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NO. 2B

1. "SALVADOR REBEL LEADER RAISES DOUBTS ABOUT SAFETY AT  
PEACE PARLEY," BY P. TAUBMAN, P. A4

PANAMA, OCT. 11 - SALVADORAN GUERRILLA LEADERS WILL NOT  
ATTEND A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT DUARTE NEXT MONDAY IF THEY  
CONSIDER SECURITY INADEQUATE AT THE MEETING SITE, A REBEL  
LEADER SAID TODAY. THE LEADER, RUBEN ZAMORA, SAID HERE  
THAT EFFORTS TO RESOLVE SECURITY AND OTHER PROCEDURAL  
ISSUES WITH MR. DUARTE BEFORE THE MEETING HAD SO FAR BEEN  
UNPRODUCTIVE.

"DUARTE IS IMPROVISING, ACTING LIKE THIS IS A BOY SCOUT  
GATHERING, AND THAT'S NOT THE WAY TO PLAN SERIOUSLY FOR  
SUCH A MEETING". IF WE CONCLUDE THAT THE SECURITY RISK IS  
TOO HIGH FOR US, WE WON'T GO TO THE MEETING," HE SAID.  
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MR. ZAMORA IS A LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY  
FRONT, THE POLITICAL WING OF THE GUERRILLA OPPOSITION.  
HE SAID THE REBELS DID NOT BELIEVE MR. DUARTE COULD COM-  
pletely control military forces in the area where the  
meeting is planned. HE ALSO SAID MR. DUARTE HAD NO CON-  
trol over irregular forces and assassination squads.

THE MEETING, IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN LA PALMA, A  
TOWN IN AN AREA OF NORTHERN EL SALVADOR THAT HAS BEEN THE  
SCENE OF FREQUENT FIGHTING BETWEEN THE GUERRILLAS AND THE  
ARMY.

MR. DUARTE SAID ON WEDNESDAY THAT HE WOULD GO TO THE MEET-

ING UNARMED AND UNPROTECTED BY GOVERNMENT TROOPS AND GUARANTEED THAT REBEL LEADERS WOULD NOT BE THREATENED BY THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES. MR. ZAMORA SAID, "EVEN IF WE CAN WORK OUT SPECIFIC SECURITY PROCEDURES WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WE STILL MUST EVALUATE THE DANGERS FROM DEATH SQUADS AND OTHER GROUPS THAT HAVE LONG MADE CLEAR THEY WOULD KILL US IF THEY HAD A CHANCE."

ALTHOUGH BOTH SIDES HAVE PUBLICLY COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO ATTENDING THE MEETING, THEY HAVE SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO SET UP A DIRECT OR INDIRECT CHANNEL FOR DISCUSSION ABOUT SECURITY AND OTHER ISSUES, MR. ZAMORA SAID. HE SAID PRESIDENT BETANCUR OF COLOMBIA HAD OFFERED TO SERVE AS AN INTERMEDIARY BUT HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO START TALKS WITH MR. DUARTE OR HIS AIDES.

MR. BETANCUR SAID ON WEDNESDAY HE WAS NOT SURE HOW MUCH PROGRESS COULD BE MADE. MR. ZAMORA, WHO WAS HERE TO MEET WITH OTHER REBEL LEADERS TO PLAN FOR THE MEETING, SAID UNCLASSIFIED

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MR. DUARTE'S DECISION TO INVITE THE ARCHBISHOP OF SAN SALVADOR, ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS, TO SERVE AS AN INTERMEDIARY IN THE TALKS WAS IMPRACTICAL BECAUSE THE ARCHBISHOP WAS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC THIS WEEK. "THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT TO WORK OUT DETAILS FOR THE MEETING," MR. ZAMORA SAID. SECRETARY SHULTZ ALSO ATTENDED THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT BARLETTA. DURING A STOP IN EL SALVADOR ON WEDNESDAY, MR. SHULTZ SAID MR. DUARTE'S PEACE INITIATIVE HAD THE "UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT" OF THE U.S.

HOWEVER, MR. SHULTZ AND HIS AIDES APPEARED NOT TO BE PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN TRYING TO BRING THE GUERRILLAS AND MR. DUARTE TOGETHER NEXT WEEK. AMERICAN OFFICIALS TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER LAST YEAR AND EARLIER THIS YEAR, BUT THEY ARE NOT INVOLVED IN TRYING TO WORK OUT SPECIFIC PROCEDURES FOR NEXT WEEK'S MEETING, AIDES TRAVELING WITH MR. SHULTZ SAID.

LATIN AMERICAN DIPLOMATS SAID THAT MR. DUARTE AND THE GUERRILLA LEADERS SEEMED TO BE TALKING PAST ONE ANOTHER, DISCUSSING ISSUES IN PUBLIC THAT THEY SHOULD BE SETTling IN PRIVATE TALKS.

THEY SAID MR. DUARTE'S UNEXPECTED INITIATIVE WOULD BE QUICKLY UNDERMINED IF HE AND THE REBELS COULD NOT FIND A WAY TO WORK OUT PROCEDURES FOR THE MEETING. THEY SAID THAT LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE KIND OF MEETING PROPOSED BY MR. DUARTE USUALLY TOOK WEEKS OF PREPARATION.

MR. ZAMORA SAID MR. DUARTE'S FAILURE TO DISCUSS PROCEDURAL ISSUES CAST DOUBT ON HIS WILLINGNESS TO TALK SERIOUSLY ABOUT ENDING THE CIVIL WAR.

ON WEDNESDAY MR. DUARTE SAID IN EL SALVADOR THAT THE QUESTION OF WHO WOULD ATTEND THE MEETING WITH HIM, INCLUDING WHETHER MILITARY COMMANDERS WOULD BE PRESENT, UNCLASSIFIED

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WAS A MATTER THAT HE WOULD DECIDE. MR. ZAMORA SAID GUERRILLA SECURITY CONCERNS FOCUSED ON BOTH THE ARMY AND IRREGULAR FORCES. HE SAID THE ARMY COMMANDER IN THE REGION WHERE THE TALKS ARE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE, COL. SIGIFREDO OCHOA PEREZ, WAS TIED TO RIGHT-WING POLITICAL GROUPS THAT COULD NOT BE TRUSTED TO PROTECT THE REBELS.

MR. SHULTZ, WHO MET WITH THE HEADS OF STATE OF COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, VENEZUELA AND PANAMA WHILE HE WAS HERE, SAID THAT ALL THE LEADERS SHARED A DESIRE TO SEE REGIONAL PEACE TALKS COMPLETED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. BUT MR. SHULTZ SAID THE LEADERS AGREED WITH THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION THAT MODIFICATIONS WERE NEEDED IN A DRAFT TREATY PROPOSED BY THE SO-CALLED CONTADORA COUNTRIES - MEXICO, PANAMA, VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA. NICARAGUA ENDORSED THE TREATY LAST MONTH AND SAID IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY CHANGES.

2. "IN HOST TOWN FOR SALVADOR TALKS, TALK IS OF PEACE," BY JAMES LEMOYNE, P. A4

LA PALMA, EL SALVADOR, OCT. 11 - WHILE POLITICAL LEADERS ARGUE OVER THE DETAILS OF THE MEETING NEXT WEEK BETWEEN SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT AND GUERRILLA OFFICIALS, THE PEOPLE OF LA PALMA SAY THEY ARE READY FOR PEACE.

A PALMA'S RESIDENTS SAY THEY WILL SPEND THE WEEKEND DUSTING THEIR STREETS, HANGING HAND-CARVED ORNAMENTS ON THE GATES AND BRUSHING FRESH WHITE PAINT ON THE WALLS OF THEIR SMALL RED-TILED HOMES. THEY WANT TO MAKE THEIR TOWN A PLACE WHERE SWORN ENEMIES CAN MEET IN EL SALVADOR FOR THE FIRST TIME IN FIVE YEARS.

"LET THE POLITICS COME TO AN END," SAID JUANA RODRIGUEZ UNCLASSIFIED

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GOMEZ, WHO SELLS TOMATOS IN A SMALL STAND NEXT TO MRS. AVALO'S FOOD STALL. "LET'S CALL AN END TO ALL OF THIS AND HAVE WORK AND SOME TRANQUILITY." BUT MORE THAN A DOZEN OF THE TOWN'S 2,000 INHABITANTS SAID IN INTERVIEWS THAT THEY WERE PLEASED THAT PRESIDENT DUARTE HAD PROPOSED LA PALMA AS THE PLACE HE WOULD MEET GUERRILLA LEADERS NEXT MONDAY.

THEY SAID, HOWEVER, THAT NO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAD YET VISITED THE VILLAGE TO PREPARE FOR A MEETING THAT IS SUPPOSED TO TAKE PLACE IN FOUR DAYS.

THE MAYOR SAID HE HAD FAITH, HOWEVER, THAT THE TALKS WOULD OCCUR AS PLANNED. "PEOPLE BELIEVE THIS IS FOR REAL," HE SAID. "ALL, ALL WANT PEACE." THE COMMANDER OF A GUERRILLA ROADBLOCK JUST OUTSIDE TOWN, SAID HE WAS ALSO LOOKING FORWARD TO THE MEETING. HE SAID THAT HE AND HIS FELLOW GUERRILLAS WERE READY TO FIGHT ON, BUT THAT THEY WERE ALSO READY FOR THE BLOODSHED TO END.

HE SHOWED LITTLE ENTHUSIASM, HOWEVER, FOR MR. DUARTE'S STATEMENT THAT HE INTENDS ONLY TO OFFER THE REBELS A WAY TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS. "WHAT PEOPLE WANT IS PEACE," HE SAID. "THEY'RE FULL OF ELECTIONS. WE CAN'T RESOLVE THIS WITH ELECTIONS." ---

THE GUERRILLA COMMANDER PROMISED MR. DUARTE WOULD NOT BE HARMED IF HE COMES INTO THE REBEL-HELD AREA WITHOUT PROTECTION. "WE GUARANTEE THE LIFE OF DUARTE," POLIN SAID. UNITS OF THE MARXIST POPULAR LIBERATION FORCES FACTION OF THE REBEL FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT HAVE BEEN IN MORE OR LESS CONSTANT CONTROL OF THE AREA AROUND LA PALMA SINCE ARMY TROOPS PULLED OUT TWO YEARS AGO.

A GUERRILLA WHO WAS STANDING NEAR THE TOWN SQUARE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT ALL ARMED FORCES WERE TO MOVE SIX MILES UNCLASSIFIED

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OUTSIDE OF TOWN BEFORE NEXT WEEK'S MEETING.

ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF MR. DUARTE REFUSES TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS TO THE GUERRILLAS, THE YOUNG MAN APPEARED TO STIFFEN. "IF HE ACCEPTS NOTHING, NOTHING WILL RESULT," HE SAID. "WE DON'T HAVE TO ACCEPT WHAT HE SAYS."

3. "MIDDLE EAST LIMITS," BY FLORA LEWIS, P. A35

ISRAEL'S NEW PRIME MINISTER, SHIMON PERES, HAS JUST BEEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE. EGYPT'S PRESIDENT, HOSNI MUBARAK, HAS BEEN VISITING KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN IN AMMAN. THE P.L.O. LEADER, YASIR ARAFAT, MET THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER, ANDREI GROMYKO, IN EAST BERLIN. BUT HE STILL CAN'T FIND A PLACE TO HOLD HIS ORGANIZATION'S LONG-OVERDUE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING.

THE MIDDLE EAST KEEPS MOVING AND SHIFTING. IS IT GETTING ANYWHERE? SECRETARY SHULTZ, BADLY BURNED BY HIS 1983 FIASCO IN LEBANON, SAYS WISELY THIS TIME THE U.S. WON'T MEDIATE UNTIL AGREEMENT IS IN SIGHT. IT IS OVER TWO YEARS SINCE ISRAEL INVADDED LEBANON. THE PROCLAIMED PURPOSE WAS TO INSURE "PEACE IN GALILEE" BY DESTROYING P.4.O. BASES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. THE ACTUAL PURPOSE, MADE CLEAR ENOUGH BY GEN. ARIEL SHARON, WHO DESIGNED THE OPERATION, WAS TO DISCREDIT THE P.L.O. COMPLETELY AND ESTABLISH A FRIENDLY, CHRISTIAN-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT IN LEBANON WILLING TO MAKE PEACE AND A TACIT ALLIANCE WITH ISRAEL.

ENOUGH TIME HAS GONE BY TO MEASURE THE RESULTS AND TRY TO DRAW SOME SOBER LESSONS ABOUT WHAT CAN AND CANNOT BE DONE WITH ARMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. MR. PERES'S MAIN CONCERN IN WASHINGTON WAS TO SEEK HELP IN PRYING HIS COUNTRY OUT UNCLASSIFIED

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OF A DESPERATE ECONOMIC SITUATION, PRIMARILY DUE TO THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MENACHEM BEGIN. IT IS SAID THAT ISRAEL IS NOT BANKRUPT WHICH IS TRUE ONLY BECAUSE ITS CHIEF CREDITOR, THE U.S., REMAINS INDULGENT.

A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF EXCESS SPENDING IS BECAUSE OF THE LEBANESE INVASION AND CONTINUING OCCUPATION. MR. PERES NOW SAYS ISRAELI FORCES WILL DEFINITELY WITHDRAW, ABANDONING THE CONDITION OF SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL AND A FORMAL AGREEMENT WITH LEBANON.

LEBANON'S KARAMI, SAYS HIS GOVERNMENT WON'T TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE ISRAELIS ANY LONGER. A BORDER ARRANGEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE BASED ON THE 1949 ARMISTICE. IT SOUNDS LIKE BACK TO SQUARE ONE. BUT IT ISN'T EXACTLY. IT NEVER IS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. MR. KARAMI ALSO SAYS HE HAS A FIRM ASSURANCE THAT SYRIAN FORCES WILL LEAVE LEBANON AFTER THE ISRAELIS DO.

THE PRIME SYRIAN GOAL NOW IS TO ESTABLISH THAT DAMASCUS IS THE ESSENTIAL ARAB PLAYER IN THE POWER BALANCE. SYRIA IS FURIOUS AT THE RESUMPTION OF TIES BETWEEN JORDAN AND EGYPT, AND THEIR SUPPORT FOR SYRIA'S ADVERSARY, IRAQ.

BUT THIS EVOLVING ALIGNMENT DOESN'T IN THE LEAST IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SUSPENDED PROPOSAL FOR JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL. WEST BANK ARABS, WHOSE VIEWS KING HUSSEIN MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT, STILL STRONGLY SUPPORT MR. ARAFAT.

HOWEVER, SYRIA HAS SO EFFECTIVELY SPLIT THE P.L.O. THAT MR. ARAFAT COULDN'T ANY LONGER ENDORSE NEGOTIATIONS BY THE KING IF HE WANTED TO. A CHIEF AIDE SAID MR. ARAFAT'S TALK WITH MR. GROMYKO WAS AN ATTEMPT TO GET MOSCOW TO PRESSURE SYRIA FOR A RECONCILIATION WITH THE P.L.O. LEADER. RECONCILIATION ISN'T LIKELY, BUT THE CONDITON WOULD DOUBT-LESS BE THAT MR. ARAFAT RENOUNCE ANY THOUGHT OF A SEPARATE UNCLASSIFIED

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DEAL WITH KING HUSSEIN.

SO EVEN IF PERES WERE WILLING AND ABLE TO REVERSE THE POLICIES OF HIS LIKUD COALITION PARTNERS AND ACCEPT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE WEST BANK, THERE'S NOBODY HOME ON THE PALESTINIAN SIDE NOW. THE BIG QUESTION IN THIS ROUND OF THE MIDDLE EAST SPIRAL IS WHETHER SYRIA'S PRESIDENT, HAFEZ

AL-ASSAD, HAS A LONG-TERM GOAL OF MAKING HIMSELF THE ONLY ARAB LEADER IN A POSITION TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL, AND THEN DRIVING A BARGAIN TO ESTABLISH SYRIA'S PREEMINENCE. OR IS HE MANEUVERING MERELY TO KEEP HIS REGIME IN POWER AND CLOSE OFF ANYONE ELSE'S DIPLOMATIC OPTIONS?

IF THE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ EVER ENDS, THAT TOO WILL SHIFT THE BALANCE IN UNFORESEEABLE WAYS. THE RESULT OF OVER TWO YEARS OF WAR, MASSACRE AND OCCUPATION IS THAT ISRAEL IS WORSE OFF. IT NO LONGER HAS FRIENDS IN LEBANON. THE P.L.O. ARMY HAS BEEN DRIVEN OUT AND BROKEN UP, BUT HAT HAS NOT ADVANCED ISRAEL'S SEARCH FOR PEACE NOR PROVIDED LONG-TERM ASSURANCE FOR GALILEE'S SAFETY FROM TERRORIST ATTACK. EGYPT IS COOL. LEBANON IS MORE FRAGMENTED THAN EVER. THE P.L.O. BURDEN HAS BEEN LIFTED, BUT MURDER, CONFLICT AND KIDNAPPING GO ON. THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION WILL END, WITHOUT PROSPECTS OF AN EFFECTIVE LEBANESE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

THE U.S. HAS GAINED NOTHING BUT MORE TROUBLE AND MORE INSISTENT REQUESTS FOR AID.

IF THERE'S A MORAL, IT IS THAT IT TAKES REALISM, A LOT OF KNOWLEDGE AND A KEEN SENSE OF THE LIMITS OF POWER TO DEAL WITH THE MIDDLE EAST. THERE HAS BEEN CONSTANT CHANGING AND CONSTANT DYING, WITHOUT ANYONE THE BETTER FOR IT. AND UNCLASSIFIED

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THE ARMS FLOW ON.

4. "DUARTE REJECTS COLOMBIAN MEDIATOR FOR TALKS WITH SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS," BY PNINA RAMATI, BS, P. 12A

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR - PRESIDENT DUARTE'S REJECTION OF COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT BELISARIO BETANCUR AS A MEDIATOR FOR THE FIRST HIGH-LEVEL TALKS BETWEEN HIS GOVERNMENT AND LEFTIST REBELS HAS STALLED PROGRESS IN THE PREPARATIONS NECESSARY FOR THE MEETING TO TAKE PLACE.

IN A COMMUNIQUE YESTERDAY, MR. DUARTE THANKED MR. BETANCUR FOR HIS GOOD INTENTIONS BUT SAID THE PROBLEM WAS SALVADORAN AND SHOULD BE SOLVED BY SALVADORANS. HE APPOINTED THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF EL SALVADOR, ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS, AS GO-BETWEEN. RUBEN ZAMORA, A LEADER OF THE REBELS' POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, THE (FDR), SAID THOUGH THE REBELS CONSIDERED PRESIDENT DUARTE'S DECISION SUSPICIOUS, THEY WERE FIRMLY DETERMINED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS.

"WE ARE GOING TO GET THERE," HE SAID, ASKED IF POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING, NOW SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, WAS IMMINENT BECAUSE OF THE REJECTION OF MR. BETANCUR. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD NOT HEARD FROM ONSIGNOR ROSA CHAVEZ. THE AUXILIARY BISHOP TOLD REPORTERS YESTERDAY THAT THE CHURCH HAD ACCEPTED THE ROLE OF ARRANGING THE TALKS BUT HAD NOT YET

BEEN INFORMED OF THE GUERRILLAS' WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE DECISION. HE SAID HE HOPED TO HEAR THAT ACCEPTANCE LATER YESTERDAY.

WITH EACH SIDE WAITING TO HEAR FROM THE OTHER, NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN CLEARING UP SOME OF THE LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS OF THE MEETING. "WE'RE WORRIED THAT DUARTE IS CONDUCTING HIS PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH THE PRESS AND NOT A REAL INTERMEDIARY WHO CAN HELP WITH THE PLANNING," MR. ZAMORA SAID. "HE DOES NOT SEEM TO ASSURE THAT BOTH PARTIES

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WILL BE AT LA PALMA."

THE GUERRILLAS SUGGESTED THAT ALONG WITH MEMBERS OF THE FMLN, TWO MEMBERS OF THE FDR SHOULD ATTEND. MR. DUARTE SAID IN A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH U.S. SECRETARY SHULTZ YESTERDAY, "I AM NOT AGAINST ANYONE WHO WANTS TO PARTICIPATE."

THE ONLY SUGGESTION THAT THE GUERRILLAS PHRASED A DEMAND WAS THAT MEMBERS OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY ATTEND THE TALKS.

5. "THE DOUBLE LIVES OF NICARAGUA'S COMANDANTES" C. RANGEL, OP-ED, WALL STREET JOURNAL, P. 31

AS COMANDANTE ORTEGA AND HIS SANDINISTA COMPANEROS FLIRT WITH HOLLYWOOD STARS, CAVORT WITH NEW YORK'S JET SET AT THE RUSSIAN TEA ROOM AND TAKE IN BASEBALL GAMES, THEY STILL HAVE FOUND TIME TO MAKE THEIR CASE THAT THE SANDINISTAS STAND FOR PLURALISM AND PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THEY BACK UP THIS CLAIM BY REFERRING TO THEIR COMING ELECTIONS AND THEIR VERBAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTADORA TREATY. THIS VERBAL APPROVAL ALONE HAS BEEN HERALDED BY MANY IN THE U.S. AS PROOF THAT THE SANDINISTA ELITE ARE IN EARNEST. HOWEVER, THE COMANDANTES' ASSERTIONS CONCERNING ELECTIONS AND THE PEACE PROCESS MADE ON THEIR HOME TURF RIP APART THE CURRENT PUBLIC-RELATIONS FACADE THAT HAS TAKEN IN SO MANY NAIVE AMERICANS.

PUBLICLY, LEADERS OF THE CONTRADORA COUNTRIES--MEXICO, VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA AND PANAMA--VOICE SATISFACTION WITH THE NEW DRAFT TREATY. PRIVATELY, THOSE SAME LEADERS ADMIT THAT THE LETTER-PERFECT CONTRADORA TREATY IS HARDLY WORTH THE PAPER IT IS WRITTEN ON. THE PAINSTAKINGLY CONCEIVED DOCUMENT

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MENT WOULD ENCOURAGE NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS AND COST RICA TO BE MODELS OF DEMOCRACY AND PRACTITIONERS OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY BEHAVIOR. ACTUALLY, NONE OF THOSE COUNTRIES, AND LEAST OF ALL NICARAGUA, HAVE THE SLIGHTEST INTENTION OF ABIDING BY THOSE ANGELIC RULES.

SEEN IN THIS LIGHT, THE CONTRADORA DRAFT TREATY COULD BE LIKENED TO ALL OTHER ARRANGEMENTS THAT SEEK TO BUY "PEACE IN OUR TIME" AT THE COST OF ONE OR TWO SLICES OF WHAT IS SEEN AS SOMEBODY ELSE'S FLESH, WHEN IT IS REALLY OUR OWN. IN THE CASE AT HAND THE SUPPOSEDLY ALIEN FLESH IS THAT OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE. AND THOSE READY TO ALLOW THE SLICING ARE PRETENDING TO PERCEIVE THE SANDINISTAS' VERBAL ADERENCE TO THE CONTADORA DRAFT TREATY AS SOMEHOW DISPROVING THE EVIDENCE THAT NEXT MONTH'S NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS ARE RIGGED FROM TOP TO BOTTOM.

BESIDES EVERYTHING ELSE THAT IS PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. SANDINISTA CYNICISM ABOUT THE WHOLE ELECTORAL EXERCISE STANDS REVEALED IN A REMARKABLE SPEECH LAST SPRING BY BAYARDO ARCE, ONE OF THE NINE SANDINISTA COMANDANTES. HIS SPEECH WAS DELIVERED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NICARAGUAN SOCIALIST PARTY (NSP), BY THE DRIFT OF THE SPEECH, IT APPEARS THAT THE NSP AND MR. ARCE REMAIN UNCONVINCED OF THE WISDOM OF HOLDING ELECTIONS AT ALL. HE STARTS BY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE NSP HAD REQUESTED AN EXPLANATION AS TO WHY THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT BECAME EMBROILED IN THE BOTHERSOME BUSINESS OF ELECTION AND ABOUT "THE PERSPECTIVE THAT THE COMMUNISTS MUST HAVE ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESS." MR. ARCE CONTINUES:....."LET ME

REMINDE YOU THAT BACK IN 1979 THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES WAS TRYING TO FIND A NON-REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION (TO THE FALL OF SOMOZA). IN THAT CONTEXT, WE (THE SANDINISTAS) CAME UP WITH A PROGRAM THAT MADE US ACCEPTABLE, BASED ON THREE POINTS THAT WE KNEW WE COULD MANAGE IN A REVOLUTIONARY WAY. THESE WERE NONALIGNMENT, A MIXED ECONOMY AND POLITICAL PLURALISM. WITHOUT THESE NEGATIVE COMMITMENTS

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IT IS TRUE THAT THE ELECTIONS WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY UNTIMELY. WHAT A REVOLUTION NEEDS IS THE EXECUTIVE EXPEDIENCY WHICH IS THE ESSENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP THE PROLETARIAT, AND FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW THE ELECTIONS ARE A HINDRANCE."

"BUT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE REALITY WE HAVE, THE ELECTIONS ARE A TOOL OF THE REVOLUTION AND A WAY OF ADVANCING IN THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM.....IT IS, FOR EXAMPLE, USEFUL FOR US TO BE ABLE TO POINT OUT THAT THERE REMAINS A PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURIAL SECTOR, WHILE WE ADVANCE IN ALL STRATEGIC (ECONOMIC) ASPECTS. THAT ENTREPRENEURIAL CLASS NO LONGER COUNTS. THE NICARAGUAN ECONOMIC PROJECT IS ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE. IN THE SAME WAY, THE ELECTIONS HAVE BECOME AN EXPEDIENT IN ORDER TO DEPRIVE OUR ENEMIES OF AN ARGUMENT."....MR. ARCE GOES ON TO EXPLAIN HOW WITH THE NOV 4 ELECTIONS IT WILL APPEAR THAT THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE (AND NOT JUST THE SANDINISTA GOVT.)"ARE IN FAVOR OF SOVIET-CUBAN ADVANCE, ARE IN FAVOR OF TOTALITARIANISM, ARE IN FAVOR OF MARXISM-LENINISM, ARE IN FAVOR OF SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY ADVISERS, ARE IN FAVOR OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM." HE GOES ON...AFTER THE ELECTIONS "THE

TIME WILL HAVE COME TO THINK ABOUT A SINGLE PARTY. WHY SHOULD WE COMMUNISTS GO ON WEARING DIFFERENT SHIRTS, IF ANYHOW SOCIALISM IS BEING BUILT (IN NICARAGUA) THROUGH THE STRATEGY OF THE SANDINISTA FRONT? WE SHOULD THINK NOW ABOUT DOING AWAY WITH ALL THIS FICTION OF PLURALISM."

THERE IS MUCH MORE IN MR. ARCE'S SECRET SPEECH TO THE NSP THAN CAN BE GLEANED IN THIS SPACE, BUT LET ONE BELIEVE THAT MR. ARCE IS MERELY THE ONE BAD EGG IN THE SANDINISTA BASKET WE OFFER THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ORTEGA, PRESENTED TWO WEEKS AGO. MR. ORTEGA WARNED OPPOSITION LEADERS THAT IF THEY CONTINUED TO CALL THE GROWING CONFLICT WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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THE ANTI-SANDINISTA REBELS A CIVIL WAR, "THEY MIGHT JUST END UP WITH SUCH A CIVIL WAR IN THEIR HANDS, AND THEN WHOLE CLASSES OF PEOPLE WILL DISAPPEAR. THE PEOPLE WILL OBLITERATE SOME CLASSES AND THEN THESE CLASSES WILL KNOW THE FURY OF THE PUBLIC."

THAT STATEMENT TIES OMINOUSLY WITH MR. ARCE'S CALL TO PATIENCE TO THE NSP: "WE HAVEN'T MOVED THE MOBS (LAS TURBAS) YET, BECAUSE THE TIME IS STILL NOT RIPE."

IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT MR. ORTEGA AND MR. ARCE ARE REGARDED BY THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THE U.S. AS "MODERATES" WHEN COMPARED WITH "HARD LINERS" LIKE SANDINISTA INTERIOR MINISTER BORGE. WHAT BOTHERS LATIN AMERICANS IS THAT GRINGOS SEEM LESS CONCERNED WITH WHAT THE COMANDANTES ARE SAYING AND DOING IN NICARAGUA THAN WITH THE STORIES THEY RELATE TO LIBERAL JET SETTERS OVER CUPS OF CAPPUCINO IN NEW YORK AND HOLLYWOOD. DAM

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