

On Saturday, miners reportedly were still resisting a military siege in the Huancuni and Catani mines, about 150 miles southeast of La Paz.

Sporadic attacks on the military continue in La Paz despite a curfew, martial law and heavily armed convoys clattering over the cobblestone streets with automatic rifles at the ready.

Bolivia may yet be stricken by the civil war Gueiler predicted in the event of her overthrow, although most attempts at organized resistance have crumbled in the face of arrests, murders and savage beatings.

More than 200 people, and possibly as many as 1,000, have disappeared after being arrested, and the government refuses to say what happened to them despite pleas from the papal nuncio, Msgr. Alfo Rapisarda.

THE GOVERNMENT also refuses to say how many people have been killed since the July 17 coup. The best estimates put the number at 32, including two snipers who died in a hail of gunfire Saturday in La Paz after attacking a military patrol.

Diplomatic sources think that the number of dead may run much higher, and that as many as 100 people have been severely beaten, then freed to frighten others with their tales of horror.

Garcia Meza said the armed forces grabbed power to stop communism, restore order and because the presidential election was fraudulent. Diplomats and political opponents believe power and money to be more likely motives.

"If we took all the communists in this country and put them together, they all would fit in my office," said a foreign ambassador, who asked not to be named.

Also at stake is the large cocaine trade in eastern Bolivia, which by some estimates creates the nation's largest export. Diplomatic sources contend the business could be run only with the consent or participation of the army.

THE LATEST MILITARY take-over gives Bolivia its 190th government in 155 years of independence, and its fifth government in the last year.

Many changes came in violent overthrows, but political observers say the latest coup was better planned and executed than most.

There is increasing evidence that the takeover was planned and executed by about 30 Argentine military advisers who have been in Bolivia for two to three months.

Diplomatic sources speculate that the right-wing Argentine junta stepped in to prevent a leftist government from winning power. Such a move, they say, aims at stopping Bolivia from affording leftists a safe place from which to campaign against the Buenos Aires junta.

The constant turmoil has left Bolivians among the poorest people in the hemisphere. With a foreign debt of about \$3 billion and a gross national product of about the same figure, economists predict a rough economic time if the international isolation persists.

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Bolivian Miners on Strike

LA PAZ, Bolivia—Miners who returned to work after an agreement with the country's new military rulers went on strike again to demand "a definite agreement and adequate guarantees," Roman Catholic sources said.

A church spokesman said the miners demanded the presence in the mining area of labor leader Juan Lechin, who was arrested when the armed forces seized power July 17.

FT

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Bolivia troops aim to starve out miners

ORURO, Bolivia—Thousands of Bolivian miners yesterday continued a 10-day strike of resistance to the country's military rulers, surrounded by troops attempting to starve them into submission.

Miners who eluded the military siege to buy supplies in this Andean city 180 miles south of La Paz, said most of the country's 50,000 militant miners were prepared to extend the strike indefinitely. "We need food and suffer from hunger, but we do not lack the courage to continue our struggle," one miner said.

At least seven people have been reported killed and 15 injured in clashes since Army troops supported by armored units and reconnaissance planes marched to the area after the overthrow of President Lidia Gueiler.

Priests working in the area said military roadblocks had prevented them from going back to their parishes in Cataci, Siglo Veintiuno, Llalagua and Hernani, four major tin-producing centers isolated by the siege.

Reuter

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Hundreds Detained in Bolivia

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Diplomatic sources said between 200 and 1,000 people have been arrested since the military overthrow of President Lidia Gueiler on July 17.

But Interior Minister Luis Arce Gomez said it is too early to estimate the number "because arrests are still going on."

LAT

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CHURCH CONDEMNS BOLIVIAN VIOLENCE

LA PAZ, Bolivia (UPI)—Church leaders have condemned the violence sweeping Bolivia since the military regime seized power two weeks ago, and sources said the nation's leading opposition politician has formed an underground government.

Friends of Hernan Siles Zuazo, the apparent winner of last month's presidential elections, said the 67-year-old politician formed the left-center underground regime while in hiding in the capital.

Siles is backed by the Popular Democratic Unity, a coalition of three left and center parties, including the Communists.

Miners in Bolivia Reportedly Ending Resistance to Junta

From New Mexico

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 25—The new Bolivian military government announced today that it has signed a truce with insurgent mineworkers, virtually ending the last serious internal opposition to the junta led by Gen. Luis Garcia Mera.

Meanwhile, the military government banned the activities of most trade unions and professional organizations, in effect outlawing the once influential Central Labor Organization.

The junta said 9,000 to 10,000 tin miners reported back to work yesterday in the rugged, southeastern section of Bolivia that was the center of armed resistance to the new leadership.

The armed forces took over from interim president Lidia Gueiler Tizaola in a coup July 17. Diplomatic sources said Gueiler, who took asylum at the Vatican's mission here, would probably go to France to live in exile.

In Washington, Secretary of State Edmund Muskie announced that the United States had halted all economic aid to Bolivia except for foodstuffs and humanitarian aid. He also said the U.S. Embassy staff would be reduced and U.S. military advisers withdrawn. Washing-

ton recalled U.S. Ambassador Marvin Weissman and terminated all military assistance to Bolivia shortly after the coup.

Bolivia's militant miners have a tradition of resisting right-wing military rule, usually with tragic results.

The 50,000 miners, who produce the tin, copper and other minerals that bring in about 70 percent of Bolivia's foreign exchange, adopted a defiant stand when the armed forces overthrew the government last week.

They said over a radio network they controlled that they were waiting, armed with dynamite, for an attack by soldiers surrounding the mining districts.

The miners, however, said Army troops were cutting off their food supplies in an attempt to starve them into submission. The tactic appeared to undermine the miners' resistance, and sources close to the miners cited the food cutoff as the reason the miners returned to their jobs.

The partial end of the strike could not be confirmed by union leaders, many of whom are in hiding or reportedly have been arrested by the armed forces. Other reports suggested that pockets of resistance remained.

The state railway company said today that two railroad bridges had been dynamited in southern Bolivia, interrupting freight and passenger service to Chile. Airlines were operating on schedule.

In general, other parts of the country appeared to be returning to normal. Many factory workers in La Paz were back on the job after heeding a call for a general strike earlier in the week. Transportation and commerce in La Paz were operating again.

2 Gunmen Killed in Bolivia As Resistance Continues

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 26 (AP) — Soldiers shot and killed two gunmen in downtown La Paz overnight, witnesses said, as scattered resistance continued against the new military regime.

Two railroad bridges were blown up in southern Bolivia and rail service to Chile was interrupted, officials of the national railroad said. But the tin miners of southern Bolivia, who had been the core of the fight against the week-old military junta, were reported to have ended their resistance yesterday.

The state-owned Bolivian Mining Cor-

poration said the estimated 10,000 rebellious tin miners had gone back to work.

There was no confirmation of this from labor sources, but travelers from the area said the miners' leaders had begun talks with the military. Roman Catholic Church sources indicated that the miners, who had been surrounded by troops after blocking access to the mines, had run out of food.

U.S. Trims Aid, Advisers To Show Its Disapproval Toward Bolivian Regime

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Carter administration yesterday intensified its show of disapproval toward the new military regime in Bolivia by cutting off economic assistance, pulling out U.S. military advisers and sharply cutting back the U.S. embassy staff in that beleaguered South American nation.

The U.S. actions were announced by Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie just hours before the Organization of American States, meeting here, voted 16 to 3 with four nations abstaining, to deplore the week-old military coup and to express its deep concern over the loss of life and human rights of the Bolivian people.

The Bolivian armed forces, led by a junta of three top military commanders, overthrew the interim president, Lidia Gueiler, last week in an effort to prevent former leftist president Hernan Siles Zuazo from returning to power.

The United States recalled its ambassador to Bolivia and cut off military aid immediately after the coup. Yesterday's actions accelerate the administration's campaign against the new regime and could add to Bolivia's economic difficulties.

Muskie said the new steps were taken "to demonstrate the depth of our concern" over the military takeover. He said, "Bolivia's democratic process has been thwarted. The will of the Bolivian people, freely expressed in recent elections, has been flagrantly violated."

The United States, he said, "cannot support this attempt to thwart the will of the Bolivian people."

The quick administration reaction to the events in Bolivia fits into a new U.S. policy in both Central and South America that is aimed at giving strong support to democratic change in the region, in the hope it will not turn communist, while ending the longstanding image of the United States as a backer of military dictatorships in the region.

Muskie said he had ordered "the termination of all economic assistance projects where there is a basis to do so under existing agreements."

The cutoff, he said, does not include food aid and other humanitarian projects.

The United States has been providing Bolivia with about \$20 million annually in direct economic and development aid. About \$115 million in such aid had been previously obligated but not yet spent, and much or all of this money will also be shut off, presuming "that there is a basis to do so under existing agreements," according to Muskie.

State Department officials were unsure late yesterday exactly what that phrase meant, though it could imply a legal review to see how much aid actually could be stopped.

The U.S. military group to be pulled

out includes all eight advisers, and officials say the cutback in the 112-member embassy staff will be substantial.

The OAS resolution also called for the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to examine the situation in Bolivia as soon as possible.

The United States and four of the five Andean Pact nations—Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Ecuador—were among the 16 nations that voted for the OAS resolution. Bolivia, the fifth Andean Pact country, voted against the resolution, along with Chile and Paraguay.

Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala and Uruguay abstained.

Meanwhile, West Germany announced it has recalled its ambassador to Bolivia for consultations, but said that for now it will continue development aid to that country.

Bolivian Junta

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Displays Confidence in Its Control of Nation

By Ray Bonner

Special to The Washington Post

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 24—One week after installing himself in the presidency through a military coup, Army Gen. Luis Garcia Meza traveled 300 miles north of the capital today to express his "gratitude on behalf of my institution" to the people of a town called Trinidad, where the military uprising began a week ago.

Accompanied by the other two members of a newly installed armed forces junta, the commanders of the Air Force and Navy, Meza told citizens of Trinidad that they had begun a process of "nationalism in Bolivia" that would reject "foreign doctrines and theories that do not coincide with the interest and welfare of the Bolivian people."

While many Bolivians are quick to reject any gratitude Garcia Meza may feel and to deny support for the coup, the fact that Garcia Meza's junta feels secure enough to leave the capital is strong evidence that the armed forces now control the country.

There is still some resistance. Angry workers outside the iron gates of Bolivia's largest textile factory declared today that "our strike is indefinite. We will never go back to work for this fascist government."

But most of the resistance, including a nationwide strike called by political opposition and union leaders following the coup last Thursday, has been broken by the Army's repression.

While the death toll in La Paz apparently is limited, there is little reliable news on the fate of opponents in the countryside. Here in La Paz most labor, religious or political leaders have been imprisoned or exiled. Deposed civilian president Lidia Gueiler Tejada has taken asylum in the residence of the Vatican's representative.

Leftist ex-president Hernan Siles Zuazo is in hiding. His victory in the recent first-round popular elections for a democratic presidency provoked the military coup. He has issued a communique calling on "democratic nations of the world to help the Bolivian people in their fight for democracy."

In Washington, the Organization of American States met to consider a resolution deploring the coup and expressing "deep concern with the loss of life and serious violations of human rights as a direct consequence." It called for an on-scene investigation of rights violations.

Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru, members with Bolivia of the Andean Pact, introduced the resolution and said they had the votes to pass it. The U.S. delegate spoke in firm support of condemning the takeover.

Much of the repression has been directed at the Roman Catholic Church. The offices of the Jesuit radio station were destroyed on the day of the takeover by heavily armed individuals in civilian clothes who arrived in ambulances. They beat up the director and a reporter and fired their automatic weapons at the telex machine and smashed typewriters, telephones and all broadcasting equipment because, they said, the station was broadcasting "subversive information about human rights."

The offices of church-owned La Presencia, Bolivia's main newspaper, were occupied until a few days ago. Several of the paper's reporters among the 25 journalists seized initially are still being detained.

The Rev. Patrick Hudson, who describes the current government as "extreme right-wing, fascist," said tanks "did fancy little circles in front of our parish house, to frighten us." The next day, armed Air Force officers searched Hudson's parish house in Alto Lima, a dusty adobe village 14,000 feet up in the Andes.

"They forced their way into the house, then searched every room, even reading our personal letters," said the Franciscan priest from Be-laud. He has been in Bolivia for six years.

Four Jesuit and three Salesian priests have been detained. The gov-

ernment refuses to provide any information about their condition.

In a public statement, Archbishop of La Paz Jorge Manrique deplored the military takeover and "the scandalous use of ambulances to carry out the repression." While the government-controlled newspaper carried a banner headline, "Government Guarantees Press Freedom," several reporters were forced into hiding. Two Brazilian reporters left Bolivia after an official said, "We cannot guarantee your safety except from here to your hotel." The Brazilian ambassador accompanied them to the airport.

A Newsweek photographer, Olivier Rebbot, a Frenchman, was arrested yesterday coming through customs. He had Nicaraguan and Cuban visas in his passport," said officials, who assumed he will be deported on the next plane.

All foreigners have been ordered to register here, because "extremists have entered our country." In the words of the minister in charge of internal security.

But Bolivia has been one of the few Latin American countries spared left-wing violence. Bankers, politicians and international executives walk the streets without fear of being kidnaped.

"There probably isn't a communist guerrilla in the entire country," a U.S. military adviser here said recently.

What violence Bolivia has experienced has come mostly from the right—bombs planted during the election campaign and now the military takeover.

"Suppressing the people and gaining military control is easy," said one businessman. "Now they have to find some money to run the country."

Bolivia's two major financial backers, the United States and Venezuela, have terminated all economic assistance, money desperately needed in this poorest of South American countries. It has a \$3.1 billion foreign debt, and is dependent on the exports—and hence miners.

Asked where the military government was going to get the money, a colonel replied confidently, "from Argentina and Brazil for slat, and maybe Saudi Arabia."

So far, no country has recognized the military government and many have strongly condemned the coup.

Bolivian Indians March to Help Anti-Junta Forces

LA PAZ, Bolivia (UPI)—Army troops consolidated their control in La Paz on Wednesday after two days of heavy street battles, but several thousand Indians were reported marching to the aid of partisans fighting the new military regime southeast of the capital.

In Washington, the State Department accused the week-old military junta of "widespread and savage" human rights violations and warned that the United States may further reduce economic aid as a result.

Department spokesman John Trattner said he has received reports of torture and killings being conducted by the military regime of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza in its effort to subdue opposition to the coup that ousted President Lidia Gueller Tejada.

March 'Day and Night'

Interior Minister Luis Arce Gomez said the last major center of armed opposition to the new regime—the mountainous mining district of Catavi 310 miles southeast of La Paz—is now under control of the armed forces.

But a brief report from a clandestine radio station run by mine workers fighting the regime told listeners to ignore government reports.

The radio said armed miners were still holding out at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mining complexes and that 4,500 Potosi Indians from central Bolivia were marching "day and night" to reach the miners and help them.

In La Paz, traffic in many working class districts remained cut off by stone-throwing youths.

Gunfire in the Valley

During the night, gunfire could be heard in the valley that cradles this two-mile-high capital as snipers used the cover of night to fight troops.

In Washington, Trattner said the State Department has received reports that the regime was responsible for "repeated and severe beatings, torture and denial of needed medical attention."

"We have reports of hundreds of people being held at various places in Bolivia . . . that the armed forces are killing some of the country's top union leaders," he said.

Trattner said a review of U.S. aid to Bolivia was being conducted and that there could be "significant reductions."

11 Priests Said to Vanish in Bolivia

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 24 (AP) — The junta that seized power in Bolivia last week has failed to respond to an appeal by the Roman Catholic Church for information about 11 priests who have disappeared since the coup, a church spokesman said today.

Church sources said that an appeal for information about the priests was made yesterday by Mgr. Alfio Rapisarda, the Papal Nuncio in Bolivia, to the rightist Government of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza.

The priests were reportedly arrested in raids on several Roman Catholic parishes soon after the coup, an apparent attempt by the military to root out elements opposed to the junta, the sources said. Eight of the 11 are Jesuit priests, according to a Bolivian bishop.

"The Government has not responded yet," a church official said. He said the Papal Nuncio's efforts to find the priests received the support of 30 diplomats at a meeting last night at the Japanese Embassy here. The official said they represented "virtually every embassy in La Paz."

Earlier a high-ranking church source asserted that the Government had said it would not honor any such request until Lydia Gueller Tejada, the ousted Acting President, had left the Papal Nuncio's residence, where she obtained asylum.

The Government television network re-

ported that Mrs. Gueller was free to come and go as she pleased, but diplomatic sources said she had not been given papers necessary to leave the country.

The Government, which has refused to disclose the whereabouts of scores of people who were last seen being taken into custody, released a casualty list today that showed no fatalities but named three soldiers wounded "in clashes with extremists."

Most Key Figures Go Underground

Most politicians and union leaders have gone into hiding, including former President Hernán Siles Zuazo. Mr. Siles Zuazo won a plurality of the popular vote in the June 29 election and had appeared likely to capture the presidency in a congressional runoff. The military apparently seized power to avoid Mr. Siles Zuazo's anticipated installation.

In a tape-recorded message today to news organizations, Mr. Siles Zuazo reiterated his call for an uprising against the junta. "We are experiencing repression without precedent in the history of barracks revolts," he said.

No foreign government has announced recognition of the new regime. The Carter Administration condemned the takeover, calling for a return to civilian rule. It also recalled its Ambassador to La Paz and halted military and economic aid.

La Paz Waterworks Attacked; U.S. Studies More Aid Cuts

LA PAZ, Bolivia — (AP) — Opponents of the week-old military junta sabotaged the La Paz waterworks Wednesday, and a clandestine radio network in the southern mining region called campesinos and miners to gather "with your weapons" in an army against the generals.

In Washington, the U.S. State Department protested "widespread, even savage violations of human rights" by Bolivian armed forces and said more reductions in U.S. assistance are being considered.

The right-wing military regime, which came to power last Thursday in a coup that halted the Congress' expected choice of a leftist president, released its first official casualty reports. The reports shed little light on opponents' claims that some government foes have been murdered.

"Regrettably, members of the armed forces have lost their lives, while extremist elements have also died," the army's First Division in the mining city of Oruro, 120 miles southeast of La Paz, said.

The announcement gave no numbers of dead, but named three soldiers wounded "in clashes with extremists operating in those centers of agitation."

Diplomatic sources said opponents of Gen. Luis Garcia Meza's new regime dynamited the Pampesasi waterworks in the mountains above La Paz, reducing water pressure here. The government acknowledged that the waterworks had been attacked, but said "precautions taken [by the government] caused the effort to fail."

The military command has set up machine-gun nests at some public utilities and deployed tanks, armored cars and troops at strategic points around the city.

In the tin and zinc mining region south of the capital, miners claimed to be resisting troops sent to subdue them in Oruro and Potosi, about 260 miles southeast of La Paz.

Miners' radio network said 5,000 campesinos were gathering near the Siglo Veinte mine at Catavi 150 miles southeast of the capital, "and we are organizing with miners into an effective army." The reports could not be confirmed.

Many La Paz manufacturing plants remained closed Wednesday in answer to a general strike call by labor leaders who oppose the junta. But most retail business-

es were open in the downtown area after the government warned that workers who failed to show up would be fined.

Industry sources said a shortage of jet fuel had developed at El Alto international airport, forcing the Bolivian flag carrier Lloyd Aereo Boliviano to suspend some flights.

The widow of slain presidential candidate Marcelo Quiroga accused the regime of murdering her husband, the secretary general of Bolivia's Socialist Party and a candidate for president in the June 29 elections annulled by the coup.

"Many witnesses have said clearly Quiroga did not die in combat as the government said but was the victim of premeditated murder," Christina Quiroga said in a letter passed to reporters. She said that the government had refused to release Quiroga's body to her.

The Foreign Ministry said the ouster of interim civilian President Lydia Gueller was necessary because "Bolivians are tired of the communist infiltration and threats to destroy the country."

The newspaper Ultima Hora, which published Tuesday for the first time since the coup, said Gueller, 51, and about 30 government aides and ministers had taken refuge in the home of the Vatican ambassador.

In Washington, State Department spokesman John Trattner said the department has received "reliable reports" that the Bolivian military is holding hundreds of dissidents after last week's coup d'etat which ended the country's halting progress toward a democratically elected government.

Trattner said the department believes the military has taken some of its prisoners to a center near the capital, La Paz, where they are being beaten and tortured.

"We strongly urge that the human rights of all Bolivians be respected," Trattner said. He said the United States still wants the military to restore the civilian government it deposed.

Trattner said the United States, in reviewing its relations with Bolivia, was considering a reduction in the U.S. diplomatic staff in the country. Ambassador Marvin Weissman already has been recalled.

Also under review, he said, is a range of U.S. economic development assistance programs to Bolivia.

Bolivia Strike Spurs Violence

United Press International

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Gunfire shattered the silence of the overnight curfew and the military regime of General Luis Garcia Meza faced another major test Tuesday in its attempt to crush a general strike against his government.

The blasts from rifles and automatic weapons began shortly before the 9 p.m. curfew drove everyone off the streets late Monday for the fifth consecutive night.

There were no immediate official reports of dead or wounded.

On Monday afternoon, a general strike paralyzed practically all commercial and

industrial activity in the capital city of 600,000 people.

The halt was considered a major setback in the Meza government's attempts to normalize the nation for the first time since last Thursday's coup.

The strike was called on the day of the coup by the Bolivian Workers Syndicate that includes nearly a half-million workers.

In another attempt to stop the strike, the government showed Workers Syndicate leader Juan Lechin on television Monday night, to refute charges he had been assassinated.

Bolivian envoy resigns in protest against coup

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

SR JOSE Hoses Louis Foca, the Bolivian ambassador to Britain, has resigned in protest at the military coup in his country last week.

Bolivian embassies in Paris, Bonn and Madrid were occupied briefly yesterday by small groups of demonstrators protesting against the coup.

The Committee to Defend Democracy, a Bolivian umbrella organization of political, labour and religious groups, has claimed that at least 1,000 people were killed in violence during the coup. The group has called on foreign governments to institute an economic blockade against Bolivia until the military junta ends power.

At least 30 Bolivian journalists

have been arrested since the coup. On Tuesday military authorities briefly detained a correspondent for the U.S. television network, CBS, and his two assistants.

St Oscar Pana Franco, the correspondent in La Paz of the Interpress news agency and the last Minister of Information are among those detained.

St Humberto Vaccalor, correspondent of the London-based Latin America Newsletters, is one of many journalists who have gone into hiding.

Earlier this year his name was published on a death-list circulated by the far Right at the time of the murder of St Luis Espinal, editor of the weekly, *Aqui*.

For the Dignity of Bolivia

Bolivia's armed forces don't brag about their record against foreign enemies. They have suffered historic defeats at the hands of Chile and Paraguay, shrinking the nation's borders and cutting off its outlet to the Pacific. But Bolivia's generals and lakebound admirals have found their true calling at home, in the repeated overthrow of Bolivian governments. In 150 years they have perpetrated many of the nearly 200 changes of government. In recent years they have seemed intent on quickening even that astonishing pace. Their coup last week was the fourth, and most brutal, in two years.

The military remains blatantly opposed to the democratic process. The coup-makers last week said they acted "for the dignity of Bolivia, to reject the results of the general elections and to declare the Congress and its actions unconstitutional." Those elections were leading to the imminent installation of former President Hernán Siles Suazo for a new term at the head of a leftist coalition. Whatever one thinks of his political bedfellows, Mr. Siles's repeated election successes gave him legitimacy. That cannot be said for the new junta. Many Bolivians, including those in the powerful tin miners' union, have refused to resign themselves to democracy's defeat and have taken up arms against the military.

The latest coup stands out because it is so much like the crude, indeed fascist undertakings associated with the neighboring dictatorships of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The shooting of one leftist leader

has been confirmed and a campaign of intimidation seems to have begun against leftists, centrists and foreign exiles and journalists. For such reasons alone, the coup deserves the rebuke that Washington has given by suspending military assistance.

Americans have a wider stake in the fate of Bolivian democracy. Bolivia lies between the democratic Andean nations and the dictatorships of the Southern Cone. The United States, eager to promote the political values of the north, has directly involved itself in efforts to keep Bolivia's democratic hopes alive. Last fall, Washington's sanctions helped reverse a military coup after just two weeks. Those who find dignity in democracy will hope that more forceful pressure — again including the suspension of economic as well as military aid — can still save the situation.

EDITORIAL

Bolivians stay away from work after coup

By Mary Helen Spooner
In Santiago

BOLIVIA's administrative capital of La Paz remained semi-paralysed yesterday, despite exhortations by the newly-installed military government that people should return to work.

Less than half of the city's stores and offices opened on Monday, the first official working day following the military takeover last Tuesday. The armed forces had declared the previous days official holidays.

Gen Augusto Calderon, the new regime's Labour Minister warned that Bolivian employees who failed to show up for work yesterday would face immediate dismissal. He also issued a proclamation declaring Bolivian labour unions "in recess."

Reports from La Paz said Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, the junta's leader, had travelled to Cochabamba, the country's second largest city, to meet peasant leaders in an effort to persuade them to abandon their strike in protest at the new government. Nevertheless, Bolivian peasants were reportedly blocking roads and erecting barricades against military troops in the countryside.

In La Paz, troops reportedly fired into a group of demonstrators, but there were no reliable estimates of those dead or injured. The military is said to have taken control of all the mining areas, where miners had mounted an armed resistance effort, in the South.

Monsignor Jorge Manrique, Archbishop of La Paz, condemned the military takeover and charged that many Bolivians, including priests and nuns, had been arrested and jailed. In a statement read from the pulpits of Bolivian Catholic churches on Sunday, Monsignor Manrique said that Catholic radio stations had been violently raided by military authorities, and urged Bolivians to pray for a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

Bolivian Strike Losing Punch In Capital City

LA PAZ, Bolivia — (AP) — A general strike called to oppose Bolivia's new military regime collapsed Tuesday in central La Paz, but many businesses stayed closed in outlying neighborhoods.

Miners in the south claimed to be resisting an army force sent to subdue them.

The military junta, led by army Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, rejected U.S. government appeals for a return to civilian democracy, issuing a Foreign Ministry statement calling Washington's opposition to the coup "an unacceptable intervention in our internal affairs."

IT SAID the takeover last Thursday was necessary because Bolivians "are tired of the Communist infiltration and threats to destroy the country."

The United States has denounced the ouster of the civilian government, recalled its ambassador as a sign of displeasure and suspended military aid to Bolivia.

The unionized miners said in short-wave radio broadcasts monitored in La Paz that 5,000 peasants were gathering near the Siglo Veinte mine, 150 miles south of here, "and are organizing with miners into an effective army."

The miners' broadcasts also reported clashes between armed miners and soldiers, and claimed the army ambushed a Red Cross vehicle near Vencia, about 150 miles southwest of La Paz. There was no confirmation of the reports.

The military toppled the interim

government of civilian President Lydia Gueller last week in order to head off the expected election of her leftist successor, Hernan Siles Zuazo, by Congress.

SOON AFTER the coup, labor leaders called a general strike to protest the takeover. The strike initially proved effective, but by Thursday most businesses were open in downtown La Paz, and buses and taxis were operating.

But one knowledgeable Bolivian businessman, who asked not to be identified, reported that some large factories remained closed. Reporters visiting districts outside the center of the city found many businesses shut down.

Gunfire broke out at the Banco del Estado, across the street from the U.S. Embassy, but soldiers chased away those involved and it was unclear whether anyone was injured or what caused the incident. The bank was closed afterward.

Government-controlled television broadcast an interview with labor leader Juan Lechin Oquendo in which he urged an end to the strike and cooperation with the new government.

Lechin, who ran the powerful Bolivian Workers Central and had vehemently warned against a military coup, disappeared shortly after last week's takeover.

He first surfaced in a radio broadcast and later appeared in the televised interview, along with the new interior minister, Col. Luis Arce Gomez.

Bolivia's Powerful Unions Call Strike, Demand Return of Ousted President

LA PAZ, Bolivia — (UPI) — The labor unions that helped topple Bolivia's previous military regime challenged its new one Monday with a nationwide general strike and a demand that ousted president Lidia Gueiler be reinstated.

But armed resistance to the new military government appeared to falter in the mining districts, where government troops closed in on the nation's largest tin mine at Siglo Veinte, 155 miles southeast of La Paz.

A clandestine radio station manned by mine workers reported Monday that government troops were 1½ miles outside Siglo Veinte, the last pocket of armed resistance to the military regime.

THE STATE television reported late Sunday that several thousand army troops had quelled resistance by miners in southeastern Bolivia and assumed control of the Huacuni and Telamayu mines, 150 miles southeast of La Paz.

The state television also denied opposition reports that 200 Bolivians were executed by firing squads in La Paz. Diplomatic sources said that at least 400 Bol-

Travel Warning Issued

WASHINGTON — (AP) — The State Department disclosed Monday it has put into force a "travel advisory" requesting U.S. citizens to avoid traveling to Bolivia.

Spokesman John Trattner said that although the military leaders who ousted civilian President Lidia Gueiler last Friday "seem to be in control," the "resistance continues."

Trattner said that a U.S. citizen had been wounded in an earlier shootout, but is recovering at a

hospital in La Paz. The person's name was not revealed and Trattner did not give details of the incident. He said the department is not aware of any other U.S. casualties.

The United States recalled its ambassador to Bolivia as a sign of displeasure over the breakdown of Bolivia's constitutional order, and immediately started consultation with other Latin American nations on how to cope with the new situation.

vians have been detained.

In La Paz, heavy gunfire and explosions rang through the capital Sunday night and in the morning the streets, nearly empty of civilians, were patrolled by troops and tanks.

Troops also occupied the headquarters of the Worker's Confederation, the 500,000-member labor organization that called the general strike.

BUT SHORTLY before the troops arrived, the confederation's leaders

went underground and it was not immediately possible to determine how many workers obeyed the strike call.

The Worker's Confederation, which helped to bring down Bolivia's previous military regime by paralyzing the economy and refusing to negotiate with military authorities, said the general strike will last until the government of Gueiler is restored.

Labor Minister Augusto Calderon moved to thwart the strike, announcing late Sunday that public

employees who did not show up for work on Monday would be fired today.

At the same time, West Germany and the Socialist International joined in the condemnation of the coup that brought a three-man military junta headed by right-wing General Luis Garcia Meza to power last Thursday.

THE WEST GERMAN government condemned the coup, but said it would wait to see what the new regime does before possibly severing aid to Bolivia.

The Socialist International called coup leaders "irresponsible military officers" acting "in defiance of the clearly expressed will of the Bolivian people."

It called for support for Hernan Siles Zuazo, the candidate of the Popular Democratic Union who was the frontrunner in last month's general elections.

Siles Zuazo, now in hiding, failed to win the necessary votes to claim the presidency and Congress was to select the new president in August.

Gueiler is in asylum at the Vatican ambassador's residence, diplomatic sources said.

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Bolivian Workers Report Clash With Junta Troops

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 20 (AP)—Soldiers of the new military junta reportedly clashed today with workers in the mining district of Santa Ana, about 40 miles southeast of La Paz. Radio reports said there were "many casualties."

The Democratic Solidarity Radio Network—an anti-junta network formed by five union-controlled radio stations after the military seized control Thursday—reported the casualties and said the workers "resisted the advance" of the troops.

The radio network also "warned fellow workers to be ready to defend themselves" against the military, which overthrew the civilian government of interim president Lidia Gueller.

Gueller was permitted to go to the La Paz home of the papal nuncio—the pope's representative here—and reportedly was preparing to leave for Chile, where many Bolivian politicians have lived in exile.

The anti-junta broadcast gave no details of the fighting.

"All we know is that there has been a lot of workers' blood shed," the broadcast said.

The mining districts are the center of the strongest resistance to the coup. Santa Ana is an important zinc-mining district. Earlier reports said about 5,000 armed miners, mostly Indians, blocked roads with trucks and dynamite charges.

Col. Luis Arce Gomez, the interior minister in the new Cabinet of 17 military officers, said Socialist Party leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz was "killed during the fighting" Thursday. His wife gave a statement to reporters saying he was "executed" and authorities had refused her demand that the body be turned over to his family.

There was sporadic gunfire in La Paz early today but military authorities refused to say if there were any casualties.

State-run television reported three "foreigners" were killed in fighting during the coup but did not identify them or give any details.

The military, led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, staged the coup after it became apparent the Bolivian Congress would pick left wing former president Hernan Siles Zuzo as president. Siles led the field in a general election on June 29. He and several other politicians reportedly have been in hiding since the military takeover.

The United States has protested the takeover and recalled its ambassador.

Reuter added from La Paz:

A source close to Gueller told foreign correspondents she "needed to renounce her resignation, made known in a letter she read on television a few hours after the presidential palace was seized by paramilitary groups.

Gueller was waiting for "the right moment to disclose details on the way she was forced to resign," the source said.

Siles urged Bolivians to join the resistance. From hiding, he said in a statement: "This national destruction government has launched repressive repression against all civilian, political and union leaders as a first step to open an immense graveyard in the heart of South America."

The Roman Catholic Church has started contacts with the military rulers to secure the release of hundreds of union leaders, politicians, journalists and priests abducted by plainclothes gunmen Thursday.

The gunmen raided the headquarters of the powerful Bolivian Workers' Confederation, and first reports said its leader, Juan Lechin Oquendo, had

been snatched along with about 30 union and political leaders.

A communique broadcast by the state radio said a cache of Soviet arms had been uncovered yesterday in a security forces raid. The radio said "international mercenaries" were operating in Bolivia with order to "cause disturbances under communist slogans."

The archbishop of La Paz, Jorge Manrique, said, "Those responsible for the present situation should immediately release all detainees and repair the damage caused by civilian elements during raids on newspapers and radio stations." He also condemned the use of ambulances "in non-humanitarian military missions carried out by plainclothesmen."

EDITORIAL

Bolivia's Coup a Challenge to U.S.

THE MILITARY in Bolivia has crushed another struggling, nascent experiment in democracy. The coup is tragic. The United States should employ all of its considerable diplomatic leverage to try to persuade the Bolivian generals to pull back.

There is a temptation to make light of all this as "just another coup." After all, this is the 153th change in government Bolivia has endured in the 155 years since it won independence in 1825.

But the coup is no joke. It is tragic. This one threatens to be even bloodier than usual.

The immediate cause of this latest military takeover was the expected election as president of Hernan Siles Zuazo. Mr. Siles Zuazo, an ex-president, won a plurality in elections June 29 and was favored to be the choice of the Bolivian Congress when it named the new president on Aug. 4.

Mr. Siles Zuazo heads a leftist coalition called the Popular Democratic Union, which includes the local, pro-Soviet Communist Party. The military evidently found the prospect of a democratically elected leftist government unacceptable.

The coup is doubly tragic because it will lend credence to Marxist subversives around the world, especially elsewhere in troubled Latin America. One of the basic tenets of Marxism holds that capitalist democracies tolerate democratic institutions such as representative assemblies and popular elections only so long as rightist elites control them. If leftist movements threaten to win power through democratic means, the Marxists argue, then the rightists abandon democracy and retain power through force.

The Bolivian coup provides yet another ugly confirmation that this Marxist argument is too often sadly true.

But perhaps it is not too late for the United States to salvage democracy in Bolivia. The last time the Bolivian military pulled a coup, last November, the junta fell within weeks largely because the United States refused to recognize or aid the regime.

The Carter Administration condemned this latest coup Friday, suspended all military assistance immediately, and announced it would make no new commitments for future economic aid for the time being.

Washington's clout counts in La Paz. The military reportedly delayed making this latest coup for weeks after the United States warned it would cut \$200 million in annual foreign aid if the military staged a coup.

The Carter Administration should marshal all the diplomatic support it can in an effort to force the Bolivian generals back to their barracks so that the Bolivian people can choose the government they want, democratically.

Mystery over ex-President as Bolivians resist junta

BY MARY HELEN SPOONER IN SANTIAGO

THE whereabouts of Bolivia's deposed President, Sra. Lidia Gueller, remained a mystery yesterday amid contradictory reports that she had been deported to Paraguay or had sought political asylum in the U.S. Embassy in La Paz, the Bolivian capital.

Sra. Gueller was last seen leaving the Presidential residence in La Paz on Saturday morning in military custody. Paraguayan officials have denied that she had arrived in the country. Other reports, also unconfirmed, indicated that Sra. Gueller had sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy or the Papal nunciature in La Paz.

Civilian resistance to the military coup, the 153th in Bolivia's history, continued in La Paz and other areas of the country yesterday. clandestine radio stations have begun

transmission urging Bolivians to "maintain a strict discipline."

The Bolivian Air Force has bombed at least one clandestine radio station in Colquiri, a town south of La Paz, killing one person and injuring another.

Reports from La Paz indicate that Sr. Marcelo Quiroga, the Socialist Party presidential candidate who came fourth in the June 29 election, and Sr. Simon Reyes, a leader of Bolivia's pro-Moscow Communist Party, have died of their injuries suffered when troops raided the Bolivian Workers' Central (COB) on Thursday.

Sr. Hernan Siles Zuazo, who won the election, who was also wounded during the military takeover, is alive and in hiding and broadcasting statements via underground radio stations in Bolivia.

Military Tightens Hold on Bolivia After Coup

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By Ray Bonner
Special to The Washington Post

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 19—Ousted President Lidia Gueller, who took asylum in the Vatican Embassy here following a coup by the armed forces Thursday, was expected to leave the country today as military leaders continued to tighten their grip on Bolivia's major cities and mining districts.

In a lengthy speech a few hours before being sworn in as president yesterday, Army commander Gen. Luis Garcia Meza forbade any labor union activities and declared, "There will be no electoral adventures in our country." His speech was laced with references to the military's "cosmic mission" to save the country.

Foreign observers, who stayed off the capital's nearly deserted streets as soldiers and well-armed paramilitary soldiers patrolled in armored vehicles, civilian trucks and ambulances, commented on the "efficiency" of the coup in which most potential union or political leaders of resistance were either killed, wounded or taken prisoner.

The archbishop of La Paz issued a

statement denouncing the military takeover and decried the "use of ambulances to help the military, not humanitarian purposes." He demanded the release of political and union leaders, as well as the "unknown number of religious leaders and priests who are being detained."

Among those being held are 25 Bolivian journalists, seized when the presidential palace was taken over, and Gueller and her Cabinet arrested Thursday. Sources said the journalists, including one from The Associated Press, have been taken to the military garrison.

The military government is making every effort to keep information from those inside and outside of the country. All radio stations, except for a few in the remote tin-mining areas, are controlled by the military. No newspapers are publishing.

The headquarters of the country's leading union federation, where one labor leader reportedly was killed and scores were arrested during the takeover, is surrounded by heavily armed troops.

There are traces of civilian resist-

ance, however. Remote mining districts with their own broadcasting systems continue to radio appeals for workers and peasants to resist.

On Thursday night, armed cadets from the military academy reportedly forced their way into the apartment of a U.S. official, Thomas Watson, shot him in the face and sacked the residence. Watson and his wife were held overnight and today he was reported to be in good condition.

Asked why the military is so interested in ruling this country, which has undergone nearly 200 changes of government in its 155 years of independence, a conservative businessman from the second largest city of Santa Cruz said with surprising candor, "power and money."

Ousted Bolivia Leader Is at Vatican Mission; Likely to Go Into Exile

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 19 (Reuters) — Lydia Gueller Tejada, who was ousted as Interim President Thursday by the armed forces, has taken asylum in the Vatican mission here and is expected to leave the country today, according to a member of her Government.

The former official, also at the Vatican mission, said that Miss Gueller entered the building yesterday after officially handing over the Government Palace to the new military junta.

Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, the army commander and a member of the three-man junta, was sworn in yesterday as President.

Miss Gueller, appointed Interim President last November after a short-lived coup, was accused by General Garcia Meza of causing misery with stern monetarist economic policies and of sharply increasing the foreign debt.

Junta Moved to Thwart Leftist

The junta, which calls itself a Government of National Reconstruction, assumed power to head off the expected election of former President Hernán Siles Zuazo, a leftist politician, to the presidency. Congress was given the task of choosing a chief of state after none of the three principal candidates received a majority in a presidential election last month.

Mr. Siles Zuazo, who won a plurality in the voting and had been considered the most likely to succeed Miss Gueller, went into hiding after the coup.

The armed forces consolidated their control in major cities but faced armed resistance in Andean districts dominated by the militant tin miners' union. The miners, supported by peasant groups, continued a general strike, blocking roads as part of a "popular resistance" movement launched by the National Council for the Defense of Democracy.

A network of radio stations controlled by the miners went off the air yesterday when troops entered the Huamán district, 250 miles south of La Paz. The stations resumed broadcasting today with calls for "organized and peaceful civilian resistance."

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U.S. Ambassador Recalled, Aid Cut In Bolivian Coup

By Karen DeYoung

Washington Post Foreign Service

The United States yesterday recalled its ambassador to Bolivia and cut off all military aid as the leader of a day-old military coup had himself sworn in as president of the South American nation.

The instant show of what a State Department spokesman called "our extreme disapproval of what has taken place in that country" was meant to demonstrate the Carter administration commitment to democratic change in the hemisphere and break the longstanding U.S. image of support for military dictatorships.

In Bolivia, where administration pressure helped overturn one coup last November and narrowly averted another by the armed forces in May, the U.S. government is now almost totally estranged from the military with which it was once closely allied.

Bolivian military figures last month were calling for expulsion of U. S. Ambassador Marvin Weissman for interference in Bolivia's internal affairs.

At least five persons were killed, a dozen wounded and an undetermined number arrested Thursday, when the military took over to prevent congress from electing a leftist president.

The congress had been scheduled to choose a new executive in early August because none of the candidates in elections last month won the required 50 percent of the vote. Front-runner Hernan Siles Zuazo, a leftist former president, was expected to be tapped by the legislature.

Asked if the United States had known about Thursday's coup plans in advance, spokesman J. Trattner said, "We had been informed . . . And we have made our position clear to the military on many occasions."

Bolivia's ambassador to the United States, Roberto Arce, resigned in pro-

test over the coup, although he was unable to transmit his resignation to the self-declared new Government of National Reconstruction, composed of the heads of the three uniformed military services, because telephone and telex communication with the landlocked South American country had been closed down.

Meanwhile, according to news agency reports from La Paz, the capital, the military consolidated its grip on power and launched a series of operations against armed workers challenging its control. Troops and tanks were sent to the country's southern tin-mining region to end labor resistance to the coup, military reports said.

Some 5,000 unionized miners, mostly Indians, took up arms and barricaded mountain roads leading to the tin mines, according to broadcasts by radio stations controlled by the miners' union and monitored by the Associated Press. The mines, which provide the bulk of Bolivia's income, are two to three miles high in the Andes in an area 100 to 200 miles south of La Paz.

"We are going to resist the coup until the ultimate consequences," one broadcast said. Labor and civic resistance to a coup last November, in which more than 200 were killed, helped bring about a military retreat after 16 days. This time, informed observers feared that prolonged civil war between civilians and the military might break out.

The streets of La Paz were reported calm yesterday, however, after a night of sporadic gunfire. Martial law was declared in effect nationwide, and the military decreed yesterday a public holiday to offset the effects of a nationwide strike called by labor groups.

At mid-afternoon, army commander Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, a member of the new three-man junta, signed a decree designating himself president, and was sworn in by Gen. Armando Reyes Villa, commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The other two junta members are air force commander Gen. Waldo Bernal and navy commander Rear Adm. Ramiro Terrazas.

The ceremony came just hours after former interim president Lidia Gueiler, her voice cracking with emotion, officially resigned in a speech broadcast over the armed forces radio.

Gueiler and her cabinet were seized Thursday during a paramilitary attack on the government palace. Her whereabouts yesterday were not known, al-

though there were rumors in La Paz that she had been flown to another country.

As head of the Bolivian senate last fall, Gueiler had taken over the presidency following a series of power changes that included two coups, and promised to hold elections this summer. Throughout her administration, she was pressured by the military to postpone the vote and to give more power to the armed forces, which charged that a leftist conspiracy was trying to take over the country.

In his statement yesterday, State Department spokesman Trattner said that the United States would hold consultations on Bolivia "with other countries in the region and the Organization of American States." He said the United States had had "no communications" with the Bolivian armed forces, which had been scheduled to receive \$2 million in U.S. military aid, since the coup.

Trattner said the United States was not breaking relations with Bolivia, but that Weissman was being recalled "for consultations" for an unspecified period of time.

Other State Department sources also said that a private American citizen, whom they declined to identify, had been shot during the takeover and was receiving treatment in a La Paz hospital, where he was being assisted by U.S. consular personnel.

The sources said that while there had been no attacks against the U.S. Embassy, the embassy commissary was sacked by the military Thursday night, and that a sizable quantity of food had been carried away in an army truck.

Bolivian Troops Act to Quell Miners' Resistance to Coup

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 18 (UPI) — Bolivian troops moved into southern mining towns today to crush the remaining resistance to the military coup launched yesterday. The army commander, Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, took the oath of office as President.

The swearing-in ceremony was the first official act of the three-man military junta, which called itself the Government of National Reconstruction, and came just hours after Lydia Gueiler Tejeda, her voice choked with emotion, went on radio to surrender formally her power as Interim President.

Miss Gueiler, appointed chief of state last November after a short-lived military coup, was reported under house arrest at the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of La Paz.

The United States expressed "extreme disapproval" of the coup, which was aimed at preventing the Bolivian Congress from electing a leftist as president.

U.S. Recalls Ambassador

The State Department recalled Ambassador Marvin Weissman, suspended military assistance and said a cutoff in economic aid was under consideration.

General Garcia Meza, a frequent critic of Miss Gueiler in the months before the coup, signed a decree designating himself President. Also signing the document were the two other members of the junta — the air force commander, Gen. Waldo Bernal, and the navy commander, Rear Adm. Ramiro Ferreras.

General Garcia Meza was sworn in at the Miraflores barracks, seat of the Bolivian military staff, by Gen. Armando Reyes Villa, Commander in Chief of the armed forces. Meanwhile, tanks patrolled the streets of the capital and troops took up positions on roofs.

Radio reports said soldiers loyal to the junta moved into mining towns 200 miles southeast of La Paz to put down resistance from powerful unions urging a general strike to protest the overthrow of civilian government.

At least five people were killed and a dozen wounded yesterday during the uprising. Witnesses said the soldiers removed the dead and wounded from La Paz hospitals and took them to army General Staff headquarters.

Martial law was in effect around the country. The newspapers, seized by troops, did not publish today. Radio stations resumed broadcasting under military control.

Air Force jet fighters swooped low over the capital in the morning in a show of support for the rebellion.

In a communiqué the junta said that it took power because of "economic deterioration," subversion by leftist groups, corruption, electoral fraud and general disorder. It imposed a curfew and declared today a national holiday.

The holiday coincided with a general strike of indefinite duration called by the

National Committee in Defense of Democracy to oppose the takeover.

Among the several dozen people arrested were Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, the Socialist Party's presidential candidate in last month's election; Oscar Eid, leader of the Revolutionary Leftist Movement, several Cabinet ministers and about 20 journalists.

Political sources said Hernán Siles Zuazo, the leftist politician who won the



Gen. Luis Garcia Meza

most votes in the June 29 presidential election, was in hiding.

Congress, which had been scheduled to convene on Aug. 4, was given the task of choosing a president when Mr. Siles Zuazo failed to gain a majority in the voting last month. As the frontrunner, Mr. Siles was generally expected to win the congressional vote.

U.S. Expresses 'Disapproval'

WASHINGTON, July 18 (Reuters) — The State Department said today that the recall of Ambassador Marvin Weissman from Bolivia for consultations did not mean a break in diplomatic relations.

Saying the United States wanted to register "extreme disapproval" of the Bolivian events, John Trattner, the department spokesman, said Washington was reviewing whether Bolivia would be allowed to receive the \$115 million in economic aid authorized in previous years.

The United States suspended \$8 million in military aid — \$6 million in unused military sales credits and \$2 million in planned credits.

MILITARY CHIEFS SEIZE POWER IN BOLIVIA; CIVILIANS DETAINED

WVP

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By Ray Bonner

Special to The Washington Post

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 17—Commanders of the Bolivian armed forces seized power today to thwart the impending election of a constitutional left-wing government. They declared that President Lidia Gueiler, who was detained earlier in the day, had resigned.

Shots rang out sporadically in the streets of the 12,000-foot-high capital, which was thick with troops armed for combat.

An Army radio station, broadcasting in the name of the Army, Air Force and Navy commanders, declared invalid the recent first-round elections, won by leftist ex-president Hernan Siles Zuazo. It said the Congress that was to elect him formally next month was "unconstitutional."

At least one Communist Party member and a labor leader were reported dead, several leftists arrested and the whereabouts of many other Bolivians—including Gueiler—unknown.

Up to 20 Bolivian journalists were under detention.

In Washington, the State Department said it "deplores the reported coup attempt in Bolivia and the accompanying violence." It announced cutoff of all security aid and refusal to consider further economic aid "pending clarification."

The U.S. government has supported the efforts of this coup-prone, landlocked country of 5 million people to break out of the pattern of right-wing military rule that has dominated lower South America for most of this decade.

According to initial reports, Gueiler and her Cabinet were taken prisoner after armed forces in civilian dress took over the Quemado Palace. The name means "burned palace," coming from one of the 155 previous coups since independence from Spain in 1825.

Later, an unidentified receptionist at the presidential residence said Gueiler, 51, was "resting" there and an unconfirmed report said she would be allowed to take refuge in an embassy.

Other reports said troops had ringed Latin American embassies to prevent opponents of the military from seeking asylum. A night curfew was in effect throughout the country.

The charismatic leader of the Bolivia's tin miners, Juan Lechin Oquendo, was said to have been taken prisoner by the rightist paramilitary forces that cooperated closely with the military.

While forces in civilian garb infiltrated action here, Army regiments in the eastern cities of Trinidad and

Santa Cruz seized government buildings and called for the overall takeover.

Communist member of Congress Simon Reyes was reported killed in one of several assaults laid to right-wing gunmen. Reports were difficult to confirm because of major efforts by troops to prevent circulation of news on the day's events.

"This bunch isn't going to make the same mistake that Natusch did," said a diplomat, recalling the abortive right-wing coup by Army Col. Alberto Natusch Burch in November. "They're going to make sure that the outside world doesn't know what these fascists are doing."

While troops concentrated around the downtown university, a center of leftist opposition, there were ample calls for resistance. Siles reportedly made such a call clandestinely.

The junta of Army Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, Air Force Gen. Waldo Bernal and Adm. Oscar Terrazas said "terrorism will be drastically repressed." Bolivia's Navy consists of patrol boats on Lake Titicaca.

"We're going to resist the coup to the ultimate consequences," declared the mineworker organizations in cities 150 and 200 miles from La Paz. "Never are we going to work for these exploiters," one broadcast said.

Bolivia's tin miners defeated the military in Bolivia's 1952 revolution that substantially altered the political, economic and social structure of the country, lifting the Indian majority from peonage. Last November even after the general strike was lifted, the tin miners refused to work until Natusch left the palace.

The unions again, today called for a general strike and civilians were building barricades.

Uniformed soldiers entered at least one foreign news bureau, seized stories that were being filed on the insurrection and ordered all journalists to leave. The journalists' communications outside the country were reportedly cut off.

[Siles' vice presidential candidate, Jaime Paz, issued a statement in Washington, where he is a visitor, calling on "the Bolivian people, labor unions, peasants and the middle class . . . to resist by all means the intent of the restoration of the dictatorship, and engage in active struggle for democracy and freedom"]

The rightist insurrection follows a two-year period of political upheaval—including two coups, a 16-day bloody military siege and six presidents—at has been extreme even in the context of Bolivia's turbulent history. The elections held in 1978 were the

first in almost 15 years, the interim had seen a succession of military leaders (including six uniformed men successively occupying the presidential seat during one 24-hour period) and concluded with seven years of relative stability imposed by rightist Gen. Hugo Banzer.

Throughout the last two years, the United States has played a significant role in prodding Bolivians toward democracy. The Carter administration has made Bolivia one of the largest recipients of economic assistance in Latin America, with nearly \$200 million scheduled for 1980.

U.S. relations with the military have been severely strained since last year, following an earlier election in which no candidate won an absolute majority and a civilian president was selected by the Congress. That president, Walter Guevara Arce, was overthrown by Col. Natusch.

Natusch lasted 16 days, during which the United States reportedly threatened to cut off all aid and union and student organizations organized strong resistance in the streets and a paralyzing general strike. Congress then appointed Gueiler as interim president, the first woman to hold the office in Bolivia and the second in a Latin America. She was to govern until her successor was inaugurated Aug. 6.

The military exerted strong pressure on Gueiler throughout the past seven months, circumventing her policies and forcing the appointment of a hard-liner to replace her own choice of a moderate to head the Army.

Before the July 29 elections, the military warned that neither of the leading candidates, Siles or ex-president Victor Paz Estenssoro, was acceptable to the armed forces. An earlier coup attempt was averted in late May, reportedly following strong U.S. pressure, and State Department spokesmen at that time warned that the United States supported the "continuation of the democratization process in Bolivia."

Those statements to angered the military, which accused the United States of interference in the internal affairs of the country, that it gave U.S. Ambassador Marvin Weissman 72 hours to leave the country and called on Gueiler to declare him persona non grata.

Gueiler ignored the demands and appeared to have come to an accommodation with the military. Last weekend, however, the government announced official vote tabulations that showed Siles with a substantial margin.

Weissman is now in La Paz.

Nervous creditors and military look on

DEMOCRACY, AS Sr Lidia Guijjer, Bolivia's interim President, remarked last month, sometimes carries a very high price. The country, which has just made its third attempt in two years to elect a civilian president, is the poorest in South America. Any future economic improvement for Bolivia's 5m people seems inextricably linked to stable government.

Until recently, that stability has been almost synonymous with military rule. Bolivians are now watching nervously to see whether Sr Hernan Siles Zuazo, the left-wing former President who emerged as frontrunner from the June 22 election, will be allowed to take office. Because he did not capture a majority of the vote, the Bolivian Congress must decide the election, though Sr Siles' chances have been helped by the withdrawal yesterday of the candidate who came second. But the military has been making threats. The country's foreign creditors are also watching the result with less compassion, but no less concern, interest.

Foreign debt reached \$3.7bn last year. The bulk of this was concentrated during the seven-year regime of Gen Hugo Banzer from 1971-78. This year debt obligations should reach \$4.2bn, which will absorb at least 40 per cent of Bolivia's export earnings.

During the last quarter of this year, \$294.4m of the debt came due, while money coming into the country, including export earnings and a \$10m loan from the International Monetary Fund, totalled only \$274.2m. During this period, Bolivia's international reserves dwindled from \$170m to \$95m according to an IMF report.



Sr Hernan Siles Zuazo

Bolivian officials are trying to renegotiate the country's external debt, but most banks and lending institutions seem to be awaiting the outcome of the elections. A few days before the voting, the Finance Ministry announced it would explain new developments in rescheduling Bolivia's debt. But reporters were treated to a list of new soft development loans awarded by the Inter-American Development Bank totalling \$63.5m.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1979 — the last year for which figures are available — was a mere \$2.7bn. Since then, production has declined in several key areas and will undoubtedly decline further in the face of political unrest. Exports of tin and other minerals by Comibol, the state mining corporation, and small and medium-size mining companies decreased in volume by one third or more during the first



quarter of 1980. Agricultural production has been impaired by poor weather and the Bolivian Cotton Growers Association recently announced that their losses were so extensive that no exports would take place this year.

Sr Siles has stated that, despite his left-wing political alliances, his government should still be able to attract enough foreign loans and credits to keep the country afloat.

"We are going to have an honest government, and I believe that it is in the interests of banks and international organisation to lend to honest governments," he said recently. "We will have a government in which there can be human error, but not hands dipping into the Treasury to take money from a poor and backward country such as ours." A Siles government would be likely to apply some austerity measures to the Bolivian economy,

judging from Sr Siles' past performance. After taking office in 1980, he followed the advice of the IMF that government subsidies in many areas could not continue if financial stabilisation were to be achieved. Among the political risks taken by Sr Siles was a freeze on wages and salaries and the abandonment of government subsidised miners' commissaries. These set off a storm of protest and cost him support from the groups which had brought him to power.

At one point, President Siles even began a hunger strike to force Bolivia's militant tin miners to accept these economic policies.

In other areas of the economy, Sr Siles has said he will not denationalise any of the state-controlled industries, which account for 70 per cent of Bolivia's production.

The inefficiencies of Bolivia's state-owned enterprises, according to Sr Siles, have been due to the corruption of past governments rather than structural problems. Reforms will take place in those state enterprises which "had been run like the personal fiefdoms of corrupt officials," he said.

But whatever Sr Siles' intentions for the Bolivian economy are, the question now is whether he will be permitted to take office at all. When the newly-elected members of Congress convene next month, they will attempt electing a president from between Sr Siles and the right-wing Gen Banzer, now that Sr Victor Paz Estenssoro, a former President, has withdrawn.

Sr Siles' Popular Democratic United (CDU) coalition, which according to some estimates won as much as 40 per cent of the vote, may not automatically receive congressional

support from Bolivia's Socialist Party, led by Sr Marcelo Quiroga, which won about 11 per cent of the vote.

A few days after the election Sr Quiroga announced that he would not necessarily give his votes to Sr Siles in Congress. Failure to do so could make the congressional election more difficult and intervention by Bolivia's armed forces more likely.

The military, led by the army Commander, Gen Luis Garcia Meza, seems to regard Sr Siles as a direct threat to its existence, despite the candidate's repeated assurances that he enjoys the backing of younger, more progressive officers.

But if the military intervenes, either before or after Congress meets, the civilian reaction is likely to be swift and massive. Last November, an obscure army officer Col Albert Natusch Busch seized control of the government for 15 days. Over 200 people were killed in popular protests. The militant Bolivia Workers Central (COB) called a general strike and will undoubtedly do the same in the face of another military coup.

A new military intervention is likely to be far bloodier and more paralysing than the Natusch coup. There are rumours even of plans for a massacre of the left on the model of the Chilean coup in 1973.

But Bolivia's soldiers are not as well organised as their Chilean counterparts. Bolivia is more likely to resemble El Salvador, where a seemingly endless battle between the military and civilians is taking place. Ironically, a Siles-led government would not be able to move very far to the Left because of the severe financial constraints.

Bolivian Candidate To Contact Military About Presidency

World Wire Services

BUENOS AIRES — Hernan Siles Zuazo, the frontrunner and likely winner in the still pending Bolivian presidential elections, is confident that he can reach an understanding with "progressive sectors" of the armed forces in his unstable nation.

"We will explain to them what we propose to do in terms of national pacification and vigilance for democracy," he said in an interview published Saturday in the Buenos Aires newspaper Clarin. "There are progressive sectors in the armed forces and several of their leaders have turned to the left."

Siles said he was confident that he would be able to take office Aug. 6 in a government that "will represent the aspirations of the majority." Bolivia, which has had six governments in the last two years, has been rife with rumors of a military coup for the past six months.

Returns from the June 29 elections are still being tallied, but Siles, a leftist and one of 13 candidates, has remained solidly in front with around 35 per cent of the popular vote.

NYT

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Final Bolivian Vote Tally Gives Leftist 38 Percent

LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 11 (Reuters) — Hernán Siles Zuazo will be 22 votes short of election when Congress meets on Aug. 3 to choose a new President, according to official election returns.

A spokesman for the national electoral court said the final figures for the June 29 election were as follows: Mr. Siles Zuazo, leader of the leftist Popular Democratic Unity Party, won 38.74 percent of the popular vote; Victor Paz Estenssoro of the centrist Nationalist Revolutionary Movement won 20.14 percent and Gen. Hugo Banzer Suarez of the rightist Democratic Nationalist Alliance won 16.82 percent.

Since no one won a majority, Congress will choose the President. Mr. Siles Zuazo's party has 57 seats in the 157-member chamber, 22 short of a majority.

WP

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LEFTIST VICTORY EXPECTED IN BOLIVIA

LA PAZ, Bolivia—Left-wing presidential candidate Hernan Siles Zuazo appeared to be assured of victory following the decision of second place Victor Paz Estenssoro to drop out of the race.

"To block Dr. Siles Zuazo . . . from assuming control of the government would be against the democratic process of the country and against the people who want a stable, constitutional government," said Paz on Wednesday.

With more than 50 percent of the votes in last month's election tallied, Siles leads Paz 497,933 to 263,112. Rightist Hugo Banzer ran a distant third in a race that included other minor candidates. Since Siles lacks a majority, the final choice goes to the newly elected Congress. With Paz dropping out, Siles appears sure of the 79 votes needed in the 157 seat legislature.

Siles is a former president, as are the other two main candidates. He is opposed by much of the military that has controlled the country for a decade.

Profits Are Habit-Forming

By WARREN HOGE

Special to The New York Times

CHULUMANI, Bolivia, June 23 — The neatly ridged and rowed patches of vegetation, etched into the flanks of virtually every mountain in this high-altitude region of Bolivia, look like game boards from a distance. Recently, they have been producing lots of winners.

The steeply terraced fields yield coca leaves, and the leaves yield cocaine, the price of which, because of soaring worldwide demand, has increased threefold and more in the last five years.

These fields are the leading source of cocaine, and the winners are the Bolivians who, however illegally, are getting rich trying to satisfy the demand from abroad.

"There are at least 50 new millionaires in Bolivia because of cocaine, and some are in the \$30-million-plus range," said a rancher in Santa Cruz, Bolivia's second largest city and the drug dealing capital of the country. "This is a place that didn't have paved streets in the central square in 1957. From 1955 to 1975 it grew off of oil and civic spirit. But since 1975 it's been 100 percent cocaine revenue."

The Poor Are the Losers

Montero, a town 30 miles north of Santa Cruz with a disproportionate number of shiny new Alfa-Romeos in its streets, is called the "white city" because of all the pearl-colored powder that passes through it.

Crouched on a slatted wooden stand in one of La Paz's hilly market streets next to an upended 35-pound bale of coca leaves sat one of the people who is not doing so well in the coca leaf business.

The woman, an Aymara Indian wearing a caramel-colored bowler hat and a black shawl pinned across her chest to ward off the Andean winter chill, periodically reached into the tightly packed given swirl of leaves, filled a small cellophane bag, weighed it on a hand-held scale and placed it on the rack before her.

"The police come around and ask us why we have one pound more than we should have," she complained. "We ask them why they don't get the big capitalists who are taking truckloads and selling it to traffickers. It takes us two weeks to sell this, and we don't make any money anymore."

She deals legally, the millionaires illegally. She is catering to a custom nearly 5,000 years old. The millionaires are meeting a market that has existed for barely a quarter of a century.

Farmers Turn to Coca

It is not against the law in Bolivia to grow coca on properly registered land and to sell it for the variety of uses that Andean Indians have been putting it to for millenniums. The registration program begun nine years ago was to have

stabilized production at a level consonant with the plant's traditional role in the culture, but the demand abroad has prompted planters to expand their fields and growers of other produce to turn to coca. So many Bolivian farmers are making the switch that the country could soon face a problem of providing essential foods for its already undernourished people.

Many Indians and mestizo — Indians make up 75 percent of Bolivia's population and mestizos 20 percent — carry wads of coca leaves in their mouths through working hours as a vitamin source, an energizer and an appetite suppressor. Bolivian miners often receive coca with their pay, and sugar workers, concerned that their sources had dried up because of diversion to narcotics, threatened last week to strike unless their employers supplied them with one pound a week.

Cosme Huanca, a 30-year-old Aymara who has spent his life picking coca, explained why he liked to chew it as he moved down the furrowed rows stripping bushes and stuffing the leaves into a sack he carried around his waist. "You don't weaken," he said as he flashed a soty smile between blackened lips.

Nearby, an Aymara woman lamented the boom because, she said, it had brought with it the threat of Government suppression. "Foreigners came here to make cocaine, and we didn't like that. Now Bolivians have learned to make it too. If coca gets taken away from us, we will end up dead like those dry branches on that tree." She stood on ground so rocky that the individual ridges appeared to have been inlaid with stone and shale. "This land isn't good for anything else," she said.

Coca is also used legally in Bolivia for ceremonial occasions, religious offerings, a practice for wounds and a tea that new arrivals to La Paz are counseled to take to better withstand the effects of the 12,000-foot altitude.

Figures on cocaine traffic tend to be imprecise because of the clandestine nature of the business. Currently accepted estimates here put Bolivia's annual production of refined cocaine at 100 tons. The United States consumes from 60 to 120 tons of South American cocaine a year. In New York City, for example, a kilo of the drug, or 2.2 pounds, will cost up to \$30,000 wholesale, and can be diluted into enough portions to be worth \$250,000 on the retail market, according to figures compiled last year by the police there.

Canada consumes another 10 to 20 tons of South American cocaine a year, Europe from 10 to 30. In Bolivia the gain in

profits in selling coca leaves illegally rather than legally ranges from 40 to 100 percent.

The United States has eight narcotics agents in Bolivia. The American Embassy is also about to embark on a joint program with the Bolivian Government to persuade coca growers to diversify into crops more critical to the country's food needs. In return, lights, water, and sewage lines would be installed, garbage collection arranged and schools built.

Coca Growing 'Out of Hand'

The Bolivian Government has assigned a 400-man force to limiting the expansion of coca growing in the country, but one of its commanders conceded, "You can grow or buy whatever you want wherever you want and avoid our control."

"It's gotten completely out of hand," an American official said. "We know they are planting more and more coca and that it is for illegal uses outside the country. We just have to wait for a government that will really back a narcotics control program."

That could be a long time. On Sunday Bolivia holds its third national elections in as many years, and as foreign leaders and political organizations abroad have grown more reluctant to finance candidates in these inconclusive exercises, cocaine interests have filled the financing void. "I worry broadly that our next director of narcotics control could himself be a trafficker," the Bolivian officer said.

Bolivia generally exports an intermediate cocaine product called "base," a malodorous rough greenish yellow powder, from which refined cocaine is later precipitated and dried on filter paper stretched across banks of 100-watt bulbs. "Base" can be made relatively easily from coca leaves, kerosene, sulfuric and hydrochloric acids, bicarbonate of soda and a collection of broom closet implements such as buckets, tubes and jars. The so-called "kitchens" can be assembled and dismantled rapidly, and they have been found in moving vans, on boats, underground and in conventional office buildings.

The laboratories that make the finished product are usually in Colombia, a country with better access to high-quality industrial chemicals and easier routes to North American and European markets.

Measuring by the level of activity in Bolivia, they are going to stay busy. Mr. Huanca turned his head from one end of the valley to the other, surveying the carefully propped bistrois on each mountain face. "Every one of them is new," he said.