

ALASKA LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE FILES 1901-1902 00/2

2091 SSA SJR 9 - SJR 11

2091

# Alaska State Legislature

SENATOR  
M. "ED" DANKWORTH

REPRESENTING  
SENATE DISTRICT 12-J

COMMITTEES  
VICE-CHAIRMAN  
JUDICIARY  
RESOURCES

FINANCE  
REGULATORY REVIEW



Senate

HOME ADDRESS  
2425 HIALEAH DRIVE  
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99503  
HOME PHONE: (907) 277-0683

IN SESSION  
POUCH V  
JUNEAU, ALASKA 99811  
PHONE: (907) 465-3749

DATE: 1/26/81

TO: Sen. Fischer

FROM: Sen. <sup>DM</sup>Dankworth

RE: SJR 9, which limits the number of terms a legislator may serve.

Please find the attached information taken from my file on SJR 9. I hope you will find these comments helpful.

Please feel free to contact my office should you need any further information. 465-3753. Thank you.

LEGISLATIVE STUDY COMMITTEE REPORT

PART I

Sponsored by

General Federation of Women's Clubs

Anchorage FREE Committee

Prepared by

Jan Bomhoff and Jan Faiks

January, 1981

## VIII.

### LIMIT TERMS OF OFFICE

The FREE Committee strongly believes in the concept of a citizen legislature versus professional lawmakers. For this reason, and others, FREE feels that there should be a limitation on the number of terms a Representative and Senator may serve. Surprisingly, a good portion of the responding legislators favored this concept.

FREE feels that a limitation would serve as an incentive for more citizens to seek elective office - the perception being that incumbents are generally pretty difficult to unseat. New faces bring fresh approaches to programs and issues, needed at all times, but especially now in Alaska with its vast natural resource wealth.

When legislators remain in one house for a long period of time, excessive power over colleagues and staff seems to develop, as do legislative cliches. By dispersing the concentration of power, it will be more difficult for a handful of "long time" legislators to control legislation contrary to the wishes of the majority.

One legislator commented during the discussions that it was difficult for even the "good guy" legislators to remain free of obligations to their colleagues. In the lawmaking process there is always give and take, and legislators who have been on the job for a long time will inevitably build up a certain amount of "favors due" and

"favours owed", so that it becomes increasingly difficult to judge matters under consideration solely on their merit.

FREE recommends the following limitations on the terms of office:

1. Senate - two 4-year consecutive terms.
2. House - four 2-year consecutive terms.
3. Present incumbents would begin counting their terms with the effective date of the law.

Using FREE's formula, legislators popular with their constituents could remain in the legislature, but would have to change Houses every eight years. Thereby, the right of the citizen to choose his lawmakers remains intact.

Dear Ed:

6 MAR 80

Prior to the constitutional convention, I would have opposed legislation similar to your SJR 42. but in that convention I gave a lot of thought to just such a limitation since we were going to limit the governor, and in a sense put a limitation upon State judges.

After convention hours, Dayton Keene, who was the legislative branch comm advisor, Weldon Cooper, Emil Sady, and Ernest Bartley often met in my apt to discuss just the subject of your bill. Frankly I was looking for support from the consultants.

My presentation to them, was that historically we had many poor Governors- (of which we could do nothing) and that since the legislature had been established in 1913 we had had some pretty poor legislators. In those days the mining industry and fishing interests pretty well controlled those small legislatures of 24 people. But as state hood effort really came to life with the advent of Ernest Gruening as governor the full pressure of industry was felt. We had a number of pro mining and pro fish legislators who really controlled the legislature--much of it by seniority. ~~I sought to put a restraint on the legislature.~~

Dayton Keene who had been a legislator for some years felt my arguements were valid and that this might now be the time to put in a limitation- so was Bartley inclined. The others were of the opinion there probably was a necessity for such action, in this state as well as some other states. We all agreed that unicameralism would in no way better the situation. But then there was arguement presented that the people might feel and "infringement on voters rights.

As I look back now, I think the people would have accepted that limitation without a ~~complaint~~ complaint, because I heard very few questioning the limitation on the Governor tenure.

I beleive we discuss the subject in our committee meeting on several occassions. I discussed the matter extensively with my friend Senator Vic Rivers who was chairman of the Executive branch committee. He was inclined to agree in principal as he was including the limitation on the governor in his article. Rivers quietly polled a number of convention delegates reporting back to me that though they agreed on the gubernatorial limitation there was no favor, bl consensus relative to legislators. So, I let the matter go as we already had some novel ideas in our article.

It is my feeling, in the light of the action of the state legislature over the last 8 or 10 sessions, the people might now be ready to accept a limit on terms of legislators, particularly since they have seen the benefits of a limitation on the governor.

I doubt if your SJR 42 will pass in the legislature--too many have a "good thing" going for themselves. But, if someone haddthe time and energy to see it through via referendum, I'm certain it would pass.

Certainly the time has come to put some brakes on the legislature. This maybe a start.

I am agreed with your bill, I hope it passes.

S M

*Steve. 11/23/80*

LAW OFFICES

JOSEPHSON, TRICKEY & LORENSEN, INC.

425 "G" STREET  
SUITE 930  
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501  
907 276-7133

May 2, 1980

JOE P. JOSEPHSON  
HOWARD S. TRICKEY  
RONALD W. LORENSEN  
NANCY R. GORDON  
TIM MacMILLAN  
JAN HART DeYOUNG

JUNEAU:  
210 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET  
JUNEAU, ALASKA 99801  
907 586-6994, 586-6997

\*Juneau

Senator M. "Ed" Dankworth  
Alaska State Legislature  
Pouch V  
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Ed:

Belatedly I am acknowledging your letter of March 21 and the enclosure. I have mixed feelings about SJR 42. As you acknowledged, there is some value in experience, continuity and professionalism in the legislative branch.

On the other hand, the advantages of an incumbent are enormous, as you say. The remoteness of the state capital, the relatively small size of the legislature, and the advantages of name familiarity, and other factors, can help maintain an "old boy" network. I think that in legislative work, like any other field, a worker can get calloused and stale over time.

I reached the point after eight years in the legislature where I was beginning to foresee a lack of freshness of ideas on my part. I felt it important to go back into the private sector and regenerate. There is a tendency to stay in the legislature when one has really creative matters on his or her agenda. To stay under those circumstances is a limitation on a person's own growth. It is as refreshing to leave after a time as it is to obtain office.

Also, I think there is something attractive in the notion of citizen-statesman. I like the idea that legislative service in a place like Alaska is a civic duty which concerned citizens share. Sometimes, when one is in office too long, he grows to feel that he owns the office; the sense of being a public servant is obscured.

It is a very difficult matter to generalize about because, of course, some people serve for decades with undiminished distinction. Senator Butrovich comes to mind. Others become complacent or lazy.

The argument can be made that the complacent and lazy should be removed by the people, and that the public's freedom of choice should not be diminished.

May 2, 1980

On balance, I would resolve my doubts in favor of something like SJR 42, except that I think I would favor four successive terms for house members, and three successive terms for senators as a limitation, and I would only require a senator to sit out for two years instead of "one full term."

I think the effect would be to bring new blood and fresh perspectives to the legislature from time to time to a greater degree than now is the case, and I think it would help bring the legislature closer to the people.

Thanks for seeking my views, and I hope this answers your inquiry.

Best regards,



Joe P. Josephson

JPJ/cw

ROBERT B. ATWOOD  
Editor and Publisher

WILLIAM J. TOBIN  
Associate Editor  
And General Manager

FRED DICKEY  
Executive Editor

Page A-6

Thursday, October 9, 1930

## Legislative terms

WITH THE growing interest in setting a constitutional or statutory limit on the amount of money Alaska's state government can spend on operating expenses, the time might also be ripe to consider another limitation.

What about putting a lid on how many terms a person can serve in the legislature?

Alaska's governor is restricted to two consecutive terms. If such a limit makes good sense for the state's chief executive, it might make equally good sense to bar people from building up legislative empires.

The two-term limit on the office of governor is to prevent the prospect of having a Huey Long seize control of the most powerful gubernatorial office in all America. When Alaska's constitution was drafted back in 1956-57, such a prospect was very much in the mind of the constitutional delegates.

HOWEVER, they saw no similar danger in the legislative branch. That's understandable. No one could have envisioned the immense power Alaska's lawmakers have today.

The subject did arise, says Steve McCutcheon, the delegate whose subcommittee dealt with the matter of legislative terms. It was discarded, he says, after only cursory consideration — but, in retrospect, it appears such a limit would have been wise.

Insofar as we have been able to determine, no other state imposes a constitutional limit on consecutive years of service in the legislature.

But several states do achieve something of the same result by requiring, either through custom or rule, that a legislator bow out after serving in a major leadership

A man who has been speaker of the House, for example, would not seek re-election after serving in that position. Another might cap his or her career as president of the Senate. The same limitation could apply to those who enjoy special authority as majority or minority leaders or as chairmen of principal legislative committees, such as Finance or Rules.

The reasons for such limitation are obvious.

For one thing, mandatory transfer of legislative power — by upward movement through the chairs, as it were — would avoid the possibility that one legislator, or group of legislators, could carve out a fiefdom within the legislative structure.

For another, it would guarantee an infusion of fresh blood, fresh energy and fresh ideas into the legislative process. Certain House and Senate seats have become virtually the personal possession of legislators who run time after time with no opposition or only a token show by a challenger.

THE POSSIBILITY of legislative abuse of power, never before a worry in Alaska, has become more and more alarming as the state's income and wealth soars. In recent months, examples have begun to become evident.

A legislator armed with a seat that is awarded to him election after election can hardly resist the temptation to become arrogant. And there are other temptations, far worse, that come with excessive legislative power.

For the benefit of all concerned, including legislators, consideration should be given to limiting terms of office — as well as government spending.

2/12/58 Times

## A limit on service

ALASKA HAS HAD, over the years, a number of men and women who have served well for long periods of time as members of the legislature. That has been a plus for the territory and the state. But there are some offsetting minuses connected with long tenure in the legislature. And there is mounting evidence that the negative is beginning to far outweigh the positive.

Recognizing that legislative seniority also can lead to legislative abuses, one member of the Alaska Senate has proposed to put a lid on the number of consecutive terms a person could serve. The proposal has merit and deserves thoughtful consideration.

Sen. Ed Dankworth, the Anchorage Republican who two weeks ago was kicked off the Senate Finance Committee when he refused to play ball with some senior members of the club, proposed this the other day in a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment.

**IF APPROVED** by the legislature — and that's a big "if" — the resolution would go on the ballot for action by the voters of the state. It calls for the imposition of a constitutional limit restricting a person to two consecutive terms in the Senate or three consecutive terms in the House.

The net effect would be to allow a person six years of continuous House service or eight straight years of service in the Senate.

To make the proposal more palat-

able and to give it at least a chance of passage by the current crop of legislators, Sen. Dankworth included a grandfather clause. Under its provisions, the counting of terms would begin with approval of the constitutional amendment. Incumbent senators and representatives with long tenure — including such luminaries as Sens. Bill Ray of Juneau, Bob Ziegler of Ketchikan, George Hohman of Bethel, John Sackett of Galena and Clem Tillion of Hallbut Cove — would not be immediately affected.

**THE RESOLUTION** has drawn some initial support. Signing on as co-sponsors were Republicans Arjiss Sturgulewski and W.E. Bradley and Democrats Pat Rodey and Terry Stimson, all of Anchorage.

That's a good start. But clearly it is not enough. To succeed, the proposal must have widespread support, even from districts that have long placed their legislative affairs in the hands of one or two individuals.

A constitutional amendment limiting tenure would bring two significant changes. It would guarantee that a fresh flow of ideas, personalities and backgrounds would be injected into the legislative process. And it would be a barrier to the creation of legislative dynasties and would prevent any single legislator from assuming, on the basis of seniority, a seat of power that could impair good government for all the people of Alaska.

STR 42

**HEARINGS**  
BEFORE THE  
**SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION**  
OF THE  
**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**  
**UNITED STATES SENATE**  
NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**S.J. Res. 27 and S.J. Res. 28**

JOINT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE  
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO  
THE NUMBER OF TERMS OF OFFICE WHICH MEMBERS OF THE  
SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MAY SERVE

MARCH 14, AND 16, 1978

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1978

27-720 O

S521-49

say to a person who is elected: "Look, you are not a new resident of Washington—you are a resident of your own State or your own district. You are of the people who sent you here, and you will eventually, whether you like it or not, be returning to them."

The second thing that would be gained has to do with the human tendency to want to preserve yourself in a good job by saying "Yes" to everybody and "No" to nobody. That's one of the problems in Government now.

Q. Are you saying that lawmakers worry too much about getting re-elected?

A. Yes. I would hope that a limitation on service would create a greater sense of independence and a greater willingness to call them as we see them.

Q. But if every second-term Senator were a lame duck, ineligible for a new term, wouldn't the Senate's responsiveness to the public be reduced?

A. No. First of all, the people I know here who have already announced they're not going to be returning have just as great a sense of responsibility to their electorate as those who want to keep running, running and running.

You don't really elect people to be just walking public-opinion surveys. You elect them to exercise their best judgment on behalf of the people who sent them here. So I don't think that there is anything necessarily beneficial about being consumed with the need to touch every base and remain popular on every issue just to get re-elected.

Too many politicians have said "Yes" to too many people for too long. They have attempted to aggregate support from one interest group after another in order to stay here forever.

Q. In most fields, it is assumed that experience sharpens a person's skills. Isn't this true of Government service, too?

A. I had always been told that when you come to the Senate as a freshman, you're supposed to be seen but not heard. But I haven't found that to be true at all. We are expected to start acting like Senators the day we arrive.

Secondly, we've already crossed this bridge with respect to the Presidency. Presidents, as a matter of constitutional law, are to serve no more than two terms.

And third, I wonder if being a Washington type is the kind of experience a person really should have. There is at least as much wisdom spread throughout the country as there is here. I am one who does not believe that Washington has some monopoly on intelligence or on the right kind of experience.

**KEEPING CONTACT WITH "REAL WORLD"**

Q. Even, so, shouldn't it be up to the voters to decide whether a legislator deserves another term, instead of mandating a lawmaker's retirement after 12 years?

A. I think there is a trade-off—and the gain would be substantially greater than what would be given up. You would be removing the possibility of one person serving in perpetuity, but in the State of Missouri, for example, there are thousands of people who are fully competent to serve in the United States Senate. This would result in a very minimal reduction in the pool of qualified people.

The gain, again, is the reduced incentive for a member of Congress to try to promise the world. No matter how much you promised, no matter how good your public relations might be, you would know that you would be returning to the workaday world as a matter of constitutional requirement.

That is precisely the kind of message that people here should be given: It is certain that you are going to have to return to the real world and live with the laws you helped enact.

Q. In effect, then, you want to abolish the "professional legislator"—

A. Yes. There's a real problem today in the notion of a professional legislature, and we seem to keep furthering that notion.

Congress is almost always in session. We have just enacted in the Senate an ethics code which, in effect, says that we don't want Senators involved in the workaday world. In the name of ethics, we want them to free themselves from practice of law or practice of medicine or business so they will be available here full time.

I think that is probably moving in the wrong direction. We should view Government as a citizens' army, as made up of citizens who are performing public service for a limited period of time.

## PART 2.—NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES

[From Roll Call, Oct. 27, 1977]

### A NEW TRY TO LIMIT CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

(By Mimi Noel)

Four relatively freshman Members of Congress have decided to challenge a political system that has resisted change for 160 years. Chances are, they won't succeed and won't be remembered for their effort.

And still they try . . .

Sens. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz) and John C. Danforth (R-Mo) have joined Reps. John W. Jenrette (D-SO) and Robert W. Kasten (R-Wis) in an attempt to change the length of service for Members of Congress and the President. All have accepted positions, as directors, of the newly-formed Foundation for the study of Presidential and Congressional Terms.

"We're trying for grass roots support," Rep. Jenrette says, explaining: "The Congressional route has not had the support of senior Members . . . this is a new route—through the public."

The four Congressmen have introduced legislation that would limit, by Constitutional amendment, Congressional service. House Members would be allowed to serve six two-year terms while Senators would be allowed two six-year terms. The law-makers also proposed a single six-year term for the President.

In a press conference this week they agree that the "battle is uphill."

And still they try . . .

"The idea has been introduced a number of times," Rep. Jenrette said in an interview in the corridor outside the House Floor. "But it never got anywhere with individual Members supporting it . . . the Foundation takes away the self-serving aspects of it."

The group which will be directed by John C. Gartland, a former administrative assistant to Rep. Richard Kelly (R-Fla), is set to study four basic questions:

Should there be a limit to the number of years a Member of Congress can serve?

Should the terms for House Members be lengthened to three or four years?

Should Members of Congress be required to resign from office when actively seeking other federal office?

Should the President be limited to one, extended term in office?

The Foundation expects to capture attention through a program of public forums such as college debates, speeches and essay contests.

Throughout the past decade new Members of Congress have become increasingly restless with the bureaucracy involved in moving legislation through the Congress. More than a few have cited senior Members, committee chairmen to a large extent, for manipulating the due process.

These younger Members have come to believe that limiting the number of terms—in both the House and the Senate would work "for the people."

"After serving in Congress for two terms, I personally believe there is an urgent need to inject new blood and fresh ideas into our political system," Rep. Kasten said. "The issue of limited terms has been around for some time, but it has yet to draw the attention and serious study it deserves."

Remarking on "an anti-Washington" mood, Rep. Kasten said "professional politicians" fail to respond to the "concerns of average Americans."

Nevertheless, the Foundation has definite goals in mind. By next year, they hope to present the public with a chance to vote on the question of limiting both Congressional and Presidential terms on eight or 10 statewide ballots.

To Congressional sages who sat in on the Foundation's meeting, it was the same old argument of "new blood" versus seniority.

But each of the Congressmen present stressed the importance of legislators returning to private life, subject to the very laws he had voted on.

The legislators pointed to their own determination to retire after 12 years. But individual efforts would have little meaning unless the majority of Members in Congress showed active support.

Now, Jenrette is faced with the task of trying to find colleagues with 12 years or more seniority, to support the measure.

"We ought to have some Members in the House and Senate who have reached the terms by which they would have to retire in our proposal to give greater emphasis to what we have to say," Jenrette said.

Rep. Jenrette has already approached retiring Rep. George Shipley (D-Ill), with 22 years in the House, to lend his support to the anti-seniority proposal. And still they try \* \* \*

But among his colleagues, Jenrette has found apprehensions that he did not share.

"I've found one of the biggest concerns in limiting the terms is that some great contribution might be lost," Jenrette said. "They point to someone like Thomas Jefferson who was quite senior by the time he made many significant contributions."

Jenrette, at 41, finds the concept appealing that in eight and one-half years he will return to private business. A former lawyer, he already has plans afoot "to set my business up" once he leaves Congress.

But for many Members this would not be the case.

"If someone comes to Congress at 28, and then retires at 38, he has only completed half of his career so he can easily take on another profession," Jenrette said.

"But the problem comes when you speak about limiting middle-aged Congressmen between 30 and 40 \* \* \* after only 12 years here there is no place to go."

Rep. Jenrette cited his own case as an example. He came to Congress at 30 and with such a 12-year limit, he would retire at 51.

"If I didn't have a law practice, at 51 I would have to go into private industry and start a new career \* \* \* I don't think I could do it," he adds.

And still they'll try \* \* \*

With Gartland as the Director and his one-time boss William E. Simon as Chairman of the Foundation Finance Committee, the major focus of the group will be public exposure.

"The impetus must come from the people before Congress will enact such a change," Sen. Danforth said. "My amendment will be considered seriously in the Senate only if the public demands it."

Both freshman Sen. Danforth, and his freshman colleague Sen. DeConcini are firmly opposed to Members of their Chamber being viewed as "political careerists."

"In a seniority system, certain individuals come to possess very great power," Sen. DeConcini said. "While I am not suggesting that this power has been abused in my own experience, I am suggesting that the present system does create the opportunity for such abuse."

And so they remain optimists. They walk the halls, like knights without shining armor or white steed, looking for support. Their aging dragon, 180 years old, remains reincarnated in the form of stubborn senior colleagues.

And still they'll try \* \* \*

[From U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 14, 1977]

#### PRO AND CON—LIMIT A LAWMAKER'S TERM IN CONGRESS?

YES—ELECTED OFFICIALS SHOULDN'T BE "PERMANENT FIXTURES IN WASHINGTON"

(Interview with Senator John C. Danforth, Republican, of Missouri)

Q. Senator Danforth, why do you favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting any person from serving more than 12 years in the Senate or the House?

A. It would accomplish two things:

First, it's important for elected officials who come to Washington to think of themselves as citizens who are only on leave to their Government—not permanent fixtures in Washington. A limitation on the length of service would

**Q.** Some people say that the perquisites of office, such as newsletters, a staff allowance and ready access to the press, come close to guaranteeing incumbents' re-election—

**A.** Right. I think the statistics are pretty clear that it's much easier for an incumbent to be re-elected than for a challenger to defeat him. This is another argument for limiting terms, although it is not an argument I rely on.

**Q.** Do any local or State governments have the kinds of limits on legislative service that you propose?

**A.** I don't think so. There are limits in some States on Governors serving more than one or two terms, but such limits are not found in the legislative branch.

**Q.** What are the prospects for your proposal?

**A.** It's not going to get anywhere unless there's a public outcry for it. The pressure is going to have to come from the people.

#### **NO—"COMPULSORY RETIREMENT IS A WASTE OF TALENT AND KNOW-HOW"**

**(Interview with Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat, of California)**

**Q.** Senator Cranston, why do you oppose limiting service in the Senate or the House to 12 years?

**A.** There's a contrary move now in our country to do away with compulsory retirement in most occupations, and I think that's a very, very sound direction for us to take.

Compulsory retirement in private industry is an inefficient waste of talent, know-how and productivity. It is bad for society and bad for business. Much the same could be said about compulsory retirement from Government service.

It should be left up to the voters to decide who can best represent them.

If the voters are satisfied with the performance of a Senator or a Congressman, they should not be deprived of his services and experience—nor should the country—by any arbitrary rule.

**Q.** We have placed a two-term limit on the Presidency. Why shouldn't a similar limit be applied to Congress?

**A.** Every rule has its exception, and the one exception that I make to the rule of leaving it up to the voters is the two-term limit on the Presidency.

A President who could serve endlessly would have a great opportunity to develop many of the attributes of a dictator. We've had trends toward one-man rule in our country in recent times. The two-term limit is a very solid barrier against that.

We have as much to fear from Government as we have to gain from Government. And the thing to fear from Government is too much power in too few hands. But Congress, given its makeup, will never be a dictatorship. The question does not apply to Congress, where so many people share authority and responsibility.

**Q.** Advocates of a limitation on service argue that if we did away with "professional legislators," Congress would be more responsive to the needs and wishes of the voters—

**A.** There are those who say that we've relied on the citizen soldier as the mainstay of our defense, and so we should now rely on the citizen politician in our legislative process. Actually, because of the sophisticated technology of modern warfare, our defense has to depend on highly trained professionals more and more.

Similarly, our Government has grown so complex that the concept of the inexperienced citizen politician is somewhat outmoded—at least to the degree that we shouldn't depend solely on inexperienced legislators. There should be a blend of the old and new in office, and under the present law we have that blend.

**Q.** So you see a clear need for people with many years of legislative experience—

**A.** Yes. In matters that involve public affairs and human relations, experience is a vital, indispensable part of the learning process. You learn not only what Government can do, but what it can't do. New Senators sometimes spin their wheels trying things that are impossible, or trying to launch vast spending programs that just won't work. With experience, you learn to focus your efforts where you can accomplish something significant.

John Sherman introduced the Sherman Antitrust Act in his 20th year in Congress. Paul Douglas introduced the Voting Rights Act in his sixteenth year. Clinton Anderson introduced the Medicare Act in his sixteenth year. Jacob Javits, a Republican, introduced the War Powers Act—a very significant piece of legislation in the post-Vietnam era—after serving more than a decade and a half in the Senate. Sam Ervin led the Watergate hearings in his nineteenth year in the Senate. Robert Wagner served 22 years; Robert Taft, Sr., 14 years; Stephen Douglas, 14 years; Henry Clay, 27 years; Robert LaFollette, 20 years; George Norris, 20 years. All of these careers would have been cut short, and the nation would have been the loser, if we'd had the limit that is proposed.

#### PROBLEM OF THE LAME DUCKS

**Q.** Don't legislators sometimes get out of touch with the people back home after many years in Washington?

**A.** If they do, they get tossed out by their constituents. The basic principle of representative democracy is that you elect people who are supposed to be responsive to the people they represent—not necessarily to always do what the people want, but to solicit their views, understand their problems, stay in touch and serve their best interests. Now, if you're in your final six-year Senate term, and the law says you can't run for re-election, you could become totally unresponsive to the people you serve.

Also, a lawmaker who is a lame duck would be less able to accomplish things. If somebody is on his way out, less attention is paid to his leadership. A Senator would be at his peak of capacity only in his first six years, and then he would lose his clout—and so would his constituents—in his second six years.

**Q.** It is sometimes argued that incumbents have advantages, such as newsletters, staffs and ready access to the press, that come close to guaranteeing re-election. How true is this?

**A.** I do have concern that incumbents have advantages. I think there are other ways to deal with the problem. On the bill to provide public financing for congressional-election campaigns, I voted to provide challengers more money than incumbents, for example.

Even so, there are plenty of incumbents knocked off on each go-around. It is noteworthy that several of the advocates of a limit on service recently defeated incumbent Senators. We do have new people coming in with new ideas. More than 50 percent of the House has been here less than six years. More than half of the Senate has been here less than 10 years.

There is no demonstrative need for anything as radical as changing our Constitution to make retirement after 12 years in office mandatory. The voters themselves have been doing a good job of keeping a healthy mixture of "new blood" and experienced "old hands" in Congress.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1977]

#### THE GALLUP POLL—12-YEAR LIMIT FOR HOUSE MEMBERS FAVORED BY 60 PCT. OF VOTERS

(By George Gallup)

Princeton, N.J.—A solid majority of American voters, 60 per cent, now favor a law that would limit senators and House members to a maximum of 12 years in office.

The proportion in favor of a limit on the time in office for senators is up sharply since 1971, when the figure was 48 per cent. (The question on members of the House was not asked in the earlier survey.)

Although the upward trend is across-the-board, with all major population groups, it is most pronounced among younger, better-educated voters.

Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) recently proposed a constitutional amendment to limit senators and representatives to 12 years of service.

The sharp upturn in support for a limit on the terms of senators may be, in part, a reflection of their unfavorable public image. A recent Gallup survey showed both senators and representatives rated relatively low among a list of persons in 20 occupations in terms of honesty and ethical standards.

Another Gallup survey showed only 48 percent of the public saying they approve of the way Congress is handling its job.

Here is the question asked 1,523 adults from Nov. 4-7 and the trend:

"A law has been proposed which would limit a senator to two terms, or a total of 12 years in office. Would you favor or oppose such a law?"

(in percent)

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
Latest.....	68	38	10
May 1971.....	48	39	13
January 1968.....	59	38	12
March 1964.....	49	38	13

Here are the results of the current survey by political affiliation:

(in percent)

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
Republicans.....	64	29	7
Democrats.....	63	27	10
Independents.....	57	36	7

This question was also asked:

"A law has been proposed which would limit a member of the House of Representatives to three terms of four years apiece, or a total of 12 years. Would you favor or oppose such a law?"

(in percent)

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
Latest.....	59	31	10
Republicans.....	62	29	9
Democrats.....	61	29	10
Independents.....	58	34	7

The plan to limit senators to two terms of six years each has been advocated by at least two Presidents—Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 31, 1977]

## TWO TERMS FOR LEGISLATORS?

(By Tom Braden)

"Politicians," according to Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo), "have a tendency to say 'yes' to all men and 'no' to none."

This trouble has been noted before. Walter Lippman described a politician as one who "decides not whether a proposition is good but whether it's popular; not whether it will work well and prove itself but whether the active-talking constituents will like it immediately."

And Sen. John F. Kennedy declared himself convinced that the desire to be re-elected exercises a strong brake upon "independent courage."

The problem of whether a politician should serve his conscience or his constituency has been with us at least since Edmund Burke. Sen. Danforth, who has made a certain mark during his first term for being refreshingly outspoken, thinks he has at least a partial solution.

Danforth has introduced a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment that would limit the terms of service in the House and Senate to 12 years, the equivalent of six terms for a representative and two terms for a senator.

His point is that without the hope of holding on to a lifetime job, senators and representatives might vote their convictions. In fact, some of them might develop convictions, so that they would come to Washington, do what they think they ought to do and go home again—for good.

There is something to be said for this argument, and there are other reasons why Danforth's suggestion is worth thinking about.

For example, a greater turnover in Washington might renew the nation's interest in the electoral process. According to the polls, the country is in great doubt as to whether government can accomplish anything worthwhile—or, indeed, anything at all. Most people who are eligible to vote don't.

For another, the Danforth proposal would put an end to the system of power by longevity.

Sen. Russell Long (D-La), for instance, has served in the Senate since 1948. At 60 and with at least two terms to go, he is likely to exercise more influence on the lives of his countrymen than any President they may elect. As chairman of the Senate's Finance Committee, Long pretty much decides how much we'll be taxed, how much we'll pay for gasoline, how much we'll get in Social Security payments when we retire and how much we'll get in Medicare when we're sick.

Yet Long is responsible to no one except the voters of Louisiana, whose votes he controls through one of the most powerful political machines in the country.

Danforth's amendment would rule out the possibility of any senator's or representative's wielding this kind of power, at least for a considerable length of time.

It is true that time is a great teacher and that experience provides wisdom. But there are four men in the Senate presently who have been there 30 years or more. You'd think that, if they had provided the country with much wisdom, we might know them well. Yet I venture that seven out of 10 readers of this column cannot name them.

I like the remark of Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo), who supports Danforth: "There's no question that, if this amendment were adopted, men of extraordinary talent would not be here. But there's equally no question that men of extraordinary talent are ready to take their places."

---

[From the Family Weekly, 1978]

#### PRO AND CON—SHOULD CONGRESSMEN'S TERMS BE LIMITED TO 12 YEARS?

PRO—REP. DAN GLICKMAN (D-KAN.)

For too many years we have had Congressional fiefdoms in Washington. History provides many examples of members of the House and Senate who have, through the privileges granted by seniority, created for themselves far-reaching powers. The problem of isolation exists on Capitol Hill. Members who have been in Washington too long tend to believe that it is the center of the universe; they lose contact with the people to whom they should be responding. A member who stays too long can and does begin to accept things as they are, to feel secure in the status quo. The advantages of incumbency make re-election, particularly in so-called "safe districts," an easy task for that member.

CON—REP. W. E. ROUGE (D-TEXAS)

The basic reason for limiting the term of executives—the President or governors—is that they are able to build up political machines based upon their appointive powers. Members of Congress have no such opportunity. While there may not be many members of Congress who will serve as long as I have (42 years), or as long as Sam Rayburn (40 years) or Carl Vincent (50 years), the people should have the opportunity to avail themselves of the service of any individual they want to serve them just as long as they want his service and he is able to serve. When the people decide they do not want a Congressman, they can and will replace him no matter how long his service has been.

---

[From the Miami, Florida News, Mar. 3, 1978]

#### NO PUSH FOR REFORM

Although that wise plan to limit the terms of congressmen to 12 years may be about as popular on Capitol Hill as Tongsun Park, it at least is going to get a two-day hearing this month before the Senate Constitution Subcommittee

chained by Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.). That gives reformers a few crumbs of satisfaction despite the scant hope that careerist-congressmen seriously would tamper with their comfortable ballwicks.

With Sen. Bayh showing little enthusiasm for the proposed constitutional amendment that would prevent politicians from parlaying incumbency into lifetime jobs, the hearings aren't likely to spark any hard drive for reform. Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), who has been hanging around the Senate for a quarter of a century, is the only veteran offering support to the chief sponsors, Sens. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and John Danforth (R-Mo.).

This country could cure a lot of ills by limiting congressional terms. It could put an end to political dynasties of families from "safe" districts. It could dilute the strength of the too-powerful committee chairmen. It could shatter the seniority system that rewards age instead of talent. It could bring more fresh blood and ideas into the legislative process and help remove government from the control of the WASPish lawyer clique.

To get this promising reform, the people will have to want it—the majority of congressmen probably never will.

---

[From the Birmingham, Alabama News, Mar. 15, 1978]

#### BAYH NOT IMPRESSED BY TENURE-LIMIT MOVE

Washington (AP).—Sen. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., serving his third term in the Senate, doesn't think much of proposals to limit the tenure of members of Congress, sponsored largely by freshman senators.

In a statement opening hearings by the constitution subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Bayh said he had "serious reservations on the merits of these proposals." He questioned whether the proposed constitutional amendments would weaken the legislative branch and whether the federal government would work as well "if it relied on less experienced legislators."

---

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 18, 1978]

#### CONGRESSIONAL LONGEVITY

One of those perennial attempts to reform Congress by limiting the terms of its members was trotted out again this week before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. Under consideration are two constitutional amendments that would limit the service of future senators and representatives to 12 or 15 years. Proposals like these have been floating around at least since 1951, when the Constitution was changed to restrict presidents to two full terms. We hope they continue merely to float and don't light.

It needs to be conceded that proponents of amendments like these, introduced by Sens. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), are focusing on a real problem: the stagnation that prolonged terms in high office can produce. The seniority system, even though it is not so strong now as it once was, places enormous power in the hands of longtime members of Congress solely because they have been there so long. That, coupled with the political advantages that incumbency generates, makes it increasingly difficult for new blood to fight its way to Washington. Even when a veteran member has dropped out of touch philosophically with his constituents, he is often able to stay in office because party officials prefer power to issues.

Sen. DeConcini also argues that this distribution of power operates to deny equal representation to voters in states and districts where hot political competition makes it difficult for any person to stay long in Congress; the representatives of those areas are never able to stand on an equal footing with those from districts that send back the same legislator election after election.

Those are valid and appealing arguments. They make the proposed limits on congressional terms seem attractive. But the senators have traced the problems to the wrong source and are thus prescribing the wrong cure. The evils—and they are that—of which they speak grow not out of unlimited service but out of the way in which Congress itself has chosen to treat that service. The cure, then, is not to keep particular people out of Congress, but rather to limit

the power and prerogatives that Congress grants to those members who win reelection repeatedly. For example, restricting the length of time a member could be a committee chairman or, even, serve on a committee might not change the situation as much as would the proposed amendment, but it would certainly reduce the advantages of long service.

To attack this problem the other way, as the proposed constitutional amendments do, is to place an additional restriction on the right of voters to choose whomever they want to represent them in Washington. That right of choice is so fundamental that it should not be tampered with. Voters should be allowed to elect—and reelect—to Congress whom they please.

(From the Washington Post, Apr. 12, 1978)

### WHY WE SHOULD LIMIT CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

(By Milton S. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>)

The Post's March 18 editorial "Congressional Longevity" cited some of the reasons given for advocating limited terms for representatives and senators. The editorial remarked that nothing would be gained by such limitation.

But it did not mention what I deem to be the most important reason for limiting representatives to three four-year terms and senators to two six-year terms. The electoral process operates in such a way that we tend to have permanent members of Congress, and to achieve that result the members must support not what is best for the United States but what will most please their constituents at a particular time.

Early in our history the problems facing the nation, while acute, were sufficiently simple that what citizens favored and what best served the national interest were essentially synonymous. Further, the desire of the professional politicians to achieve electoral immortality had not yet developed. Hence, in the early part of the 19th century a Congressional election saw nearly half of the members of the House of Representatives enter as freshmen.

Now the situation is vastly different. The problems the nation faces—energy, inflation, unemployment, imbalances in international trade and payments, the Middle East and African problems, crime—are complex. Citizens often lack basic facts essential to enlightened judgment. Members of the Senate and House have their staffs do publicly financed research, and committees hold prolonged hearings, often for months, on a single problem. A senator or representative therefore develops knowledge superior to that of most of his constituents. The task of statesmanship is for a congressman to vote for what is right (that is, what is best for the nation) and seek to inform constituents, convincing them, we hope, that his vote was the correct one.

Unfortunately, with no limitation on terms of office, there is always the temptation to please constituents rather than to promote the national welfare. One need only think of two problems—inflation and the devastating effect of the coal strike—to realize that members of the Senate and the House lack the courage to vote for what is needed, for in doing so they would offend powerful interest groups that have strong influence in political elections. Incumbents have found that the way to achieve electoral immortality is to behave as pressure groups wish.

The cost of a congressional election is now nearly 75 times as great as it was 90 years ago; in that costly process the advantages are with incumbents. They have the franking privilege. Every member is likely to have one or two employees on the public payroll who work almost exclusively in preparing for the next election. And of course the greater newsworthiness of incumbents helps them. The consequence is that today the historic turnover in the House of Representatives in each election has been reduced to less than 16 percent.

Limited terms for representatives and senators would eliminate the evils of the seniority system. It is true, as the Post said, that Congress could change the seniority system without having a constitutional amendment on limited terms. But the problem has been evident for a long time, and little corrective action has been taken. I see no reason to believe that the House and Senate will radically change the rules.

<sup>1</sup>The writer is a retired university president.

The major reason for limited terms for elected representatives applies also to the president. The chief executive should be limited to a single six-year term. He should have no incentive other than that of serving all the people, yet who is there today who cannot recall far-reaching and costly programs proposed and vigorously supported by presidents because they had wide temporary appeal yet proved in time to be wasteful and ineffective? Nearly every president in modern times has favored policies and programs that would contribute to his reelection. If there were evils in permitting the president to run for a third term—as the Congress and states decided—those same evils apply to election to a second term. Why, in our current economic disarray, have elected officials, including the president and governors, failed to uphold the law in the crippling coal strike? Why did they permit union miners to threaten and intimidate non-union miners so effectively that most non-union mines had to close? Why, when the Taft-Hartley Act was imposed, did not federal and state chief executives see to it that the law was observed?

The reason is obvious. The president and many governors are eligible for reelection. Pressure groups must not be offended—the political imperative.

That example, which involves an incumbent president and a few incumbent governors, could be duplicated with respect to policies and programs initiated by their predecessors.

A single six-year term for the president is gaining widespread support, and many states now limit governors to single terms. I think I may live to see the appropriate constitutional amendment adopted to limit the president to one six-year term. It may take longer to persuade the Congress to reform itself.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 30, 1977]

### POLITICS OF ENDURANCE

(By George F. Will)

T. S. Eliot warned against "dreaming of systems so perfect that no one needs to be good." But the oldest American political tradition is the search for institutional arrangements that minimize reliance on public spiritedness. An idea in that tradition—an idea that would make a kind of greatness impossible—is enjoying new currency.

The Foundation for the Study of Presidential and Congressional Terms has been formed to consider, among other questions, whether there should be limits to the number of terms members of Congress can serve. It is an old question in American politics.

Critics argued during ratification debates that the Constitution would produce an alien and irresponsible governing class—a "government of strangers"—because it did not provide for compulsory rotation of elective offices. Today interest in compulsory rotation has again become acute, again because of fear of a "professional political class."

Morris Fiorina, a professor at the California Institute of Technology, notes that during the 19th century, 40 to 50 per cent of congressional seats changed hands in each election. Not until the turn of the century did the average continuous service of congressmen reach even five years. But since World War II, nearly 90 per cent of incumbents seeking reelection have been successful. The number of "marginal" districts (where the winner receives 50 to 55 per cent of the votes) has declined. For example, in 1972 fewer than 25 per cent of incumbents received less than 60 per cent of the votes, and 60 per cent of all winners received more than 65 per cent.

According to Fiorina, the growth of the federal role in American life, and the attendant growth of bureaucracy, has enabled congressmen from formerly "marginal" districts to base their appeal on noncontroversial activities. These include delivering benefits from the "special pork barrel" and doing "casework"—nonpartisan constituent services, such as helping voters cope with regulatory agencies. Today, Fiorina says, congressmen are perceived less as legislators than as ombudsmen for dealing with Washington.

John Danforth (R-Mo.), a freshman senator and a director of the foundation, proposes a constitutional amendment to limit senators to two terms and congressmen to six. Today 82 of 100 senators (82 per cent) and 133 of 435 representatives (30.5 per cent) have been in office more than 12 years.

Such an amendment is a recipe for further reducing the power of the legislature relative to the "permanent government," the executive bureaucracy. It would prove deadwood, but also would prevent great legislative careers on the scale of Henry Clay's, Sam Rayburn's and Robert Taft's—the sort of careers that give continuity, cohesion and energy to the legislature. Besides, a "fresh face" is by another name a "rookie," with a lot to learn in a town where there is a lot to know.

Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), another freshman senator and a director of the foundation, favors compulsory rotation of offices in order to produce "citizen-legislators" who "come to government briefly, bringing their varied experiences to bear on current problems. . . ." But it is sentimental to think that the "varied experiences" of the average citizen can be usefully "brought to bear" on the most important complexities (strategic arms, welfare reform, capital formation) of public policy.

Reformers also should consider that compulsory rotation of offices might mean "citizen legislators" who are, increasingly, older and wealthier amateurs. That might not be bad, but it should be considered. If no one can hope to make a career of politics, people will be more apt to enter politics later, after establishing a "real" career, and after establishing it so well that he or she can take a sabbatical.

"Serving as a member of Congress should not be viewed as a profession," says Danforth, "and it should never become a career." Americans cling to the idea that government in a modern state can be an amateur's avocation. But in government, as in other serious enterprises, knowledge is cumulative. Government is as much a profession as law or teaching; it is a learned activity and an increasingly complicated one.

Politics in our time has been ennobled by the long careers of such senators as John Stennis, Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson. Granted, long service is only a necessary, not a sufficient, condition of legislative greatness. Granted, greatness is rare, even among those who have long careers. But it should not be made impossible.

#### THE CASE FOR THE CITIZEN LEGISLATOR

(By Dennis DeConcini<sup>1</sup>)

With his usual flair and wit, George Will recently attacked a constitutional amendment introduced by Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo.) and me. The amendment, which would limit the number of terms representatives and senators could serve, was characterized by Will as the work of "rookies" who have "a lot to learn in a town where there is a lot to know."

Ostensibly, Will's comments addressed themselves to the practicalities of Washington politics. His point is that it takes a long time to find the secret hideaways in the Capitol and to learn to pull the levers of power. And in the absence of that knowledge (government "is a learned activity"), the bureaucracy will overwhelm the legislature.

As a practical argument, Will's position is not compelling. The 22nd Amendment prevents an individual from holding the office of President for more than 10 years. I am sure Will would concede that the responsibilities of a President are equal to those of a senator or representative—he might even be tempted to argue they are greater. After all, we demand of our Presidents that within a matter of months they put together an administration, develop a national policy, deal with international crises, serve as party leader and assume all the responsibilities of head of state. If the consequences of limiting the terms of senators and representatives are dire, as Will suggests, surely we should insist that the 22nd Amendment be repealed; perhaps we should insist that Presidents serve three, four or even five terms.

The legislature is the bar of the people. It should be an elite group of professional decision-makers, removed by time, distance and experiences from the people it serves and represents. To Will, the notion of a "citizen legislator" may be corny and naive; to me, the growing reality of the "professional legislator" is frightening. It is yet another step away from the democratic ideal and another step toward rigid, unrepresentative institutions.

<sup>1</sup>The writer is a Democratic senator from Arizona.

In an age when the universal complaint is the apathy of our citizenry, we should be developing the institutional structures necessary to provide more opportunities to participate meaningfully in the political process. The philosopher Rousseau observed that the degree of commitment an individual has to the rules that govern him is directly related to the extent of his participation in their formation. The Lords of community presupposed by democratic order are rooted in this principle. As opportunities to participate decline, disaffection and alienation grow, the authority of both public and private institutions withers.

Limiting the terms of senators and representatives is no panacea for our social and political ills. But it may make our legislature more responsive and sensitive to our diverse interests. Ultimately, it is not the purpose of the legislature to govern; it is the purpose of the legislature to develop the national consensus necessary for legitimate governing.

Broad and often unchecked power tends to accumulate to long-term survivors in the political arena. A limitation of terms would restrain its growth. The framers of the Constitution were political realists who sought to create institutional barriers to protect against the capricious exercise of power. And, thus, a limitation of terms fits that spirit. Furthermore, the framers did not intend that the vagaries of electoral politics should determine which states and which citizens benefit most from the federal system. Length of tenure goes hand-in-hand with the political pork barrel.

One final note; Re-election to office is often not vindication by the electorate. No astute observer of the contemporary political scene will be oblivious to the tremendous advantages of incumbency. Election breeds re-election. The result is an overemphasis on constituent service at the expense of policy-making. Too many representatives and senators see themselves not as architects of the political and policy consensus, but solely as ombudsmen intervening with the ruling bureaucrats. Limiting terms forecloses making a career of the legislature; the overwhelming concern for job security will be removed, creating a shift in attitude, orientation and priorities.

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

3/11/82

SSA

SJR 9

Ed Danekworth - prime sponsor

- history of putting stuff on the ballot

- generally not in favor of restricting people's trust

- mgrs of one of the largest oil companies in the world

- almost a gr. round job

- leg. could remain in office forever

- advantage of leg. media coverage, amt. of \$ incumbents have advantaged

- used to be governed by citizen legislature

- now a bureaucracy not by choice but by oil & \$

leg. oil & land com  
- difficult to get us to discipline ourselves

- if I can't do it in 8 yrs. won't do it in 12 or 16

- time doesn't make you qualified

limit terms of our gov. & Pres.

Vic F

no rec. so far

Bradley

large duck will slough off

Dank -

could switch bodies

VF -

once more limiting the  
legislature — Exec. becoming  
increasingly powerful

Dank -

Started to put in 1 term for gov.  
for 6 yrs.

some decisions "election yr."

★ more designed in my  
own personal interest than  
for the public good"

Sen. Ziegler —

should "bill is outrageous  
"legislators compulsory  
retirement act"

30 yr. old - served 8 yrs.  
- a waste of talent

- we could all name them

- leg. retirement

vest after 5 yrs.

- would act a deterrent

- who would want to go to  
other body

- veteran legislators

2<sup>nd</sup> indiv

John Butrovich - served 30 yrs.

Frank Petrovich - " 20 yrs.

Ziegler — " 20 yrs.

- violently opposed to continued  
service in state gov.

- not well thought out legislation

Dank —

what's well-thought out - how  
long?

- can get invested in this

- shouldn't be worried about  
retirement —

- tied to employee pay scale
  - weigh the balance -  
new ideas, new thoughts, new people
  - public is better served
  - all locked into a bureaucracy
  - let's let more citizens have a shot
- Zieg.
- won't come back if not electable
  - nothing to preclude any citizen from running
  - you know a lot / invaluable

### Brad

- need to get out & make \$
- lose a lot of expertise
- nothing like the voice of experience
- Zieg. hasn't tried to accumulate a lot of power / depends
- my constituents want new blood

### Colletta

have heard arguments of Zieg. for 10 yrs.  
desire & creation of citizen legislature

determiners as how the system works  
or let the people decide

- frail argument - up for election
- most senior legislators run  
unopposed bec. people afraid to  
take them on

Ferry.

Sen. & rep. should be in  
the same amt of yrs.

Why Sen. 4 yrs.

- Considering having gov. limited  
to 16 yrs.

- 2 consecutive terms for each  
house - limited

V.F.

concept - Const. Conv.

Sen. overlapping terms - more  
continuity

House - would take care of major  
chgs. in public opinion

Ferry

My proposal still keeps continuity

Dank -

what's happening campaign trails  
how can you run against

- 4 yrs of media coverage
- own TV network
- ~~new~~ have to have \$ -
- incumbent - much better position to raise \$

SB 652 -

Glenn Atkins

- apply to all DFC clauses
- drafted by Dept. after hearings on petrochemicals

- no way implies pollution  
doesn't

privileged - US Borax  
work load / power needs

- Doug Mertz - AG's office  
- case law

no good use of what is  
trade secrets def.  
- comma

Is this clause similar to  
Fed. FOIA?

Attins -

knows of no opposition

V.F.

- shall is too automatic
- can get yourself into a box
- commissioner shall make a  
finding

~~has to~~  
Doney -

has to inferred - ~~also~~ that it is  
discretionary

~~please don't  
pass out  
let me check  
some stuff!~~

Paul Arnoldt

40%

1978, 1979, 1980 -

~~1981~~

Teachers

leg. approp

funding 490

SJR

||

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:
- 2241 FLYING HOLEY OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-4504
  - 100 STEVENS AVENUE, SUITE 203  
MOUNT VERNON, NEW YORK 10550  
(914) 893-2844
  - 77 QUAKER RIDGE ROAD  
NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK 10804  
(914) 233-8400 OR 428-3040

February 9, 1981

Senator Brad Bradley  
Alaska State Senate  
Juneau, Alaska

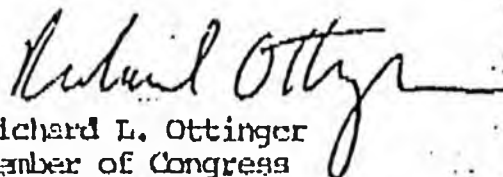
Dear Senator Bradley:

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-

2

2-2-2

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.

3

RICHARD L. OTTINGER  
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

2241 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
(202) 225-4506

COMMUNICATIONS  
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN  
COMMERCE

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
10 FERRY PLACE  
MOUNT VERNON, NEW YORK 109  
(914) 499-2888

77 CHAMBER FRIEDRICH ROAD  
NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK 108  
(914) 233-8400 ext  
425-3040

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

4

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 of 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

SENATOR  
BRAD BRADLEY  
P.O. DRAWER 8-Q  
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99508  
(PERMANENT ADDRESS).  
PHONE: (907) 337-1060

LEGISLATURE ADDRESS  
POUCH V - STATE CAPITOL  
JUNEAU, ALASKA 99811  
(WHEN IN SESSION)  
PHONE: (907) 465-3781



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**

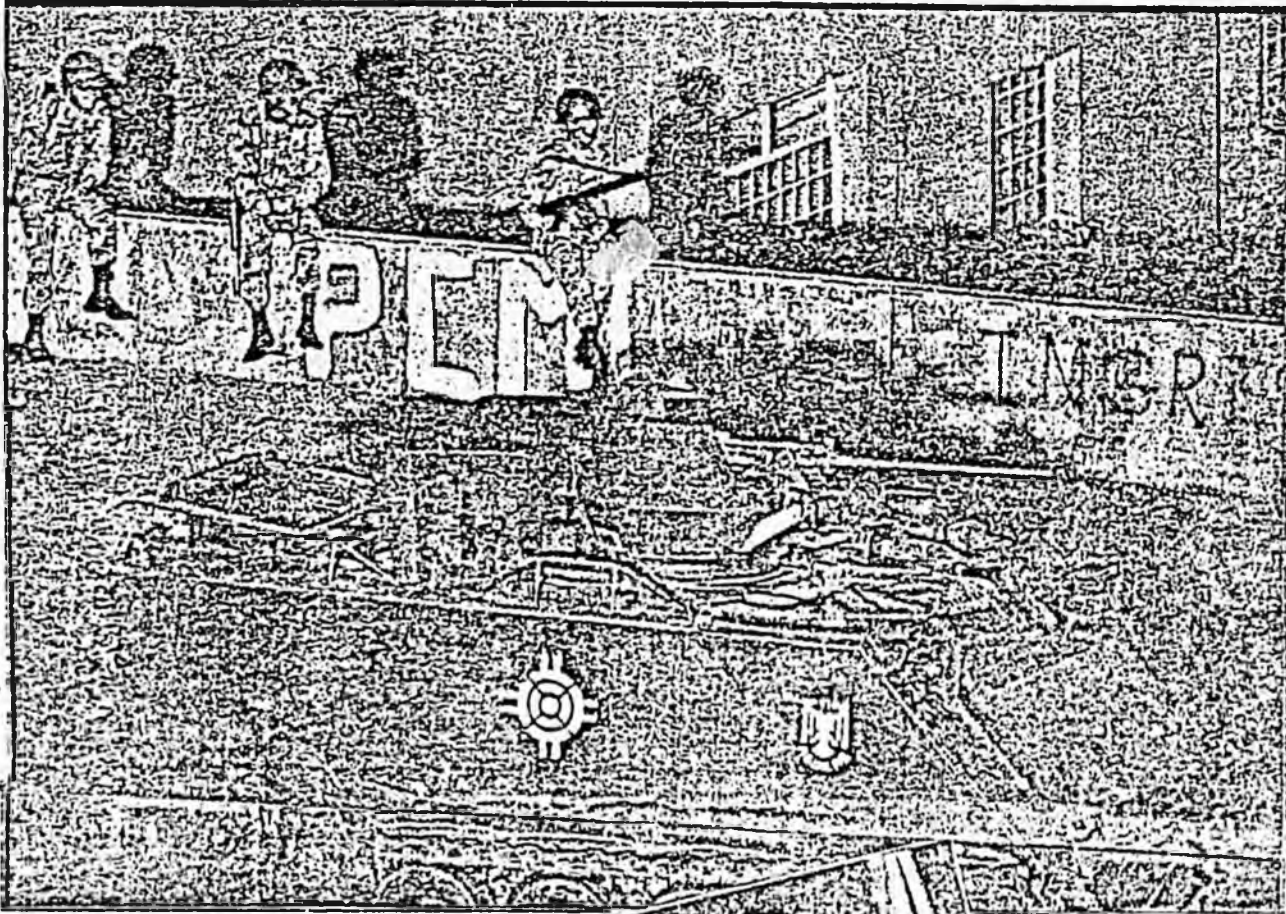
**World's Best  
Medical  
Shock Team**

October 1980  
2.00

*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.

**F**

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 free-lance 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 Huanuni, 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 Manrique, 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"

200 - 250,000 Sq ft

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.

MH

AUG 26 1980

825

## 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

LAT

AUG 31 1980

CONT.

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

AUG 16 1980

821

## 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 nightmare. 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

**B**olivia—"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.

© 1980, United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

## '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 firmly 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 Sir ... 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

807

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 Hoag 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 being 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, N.H., and Rev. John Moynihan, 45, of Brockton, Mass.

MH

AUG 10 1980

808

## 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

806

## 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

783

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

AUG 7 1980

784

## 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.



# Bolivians Kidnap Bishop.

MH

AUG 28 1980

801

## 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 bishop

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

By The Associated Press

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.

MH

AUG 17 1980

802

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.

MH

AUG 18 1980

803

"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

AUG 11 1980

793

## 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.

LAT

AUG 17 1980

800

## 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 Lidia Gueiler 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 Viacha, 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.

LAT

AUG 13 1980

794

NYT

AUG 15 1980

795

## 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.

### 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 Omeudo, 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. AND NINE CALL FOR INVESTIGATION

# Bolivia accused over drug traffic

BY HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY IN LONDON AND IAN HARGREAVES IN WASHINGTON

PRESSURE is building in the U.S. and the European Community for a full investigation of reports that Bolivia's new rulers are deeply involved in the international traffic in narcotics, which nets the country nearly \$1bn a year.

The U.S. is closing its anti-narcotics bureau in Bolivia and has withdrawn 40 of its diplomatic staff of 120 in La Paz, the Bolivian administrative capital.

In London yesterday, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office said plans for an ambitious \$45m scheme to aid Combol, the Bolivian state mining concern, had been cancelled in the light of the July 17 military coup. The scheme was Britain's largest aid project in Latin America.

The Foreign Office added that Britain had been the first member of the EEC to express concern at the takeover by Gen Luis Garcia Meza. The EEC has since dropped discussions of economic co-operation with Bolivia, and Belgium has halted a plan to lend Bolivia \$3m. It is not certain what the voting intentions of EEC member countries will be on applications by the Garcia Meza government for aid from the World Bank and the IMF.

The FCO added that the coup in Bolivia had been condemned outright by the Nine and that Britain's own diplomatic relations with Gen Garcia Meza were being kept at a low level.

Washington, which fought hard in recent months to head off the threatened military coup and ensure that fair and effective elections were held in Bolivia, has stepped up

its actions against Gen Garcia Meza.

The U.S. State Department yesterday advised U.S. citizens not to travel to Bolivia. At least 18 Americans have been detained for varying periods since the coup.

Sen Dennis DeConcini, a Democrat from Arizona and instigator of several anti-drugs efforts in the Western U.S., is calling for a full meeting of the Senate Appropriations Sub-committee for Foreign Affairs to assess the charges against Gen Garcia Meza's government.

Sen DeConcini said information from highly reliable persons - believed to be in the U.S. anti-narcotics bureau and the State Department - had led him to believe that several charges could "on the whole be confirmed." These included, according to the Senator:

- that narcotics traffickers in Santa Cruz helped finance the July 17 coup which put Gen Garcia Meza in power;
- that the drug smugglers had continued to be a major source of financial support for the regime;
- that large payments had been made in person by Sr José Abraham Baptista, a known drug trafficker, both to the general and to the commander of the garrison at Santa Cruz, Bolivia's second city;
- that two of Sr Abraham Baptista's relatives had been made officials in the Bolivian customs service;
- that Col Luis Acosta Gomez, the country's Minister of the Interior, had a long connection with major drug traffickers and had been accused of using that position to un-



dercut drug enforcement efforts; • that Col Ariel Coca, the Minister of Education, was implicated in a 100 kilo cocaine seizure in Panama in 1979.

The State Department would not comment directly on any of these matters but said the Bolivian anti-drugs officers had been withdrawn "because it is our feeling that a drug programme would not be fruitful in the current circumstances."

An official added that the department would cooperate fully with any hearings called by the Appropriations Committee. Another government official commented that the people involved in the Garcia Meza government and the allegations against them were not unknown to drug enforcement officers. "What is new is their accession to power."

The U.S. Government has al-

ready suspended economic and military assistance to Bolivia. This, Sen DeConcini said, was "a sound response and should be continued until this and other questions are resolved."

The export of coca-based narcotics is now the principal source of export revenue for Bolivia, exceeding that from the country's traditional staple, tin, and other metals and the more recently developed sales of oil and natural gas. Total exports of metals and ore concentrates last year were estimated at \$1.1m.

Raw coca-leaf has for centuries been used by Bolivians as a mild stimulant in a country where many live at altitudes of over 12,000 feet and where food is often difficult to come by. Coca leaf is openly, legally and readily on sale.

Over the past decade, however, the processing of coca leaves into cocaine paste or refined cocaine has boomed. The trade is centred on the south-eastern city of Santa Cruz, and from there is regularly dispatched to the U.S. often through Colombia or the Caribbean.

A U.S. narcotics officer estimates that Bolivia produces 11,000 tons of coca leaves over and above its "legitimate" needs. Refined into 100 tons of pure cocaine, this would earn \$1bn in export income.

There is no doubt that senior military figures are closely involved in the export of narcotics - a trade which could not continue at its present high level without their ready co-operation.

# 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 Tarapacá 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 noisily 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 Huancani, 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 Tuninro 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

**B**OLIVIA 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 Zuñiga, 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 182th 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 Caldeña de la Barra, 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.



# 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.

## 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.

## 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

## News Analysis

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.

MH

JUL 31 1980

390

# 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 Argentinean 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.