

# Freedom Monitor

A FREEDOM HOUSE PUBLICATION

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VOL. III, NO. 5, SEPTEMBER 1986

## Pakistan: Next Soviet Step?

As they ruthlessly pursue their goal of complete control in Afghanistan, the Soviets have begun taking the next step: Pakistan. Rosanne Klass, director of the Afghanistan Information Center of Freedom House, says that, as usual, they hope to undermine their target from within. Their main reliance thus far has been on Benazir Bhutto, daughter of executed Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Demonstrations inspired by her, or on her behalf, turned into riots in August.

Klass points out that a recent "60 Minutes" documentary portrayed Benazir Bhutto in a favorable light, but it did not mention the fact that her brothers are the founders and heads of al-Zulfikar, a terrorist organization with its original headquarters in Kabul. It was founded about 1979-1980. When the Afghan puppet regime and the Soviets decided to take a softer line toward Pakistan for the Geneva negotiations, al-Zulfikar moved its headquarters to New Dehli. It also maintains bases in Tripoli, Libya and in South Yemen. Its terrorists are trained in the standard terrorist camps in those countries and elsewhere. Benazir Bhutto does not mention in any of her interviews with American TV that she made a two-day stop in Moscow on her way home from exile and from her support-gathering tour in the U.S. Is it pure coincidence, asks Klass, that during her two-day stopover in Moscow former Afghan puppet ruler Babrak Karmal made an unexpected flight to Moscow? Not suprisingly, People's Party of Pakistan has called for returning refugees to Afghanistan and recognizing the regime in Kabul.

An effort is being made to promote Benazir Bhutto as the new Cory Aquino. The main source of the effort seems to be Mushahid Hussain Sayed, editor of Islamabad's English-language newspaper *The Muslim*. Hussain is known as a Khomeini sympathizer and makes regular trips to Moscow. Much of the paper's funding comes from Libya. The Western press, remarks Klass, quotes Hussain as a "respected, independent journalist."

Supporting Hussain is one part of the broader Soviet disinformation campaign against the Zia government of Pakistan. Campaign strategy is to use the Western press and media to portray Zia as one of the world's most ruthless tyrants

whom the West, and especially the United States, should not support. Conversely, Bhutto is portrayed as the victim and a democratically minded leader.

Zia's opposition is grouped under the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), which is dominated by the Bhutto forces. The MRD calls for recognizing Kabul, forcing the Resistance out of Pakistan, and sending the Afghan refugees home against their will. Fomenting frictions between refugees and Pakistanis also plays an important role. If the refugees and Resistance were forced out of Pakistan, they would fight back, leading to chaos—a key aim of the destabilization plan.

## Freedom Watch

Chile's internal tensions erupted into an assassination attempt against President Pinochet in September. He responded by declaring a state of siege that suspended Chile's remaining, fragile civil liberties. Criticism of Pinochet's repressive practices had been growing in the U.S. for some time. Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state, earlier recommended to a House Committee that international loans to Chile be held back pending correction of human rights abuses. The "improvements" in Chile's behavior noted by Abrams four years ago have now dissipated, the official said.

Kuwait slipped a notch down the freedom scale as the Emir suspended the National Assembly and imposed press censorship. The al Sabah family now rules directly, despite its past affirmations of pride as the most politically advanced of the oil-rich nations. The decision was explained by Iran's increasing threat to invade Kuwaiti territory, the collapse of oil prices, and squabbling between the legislature and the executive.

Pakistan's regime cracked down on the opposition, which had taken to the streets in its campaign to force new elections. Benazir Bhutto, daughter of executed leader Zulfikar Bhutto, was arrested along with hundreds of her followers. For the time being, the repression appears to have succeeded, as the protests were brought under control. Miss Bhutto has come under some criticism for her ties to Communist militants, thus weakening the more democratically minded opposition to the authoritarian regime.

Sudan's recent advances toward democracy are threatened by rising violence in the south. Guerrillas there shot down a civilian airliner on 1 August, killing the sixty people aboard. The possibilities of further friction between Christians and Moslems are further enhanced by reports of mass famine in the south. Sudan's troubles menace Egypt and provide Libyan firebrand Qaddafi with opportunities for mischief-making.

Philippines' ousted President, Ferdinand Marcos, continued to inspire or direct--depending on which sources were telling it--demonstrations against the Aquino government. Marcos accused Aquino of playing into the hands of the Communist insurgents, whose killings of government soldiers went on. Not in doubt is the country's persisting economic paralysis, which is contributing to whatever sense of disenchantment with Aquino exists. She is still in control, and was able to travel abroad and return, but grumbling is audible among some military leaders on whom she depends for support.

Bolivia shelved its democratic principles by arresting 162 people in a 7,000 person protest by mining workers. Some of the prisoners were freed after the army stopped the protest, but the problems are unabated. President Paz Estensoro has closed state mines which had become uneconomical, dismissing thousands of miners. He accuses the dissidents of planning to overthrow his government. His difficulties are compounded by the U.S.-pressed campaign against drug growing, which brings in twice as much revenue as mineral exports.

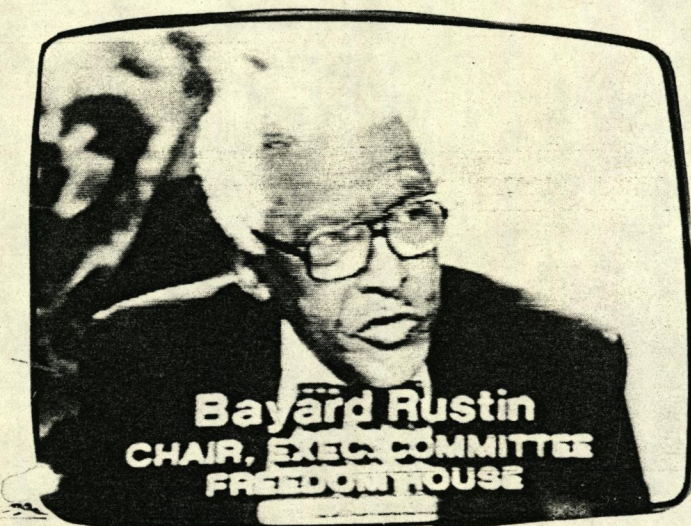
South Korea President Chun Doo Hwan has replaced ten of his twenty-four Cabinet Ministers, including the Home Affairs Ministry, which supervises the police and local officials. Chun has been under pressure internally to call new elections before the 1988 Olympics. He is also negotiating with the opposition on a new constitution. Chun's regime has been criticized for its strong measures against the dissidents, and the shakeup is widely seen as an attempt to improve his standing with the critics. The constitutional discussions are acrid, revolving around Prime Minister versus Presidential rule. The U.S. has remained discreetly in the background, keeping its advice private.

## U.S. Media and Soviet "Journalists"

In answer to FH's protest to NBC about the Phil Donahue shows of 15 and 16 May, Bayard Rustin, chairman of the Executive Committee, and Ludmilla Thorne, director of Center for Appeals for Freedom, were invited to appear on the 6 August, Donahue program. Along with John Lofton of the *Washington Times*, they refuted the party-line claims that Soviet "journalist" Vladimir Posner had aired so freely on the May programs. (See *Freedom Monitor*, August, 1986)

Thorne told of the Soviet atrocities she had witnessed personally in Afghanistan, and about people like the poet Irina

Ratushinskaya who is serving a twelve-year sentence simply for her poetry. This was in response to Posner's assertion that in the USSR people are not imprisoned simply for their beliefs. In reply to Donahue's assertion that he was promoting "people to people dialogue," she said he was talking to the wrong "people." Ask those who have lived there and are now free, Thorne advised. Several in the audience seconded her suggestion. Posner had insisted that the Gulag labor camps are "dead." She called them "not dead, but very much alive today, still teeming with victims."



(Ludmilla Thorne and Bayard Rustin on the Donahue Show)

Donahue announced that he would soon tape five one-hour programs inside the USSR. Thorne privately urged him to invite dissidents to participate in the programs, and others who are "free inside" and have enough strength to say what they mean. She also offered to help him by providing names of dissenters and near-dissenters who would speak freely. She warned repeatedly that Soviet citizens on the streets could hardly be expected to speak to a foreign interviewer with anything approaching candor about their feelings.

Rustin asserted that paid spokesmen for the Soviet Union should indeed be heard on American television. But they should not go unchallenged. Donahue said he thought he had done that, but accepted the right of others to criticize him for not doing so adequately. Rustin took up Posner's claim that Soviet people had food, clothing and shelter as hallmarks of freedom. As I have reason to know from my own family's past, Rustin said, slaves had food, clothing and employment but they did not confuse them with freedom. It was freedom for which they struggled and it is freedom which they have attained in this country.

Lofton clashed aggressively with Donahue, accusing him of being a "dynamic dupe" of Soviet propaganda and disinformation. To present Posner as a "journalist" was a perversion of fact, Lofton charged. Posner was doing his job as a Soviet voice, but what was Donahue trying to accomplish?

In addition to the two hour-long appearances in question, Posner was on an NBC interview program with Donahue. An hour-long "bridge" program was also run from Seattle to the Soviet Union, with "ordinary people" participating in both places.

Telephone calls flooded Freedom House after the program. Many callers wanted to become FH members. Virtually all remarked on the professional presentations of Thorne and Rustin. As one watcher observed, this kind of rebuttal would be unheard of in any Soviet-model totalitarianism; only in a free society like America's.

Donahue's show, NBC told FH, was under his control, not theirs; the Thorne-Rustin letter was forwarded to Donahue. Whatever the criticisms of his handling of Posner, the fact is that Donahue did subject himself to the full brunt of his accusers. That is the real significance of the exchange, which could not have occurred in the Soviet Union, where there are no Freedom Houses to challenge the official "journalists." Nor are there any American Posners, as the Soviets are trying to claim is the case with imprisoned correspondent Nicholas Daniloff. U.S. newspapermen are not employed by the CIA or any other government body, and Daniloff's victimization is a crudely obvious attempt to steer attention away from a Soviet spy caught red-handed.

## Soviet Human Rights Commission

With straight faces, Soviet officials announced in August that a Human Rights Commission was being formed in the USSR. Its purpose, they said, was to inform Soviet citizens of their rights. Asked whether that included the right to emigrate, as specified in the Helsinki Accords of 1975, the spokesmen said "No." Neither, apparently, does the announcement offer any hope to imprisoned dissidents like Irina Ratushinskaya and Sergei Khodorovich, as Ludmilla Thorne, Appeals Center director has learned.

Thorne managed to make telephone calls to both inmates' families early in August. Khodorovich had been given an additional sentence in a "trial" that his wife was not allowed to attend. Thorne was told that his wife Tatiana was on the way to the labor camp to visit him at the time she called. Ratushinskaya's husband revealed that Irina had been moved from the Mordovian labor camp to Kiev. Prison officials told her she was being released, but in Kiev she was put in the KGB investigation jail. There, her captors badgered her to write a statement admitting her guilt and to plead for clemency. Ratushinskaya refused because she has always insisted that she was illegally imprisoned and is guilty of nothing.

Thorne told Ratushinskaya's husband of the telegrams of protest sent by FH and the PEN Center in New York to Soviet officials and the chairman of the Union of Soviet Writers. The FH cable, sent in July, pointed out that Soviet law itself had been violated in Ratushinskaya's original trial in March. In the labor camp she had been in strict confinement for about a year, beaten and afflicted with a skin rash and hair lice that led her voluntarily to have her head shaven. She is allowed one five-kilo parcel per month from her relatives while she is in the KGB investigative prison.

A memorandum reporting these facts has been sent by Thorne to Amnesty International and other groups in Europe and the U.S. that are working on Ratushinskaya's behalf. If the new Human Rights Commission is serious about its task, it does not have far to look on where to begin.

## Keep or Scrap the ABM Treaty?

FH's United Nations correspondent, Elias Schwarzbart, urges that the USSR be asked to amend the Treaty to allow deployment of ABMs around the U.S. missile force. In a lengthy letter in *Commentary*, August 1986, Schwarzbart recommends giving the six-month notice of termination if the Soviets refuse. That would "free us to proceed with the entire SDI program."

This proposal--Schwarzbart's personal view; FH has taken no position--was more fully developed in his May-June, 1985, *Freedom At Issue* article, "Negotiating With the Russians." The letter to *Commentary* was to endorse the piece by Angelo Codevilla in that magazine's May issue. The subject has become a leading bone of contention in both the U.S.-Soviet discussions about an arms control summit and the highly charged debate within the U.S.

Codevilla's thesis is that "SDI Is Being Undone From Within." By keeping it in research, the chances of testing and deploying it diminish with each week. Instead, he argues, those parts of SDI whose technology is now ready should be put on line. Space-based defense should not be offered up as a bargaining chip for any arms control pact--the ulterior motive of some in the Administration, Codevilla says.

Schwarzbart does not get into motives, but he agrees that SDI

should start being applied quickly. Both countries, he writes, should be free to proceed with their space defense systems. Otherwise, the Soviets will continue to build their formidable first-strike offensive missile arsenal. As a veteran lawyer, Schwarzbart has analyzed the legal aspects of U.S. obligations under the ABM Treaty, and concludes that they pose no conflict with what he and Codevilla are proposing.

## Guerrilla Movements In Latin America

The Central American guerrilla movements in the late 1970s had several advantages over their predecessors, said Bruce McCollm, director of the FH Center for Caribbean Studies, during an interview he gave to Voice of America in July. Among the advantages, he listed: 1) a militarily strong Cuba that is no longer threatened by the U.S. and can therefore provide ample training and arms; 2) a Soviet Union that no longer feels compelled to restrain Cuba on armed struggle as it did in the mid-1970s; 3) a general perception of an erosion of U.S. power after Vietnam, Watergate, etc.; 4) a guerrilla movement that has cultivated alliances with a wide range of international players that could furnish support, such as the PLO, Libya, North Korea, Bulgaria and East Germany.

The guerrilla movements of the late 1970s are far advanced from the ones in the 60s. Their leadership is almost totally trained in Havana, East bloc countries and radical states like Libya. The core ideology of these movements is Marxist-Leninist. The guerrilla movements have overcome their rural image and created underground networks within urban areas that allow them a flexibility of strategy they lacked before. They have also adopted the popular front techniques of the pro-Soviet Communist parties, and have formed tactical alliances with radical Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and radical church members and trade unionists. They maintain their internationalism by fighting in each other's struggles. They have also allied themselves with drug traffickers and drug producers, and have been providing them protection in rural areas against government antidrug offensives in return for arms and funds.

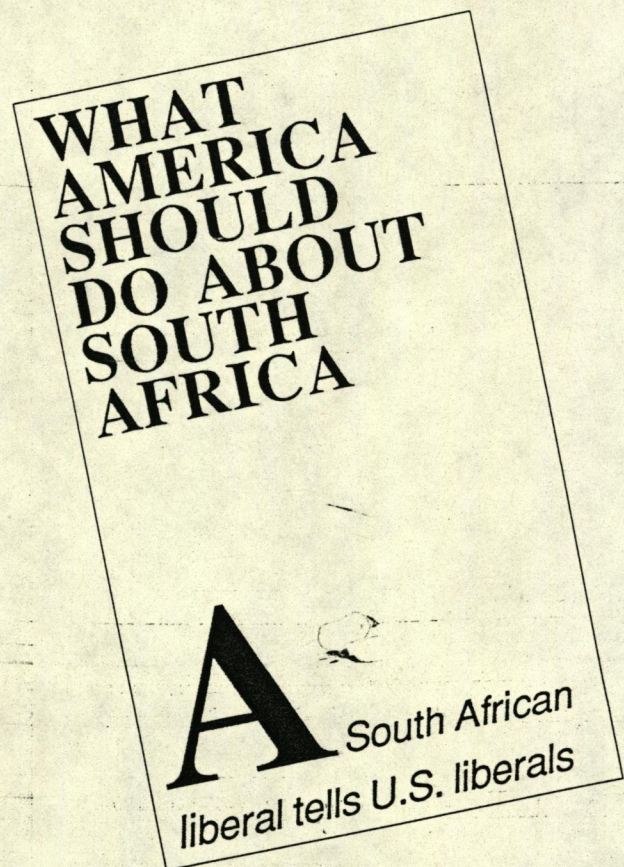
The present day guerrillas in Central and Latin American societies are recruited from the alienated student generation of the 1960s and 70s, explains McCollm. The leadership forces in these movements are predominantly from the middle class or upper middle class. They were radicalized during the 1970s by various church projects which took these privileged children to see how the poor live in their own countries.

The younger generation saw democratic political parties thwarted from effecting real change or subjected to fraudulent elections and corruption. In Cuba, the suicide of Eddy Chibas, the leader of the Orthodox party, triggered a nation-wide feeling that democratic options were closed. In Nicaragua the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the director of *La Prensa*, and in El Salvador of Archbishop Romero radicalized members of the Christian Democratic and social democratic parties.

The marginal figure--the outlaw, the guerrilla, the rebel--are cultural archetypes that have a great deal of resonance in this hemisphere. The romantic myth of the guerrilla as a type of Robin Hood, an incarnation of self-sacrifice and selflessness working for social justice, still dominates all our cultures. However, the power of the cultural myth far outstrips the reality of guerrilla warfare. One part of this myth is that guerrilla warfare is predominantly rural because it represents the downtrodden peasantry's attempt to seek social justice. The reality is, however, far more complicated. The rural populations in this hemisphere are generally conservative and very reluctant to become involved in political action. Guerrilla movement represents not peasantry but alienated urban intelligentsia, especially its younger, middle-class members that seek power for themselves in Marxist-Leninist fashion.

## South Africa's Voice of Reason

As passions for punishing South Africa escalated in and out of Congress, a long-honored voice of reason was heard from within that country. Mrs. Helen Suzman wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*, 3 August 1986, that "those who believe that a quick fix is likely to follow the imposition of sanctions, and that the Pretoria regime will collapse within a short time, are sadly misinformed." She called the clamor for economic war a "strategy of despair" and warned its practitioners that it would have disastrous effect.



Mrs. Suzman's credentials are beyond any cavil. Her thirty-three years as a Member of Parliament in South Africa have

been devoted to staunch opposition to apartheid. Her Progressive Federal Party calls for full political, economic and social equality for the nonwhites, and commands a 20 percent voting support among South African whites. She is also a member of FH's Advisory Council, and has contributed substantially to our own position on the issues.

In "What America Should Do About South Africa," she stresses that only an "expanding, flourishing economy" can eventually write the end of apartheid. American pressure on the Pretoria government must not let up, but neither should it become sheer destructiveness. That would lead to a South Africa safe for no one except its extremists. The moral outrage being expressed is very understandable, but disinvestment and harsh sanctions serve those who express outrage and not the victims. Suzman points to a number of reforms that signal the breakup of apartheid, and to a variety of steps that nonwhites are taking to build their own strengths. Slow and emotionally unsatisfying as those reforms are, she maintains, they are the only realistic way to go.

Far from packing and exiting, she says, American companies should stay and pursue their policies of equality under the Sullivan Principles. "I have more respect for the companies that have remained," she writes, than for those that have left. She comments that South Africa's neighbors who are pressing for strong sanctions will find that they are harming themselves as much or more than the intended targets of the measures. With no apologies for the acts of the Pretoria government, she is critical of the "U.S. sanctions lobby" for leaping to answer in kind.

Freedom House has reprinted the *Times* article, along with our 28 July 1985 Advisory, "South Africa Without Illusions," in a new pamphlet. The Advisory incorporates Suzman's basic thinking, spelling out in greater detail the organizations already working within the country for full justice for nonwhites. Both pieces make clear that there is a large agenda of actions that people in the U.S. and other Western countries can take, without destroying what we are trying to help. Timing of the publication is on the mark, as Congress moves toward possibly fateful decisions. There is an urgent need for stating the case for moderation in what is becoming a battle between "liberals" who refuse to see any progress in Pretoria's conduct and "conservatives" appearing as champions of the hard-core white South African stand-patters.

The pamphlet, *What America Should Do About Africa*, is available for \$1 from Freedom House.

## Freedom House Authors

Bruce McColm, director of the FH Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies, and Douglas Payne, assistant to the director, authored two articles in the Summer 1986 issue of *Strategic Review*. McColm analyzed recent developments as well as future prospects in Cuba, while Payne, together with Antonio Ybarra-Rojas, an exiled Nicaraguan professor, dealt with the background and outcome of the current crisis in Chile.

McColm writes that the personal monument that Cuba's leader Fidel Castro intends to leave to history is being eroded by some adverse gales in the international environment and social and economic problems at home. Most disturbing from Castro's vantage point must be the pronounced emphasis by the Gorbachev regime on domestic economic priorities, combined with the demand for more efficient economic performance from the Soviet Union's clients. While Castro dominated the opening and closing of the Third Cuban Party Congress in February, the spotlight was on dramatic personnel shifts in the Cuban Communist Party's governing bodies. The changes reflected the fact that for the past year-and-a-half, the Soviet Union has evinced rising impatience with Cuba's poor economic performance. Cuba's debt to the Soviet Union and other East bloc countries exceeds \$22 billion. The Castro regime, although it has signed a new economic pact totalling \$3 billion with the USSR confronts obstacles to its economic priorities and will soon redraft its five-year plan. Cuba is

## STRATEGIC REVIEW



### CASTRO'S AMBITIONS AMID NEW WINDS FROM MOSCOW

R. BRUCE MCCOLM



THE AUTHOR: Mr. McColm is Director of the Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies, Freedom House, New York. He also serves as a member of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States. As a journalist he covered the guerrilla wars in Southern Africa for the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*. He is a Contributing Editor to the *National Catholic Register*.

*Fidel Castro faces clouded horizons for the ambition to leave his personal imprint on history. Cuba's deep economic problems are being compounded by adverse international trends, particularly those affecting Cuban trade with the West. They are accentuated by strong pressures from the new leadership in Moscow for improved economic performance. They impose further strain on Cuban social fabric. The society is frayed by living conditions. The society is frayed by living conditions. The society is frayed by living conditions.*

### CRISIS IN CHILE: SCENARIOS AND GAMEPLANS

DOUGLAS W. PAYNE and ANTONIO YBARRA-ROJAS



Mr. Payne is Assistant to the Director of the Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies, Freedom House, New York. He is the author of *the Democratic Mask: The Consolidation of the Sandinista Revolution* (Freedom House, 1985) and numerous articles on Latin America and the Caribbean for *Freedom At Issue*, *Strategic Review* and other publications.

*Chile's crisis is marked by an increasingly violent polarization between the Pinochet regime and the Moscow-loyal Communist Party of Chile (PCCh) — a polarization that is tearing at Chile's social fabric.*

plagued by housing, food and energy shortages. There is also the increasing reluctance of Cubans to serve as "internationalists." An estimated 36,000-40,000 Cuban troops are presently serving in more than 30 countries. However, Castro is not likely to abandon his foreign adventures. Against the background of seemingly insoluble domestic problems, he is likely to intensify his bid for monuments on the battlefields of foreign revolutionary conflict.

In Chile, say Payne and Ybarra-Rojas, two main contenders have emerged from the increasingly complex interplay of political actors: the regime of President (General) Augusto Pinochet and the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh). PCCh has earned the description of the most politically proficient,

If the United States could play a significant role in a relatively peaceful transition toward democratic rule in Chile, it could substantially strengthen its influence among Latin American countries. Chile, however, is also a target of the USSR. It has long been a primary laboratory in Latin America for Soviet tactics, with emphasis on the "popular front" lead by the Communist Party. Thirteen years after the Pinochet putsch,

the PCCh is trying to reconstruct a broad-alliance strategy. They are trying to unite with the Left and, optimally, with the entire Center. Pinochet's repressive tactics play into the PCCh's gameplan. The Catholic bishops in Chile have attempted to unite the non-Communist opposition on the basis of a recently signed Accord among leaders of various opposition factions. However, the dominant trend in Chile seems to be toward a polarization rather than toward the church-sponsored attempts at gradual democratization.

In Chile today, the United States still has a chance to affect the flow of developments before they play into one or the other of the two scenarios in the Soviet-PCCh gameplan: a transition government penetrated, manipulated and ultimately controlled by the Communists, or a usurped "popular" insurrection. The U.S. should continue its policy of "constructive engagement," helping the efforts of the Catholic church to lead a peaceful transition toward democracy.

# The *Comparative Survey of Freedom* in the News

On 18 July, Associated Press carried a piece "Washington Today: Democracy is on the March, but not Everywhere" which presented in detail the findings of FH's Comparative Survey of Freedom and opinions of Raymond Gastil, director of the Survey. "Although Freedom House is a nongovernmental, independent research organization, its rating of nations is highly regarded at the State Department, which attempts no compilation of its own," wrote the author of the AP report, R. Gregory Nokes. He cited Gastil on the number of issues concerning general development of freedom world-wide, and also on some specific trouble spots, such as Nicaragua and South Africa. Nokes reports that "Gastil said South Africa is on the edge between partly free and not free because, although the white population enjoys freedom, the black majority does not. He said Nicaragua has been regressing and could be placed in the "not free" category in the next study."

Nokes also emphasizes that--although Gastil does not address the issue--it is obvious that being free does not guarantee that a nation will enjoy good relations with the United States. The Reagan Administration has had better relations with partly free Turkey than free Greece and with partly free Pakistan than free India. The AP story was picked up by newspapers around the country, and articles, commentaries and editorials based on it appeared in

more than 100 newspapers. Dr. Gastil talked about the Survey on radio shows broadcast by stations in Vancouver and Albany.

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## Activities

In August, Freedom House sent a cable to Daniel T. Arap Moi, president of the Republic of Kenya, protesting the conditions under which the Kenyan government has been holding Otieno Makonyango, a Kenyan journalist, for three years. Says the cable: "Mr. Makonyango has been held without a charge, and unconditional release would do much to increase Kenya's stand in world opinion."

FH trustee Sen. Patrick Moynihan is quoted in the *Congressional Record-Senate* as criticizing the current state of affairs in South Africa. To support his arguments Sen. Moynihan mentions the cable sent by Freedom House President John W. Riehm to President Botha urging that the state of emergency be lifted immediately. "In Freedom House's January 1986 Comparative Survey of Freedom, South Africa is classified as 'partly free'--although at the lower end of the category," said Moynihan. "But in the August 1986 *Freedom Monitor*, Freedom House stated that 'South Africa is de facto 'not free'."

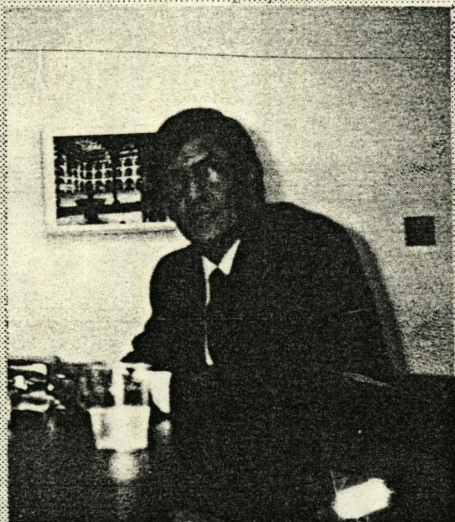
In a press release of 11 August, Freedom House made public a report sent to us by the South African Progressive Federal Party concerning new estimates of persons detained since the June 15th, State of Emergency. As of 11 August, there were 4,258 known detainees in South Africa. Since then, the number has quadrupled.

In July, Freedom House staffers met with Vusi Absalom Mamba, Principal Secretary of Ministry of Justice, Kingdom of Swaziland. They discussed Swazi views on sanctions against South Africa and other regional issues.

Ulrich Friedrich, Secretary of the Human Rights Commission in the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, met with Freedom House staffers in August. They talked about recent developments in Afghanistan and Central America.

Mary Thomas, chairman of the Political Science Department at Bhavan College in Bombay, India, visited Freedom House in August and discussed with staffers U.S. opinions on SDI, arms control, war and peace and the U.S. media.

Categories devised for FH's Comparative Survey of Freedom's ranking of nations were used in a *Wall Street Journal* article that reported that the number of people killed by totalitarian regimes is approximately three times larger than that of people killed in all wars in our century. Several Boston newspapers subsequently reported the WSJ article's data and presented them as Freedom House's findings, although Freedom House is not the source of data used in the article.



On 19 September, Armando Valladares, a Cuban poet and painter who spent twenty-two years in Castro's prisons, visited Freedom House and discussed with FH staffers issues related to his imprisonment, the present situation in Cuba and prospects for its future. Valladares thanked Freedom House, and all organizations that acted on his behalf, for making possible his release. He said that in his opinion only Castro's departure from power could bring change to Cuba and end the dictatorship as such. When asked about the real intentions behind Castro's enticement of the Catholic Church, Valladares responded that this is only a maneuver on Castro's part to improve his image in the eyes of 900 million Catholics worldwide. In reality, religious believers of all denominations remain persecuted in Cuba. Valladares also criticized the failure of the educational system in Cuba, (something that Castro has himself admitted) and noted the growing disenchantment of Cuban soldiers with their role in revolutionary conflicts worldwide. He further pointed out the discrepancy that exists between Western pressure for political reform and the observance of human rights placed upon countries such as South Africa and Chile, and that placed upon Cuba.

On 5 August, a group of Central American journalists visited Freedom House and met with Leonard R. Sussman, executive director of Freedom House, and Freedom House staffers. They discussed the purposes and programs of Freedom House and the work of the journalists in their own societies.

Leonard R. Sussman testified at a hearing 18 June on the Bern Human Rights Contacts Experts Meeting. Parts of his testimony were cited in the July 1986 issue of *CSCE Digest*. Said Sussman: "The decision to veto [the resolution presented by neutral and nonaligned states] except under conditions of extraordinary provocation, which were not present at Bern, undermines the opportunity to score some human rights gains and, through them, a geopolitical advantage as well."

On 12 September, Leonard R. Sussman was the moderator of an academic discussion on Information and Communication in Development at the University of Maryland, College Park-- at the International Conference of the University office of International

Programs and World Academy of Development and Cooperation. Sussman discussed international news media issues and introduced the film still in editing process, "Global Misinformation: The World Information Flow Debates" by Alan Lipke.

An article published in the 17 June issue of *Clarín*, a Buenos Aires newspaper, was based upon one section of Leonard Sussman's *Glossary for International Communications*.

On 7 August, Leonard Sussman and Raymond Gastil, director of FH's Comparative Survey of Freedom, were featured as speakers at a Deadline Club Conference on "Press Freedom Around the World: Are Journalists an Endangered Species?"

In July, Barbara Futterman, director of FH Lecture Bureau, attended a White House briefing for the press, governmental officials and nongovernmental organizations on U.S. policy toward South Africa. The briefing was given by Chester A. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs; Larry Saires, deputy assistant administrator for East and Southern Africa at the Agency for International Development; and Ambassador J. Douglas Holladay, director of South Africa Working Group at Department of State. Following the briefing Ms. Futterman visited the African American Labor Council to discuss the issues. She also visited the AFL-CIO's International Department.

Several new *Exchange* issues were mailed during the summer to its participating editors. An Exchange conference will take place in San Jose, Costa Rica, in October, 1986.

Testimony concerning prison conditions in Cuba by Miguel Angelo Loredó, published in the July-August edition of *Freedom at Issue*, was cited in an article in San Pedro's, CA, newspaper *News Pilot* on 22 July.

"The Unbearable Rift: Between the Self and Its True Home," an article by Milan B. Skacel that appeared in the July-August number of *Freedom at Issue* was reprinted on the op-ed page of the *Press Enterprise*, the county newspaper of Riverside, California, 31 July 1986.

Ludmilla Thorne, director of the Center for Appeals for Freedom, provided background information for, and was cited in, an article "Gorbachev Continues Human Rights Crackdown" published in *Human Events*, 26 July.

On 23 August, Ludmilla Thorne spoke at the Black Ribbon Day, organized on the anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet Pact that preceeded the beginning of World War II. Black Ribbon Day is observed world-wide to remind the world public of the enslavement of East European and Baltic nations--first by Hitler, then by the Soviet Union--that followed the Pact.

Rosanne Klass, director of FH Afghanistan Information Center, has been editing articles for the *Afghanistan Handbook* which will be published later this year by Freedom House. Since there is no single, comprehensive, authoritative work providing, in brief, an overview of the situation in Afghanistan, the book is designed to fill the gap.

Elliot Sallow, director of Social Studies Unit of the New York City Board of Education, sent a congratulatory letter to Raymond Gastil, director of FH Comparative Survey of Freedom. The letter praised the curriculum unit developed by Dr. Gastil for the use by teachers of Global Studies in high schools. "These materials are of particular significance at this time because the New York City Board of Education will be planning emphasis in the schools on the topic of human rights," wrote Sallow.

Bruce McColm, director of the FH Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies, is the author of the chapter on Suriname in the *1986 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* recently published by the Hoover Institution. McColm is also cited in the 8 September issue of *Insight* in an article analyzing the inauguration of Joaquin Balaguer as president of the Dominican Republic.

Douglas Payne, assistant to the director of the Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies, participated in a discussion on recent developments in Panama at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

At the end of September, Dr. Gerald Steibel was featured as a speaker at a Washington, D.C., conference "The Struggle Over Peace." The conference examined the history of and real intentions behind Soviet "peace initiatives."

The most recent publication of Freedom House is *To License a Journalist?*, which is advertised with this issue of *Freedom Monitor*. Freedom House is now preparing for publication a volume to mark its forty-fifth anniversary. Through an examination of various aspects of America's domestic issues and foreign policies, the contributors provide responses to the question posed by the book's title: *Today's American: How Free?* The authors of the essays, who are trustees and staff of Freedom House, include Zbigniew Brzezinski, Leo Cherne, John Diebold, Sidney Hook, Max M. Kampelman, Morton M. Kondracke, John W. Riehm, Burns W. Roper, Bayard Rustin, Paul Seabury, Philip van Slyck, James Finn and Leonard R. Sussman. The book will be sent to all those who have contributed to Freedom House or who have subscribed to *Freedom at Issue* during the last year. Additional copies may be purchased for \$15 per copy.

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