

Famed Novelist Clashes With Peru's Military Rulers

By JONATHAN KANDELL

Special to The New York Times

LIMA, Peru, — For centuries, Latin-American writers, artists and intellectuals have traditionally been the political gadflies of their countries, often enjoying a following and influence far greater than their colleagues in Europe and the United States.

In Mexico, Carlos Fuentes, in his novel "The Death of Artemio Cruz," provided one of the most poignant chronicles of the corruption of the leaders of Mexico's revolution over the last six decades.

The jailing of the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros in the nineteen-sixties for his acid comments on the political system exposed the Mexican Government to some of the strongest foreign criticism it has received.

In Chile, the late poet Pablo Neruda often laced his verses with eloquent denunciations of United States domination of the continent, and his posthumous memoirs have haunted the right-wing military junta that now rules Chile almost as much as the attacks of living critics.

In keeping with this tradition, Peru's leading novelist, Mario Vargas Llosa, home after a 16-year absence, has quickly emerged in recent months as the most articulate and important critic of the left-wing military Government here.

"I think it is lamentable that just by the fact that I am a writer I have been conferred political authority," said Mr. Vargas Llosa, who at 38 years of age is uneasy with his new status.

"Maybe it happens because newspapers in Latin America rarely are independent enough to fulfill their role as political watchdogs," he suggested. "Maybe it is because writers are under so much pressure from other intellectuals and university students to enter the political arena.



The New York Times/Jonathan Kandell

Mario Vargas Llosa at his home in Lima next to a painting of himself. In 1962, a thousand copies of his book, whose Spanish title translates as "The City and the Dogs," were burned publicly at a military academy that was the book's setting.

"I myself do not have even a minimum vocation for politics. I detest people who use literature for political ends. But I cannot remain an ostrich."

Mr. Vargas Llosa has focused his criticism particularly on the Government's decision last July to expropriate all newspapers with a national circulation. His denunciations of the stifling of political dissent here have had a particularly strong impact abroad—in Latin America and in Europe—where intellectuals and leftists have been favorably disposed to the Peruvian military Government.

freedom of expression, the revolution is in danger of becoming fossilized," said Mr. Vargas Llosa in an interview in his suburban apartment overlooking the Pacific Ocean. "I don't think there was anything remarkable about the newspapers when they were privately owned. They defended minority class interest.

"But now the Government has isolated itself from public debate. Look at the newspapers six months after their expropriations. They carry only the most timid sort of criticism."

Intellectuals Back Him

Last month, after attacks on Mr. Vargas Llosa by the Government-controlled press, more than 30 Peruvian intellectuals and artists broke their silence to sign a declaration backing the novelist.

Mr. Vargas Llosa, whose own politics lean toward socialism, asserts that he is largely sympathetic to the broad aims of the revolution proclaimed by the armed forces when they took power in 1968.

During the recent rioting in Lima against the military Government, he strongly denounced any attempt by conservatives to take advantage.

He has applauded the agrarian reform that has displaced the rural oligarchy and distributed land to more than 175,000 impoverished families. He has welcomed Government plans to give industrial workers a large share of ownership in their companies, and Government efforts to bridge the yawning economic, social and racial

chasm that has always fragmented Peruvian society.

"Coming from the military, this has all been very surprising," said Mr. Vargas Llosa, whose best-known novel, entitled "Time of the Hero" in the English version, is a scathing social commentary set in a military academy that the author attended for two years.

When the book, whose Spanish title translates as "The City and the Dogs," appeared in 1962, a thousand copies were publicly burned at the school. Several ranking military officers called it the product of a sick mind and denounced the author as a Communist and anti-Peruvian.

Role in '76

PRESIDENT IS FIRM ON ENERGY GOALS

28 Governors Oppose Ford Oil Tariff

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—The

nation's governors voted 28 to 12 today against a tariff on imported oil and other pricing devices that the Ford Administration wants to use to slow energy consumption.

But even that lopsided a vote—largely on party lines, reflecting the Democratic majority among the Governors—was not enough to meet the three-quarters rule for putting the National Governors Conference on record with a formal resolution.

Instead, a committee of the Governors quickly reassembled—in the Presidential Room, as it happened, of the Mayflower Hotel—and wrote a new resolution, which was adopted by 30 to 1, urging President Ford to mount, in effect, an intense jawboning campaign for energy conservation.

In the meantime, the substitute resolution said, the Government should design a standby allocation plan for scarce energy. And if voluntary restraints have not shown results in about four months, both price mechanisms and an allocation program should be applied, the Governors resolved.

Ford and Congress Assailed

Thus, the final resolution avoided a specific policy dispute with Mr. Ford but was critical of him and the Congress for the pace and the tone they have taken on the energy problems.

"A conservation program of massive proportions must be the central focus of our nation's short-range energy management program," the Governors resolved. "The Federal Government has a responsibility for necessary national leadership in the accomplishment

of such a program on largely a voluntary basis."

"To date," they declared, "we have no such over-all logically integrated effort."

Through most of their three-day annual midwinter meeting here, the Governors have complained that belt-tightening in the budget has unfairly shifted Government costs and the pain of recession to state and local agencies.

But they got another stern lecture today from Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, who said that "greater discipline" lay ahead. "All of us must ask," he said, "how much longer state and local governments can continue to grow at their present pace."

Spending, employment and public debt have all grown substantially faster in state and local government, he said, than in the Federal Government or the economy at large.

And while most of the Governors have been appealing for still larger Federal deficits to restimulate the economy, Mr. Simon contended that excessive Federal spending and deficits were the cause of the inflation that had caused the recession.

All the Governors were invited to dinner with President and Mrs. Ford at the White House this evening. The conference officially adjourned shortly after noon today.

On the subject of 1976 Presidential politics, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama was the main subject of discussion, as he had been since Tuesday when Gov. William Waller of Mississippi said that Mr. Wallace's "physical infirmity" made his candidacy "remote."

But Mr. Wallace invited reporters to his hotel suite this afternoon to declare that he "leans" toward running, will

make up his mind by next June or July, and will stay within the Democratic party unless it is unfair to his supporters in the election of convention delegates.

Governor Wallace introduced two of the doctors who had attended him after an assassination attempt in 1972. They said that he was sufficiently recovered from bullet wounds and severe complications. Dr. Joseph F. Schanno, a vascular surgeon, and Dr. Stacy L. Rollins Jr., a neurosurgeon, both of whom practice in Bethesda, Md., said that Mr. Wallace was medically fit to run.

Mr. Wallace seemed happy to acknowledge that he had "changed" in the years since he stood in the "schoolhouse door" trying to block the desegregation of the University of Alabama. But he said that he had hardly changed more than most other politicians in the last 10 years, and he insisted that the issue in the desegregation fight had been "big government" more than race.

"I can relate more to the average black man than any other man who's thinking of running for President," he said "because we all grew up in the South where we were poverty stricken together."

The central issues of a Wallace campaign in 1976, he said would include "law and order," the authority of the Federal Reserve Board over interest rates and high income taxes that are leading to the "radicalization of the middle class."

Mr. Wallace said that he reluctantly opposed any further military aid to South Vietnam such as President Ford has requested, because "if they can't be saved with what we've spent already, they can't be saved with \$300-million more."

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

was not responding quickly enough to economic and energy problems.

The Senate vote yesterday to delay the import fees was 66 to 28, or well in excess of the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto. The House has also passed the bill by a wide margin, and it is expected that the White House in its efforts to try to sustain the expected veto, will concentrate on the Senate.

Pending attempts to override the veto, Mr. Nessen said the President's proclamation imposing the increased fees would remain in effect. That order imposed a fee of \$1 a barrel on imported crude oil effective Feb. 1, rising to \$2 on March 1 and \$3 on April 1.

White House spokesmen have maintained that imposition of the fees, aimed at reducing reliance on imported oil with higher consumer prices, was only an interim step to prod Congress to act on a more permanent energy program.

Mr. Nessen reiterated that when the Democratic majorities in Congress developed their own energy plan, Mr. Ford would be willing to examine the details and discuss possible compromises.

But he declared that the President would not compromise on the goals of his energy proposals, which Mr. Nessen defined as ending the nation's dependence on foreign oil by 1985, encouraging the development of domestic supplies of energy, making an energy program equitable to all regions, and passing a tax cut for low-income and middle-income families "to make up for the ravages of inflation."

did to avoid further bickering in his Executive Council—bickering that arose from the fact that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is no longer of one mind on political matters.

In any event, Mr. Meany has passed the ball to the executives of individual unions, and it happens that those with the most political influence tend to be considerably more liberal on political questions than Mr. Meany.

Political Capacities

Because of their disagreements with the federation leadership, such labor leaders as Leonard Woodcock of the United Automobile Workers, Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Floyd Dunham of the Teamsters Union, and Robert Kennedy Jr. have developed their own political strategies. Mr. Kennedy, for example, has been active in the anti-nuclear movement, and Mr. Woodcock has been vocal in his support of the anti-apartheid struggle. Mr. Wurf, on the other hand, has been a strong advocate of the anti-apartheid struggle. Mr. Dunham, who is a member of the Executive Council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., has been a vocal supporter of the anti-apartheid struggle. Mr. Kennedy, who is a member of the Executive Council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., has been a vocal supporter of the anti-apartheid struggle.