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(FOUO 7/80)

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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR AGREEMENT APPROVED--Montevideo, 20 Mar (DPA)--The Uruguayan Council of State has approved the agreement on cooperation for the peaceful use of nuclear energy which Uruguay has signed with Chile. [PY212229 Montevideo DPA in Spanish 1430 GMT 20 Mar 80 PY]

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EL SALVADOR

ARCHBISHOP CRITICIZES PDC ROLE IN GOVERNMENT, U.S. AID

PA192327 Havana PRELA in Spanish 1750 GMT 19 Mar 80 PA

[Text] Caracas, 19 Mar (PL)--Msgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero, archbishop of San Salvador, has questioned the role being played by the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in his country, saying that "it is becoming an accomplice to the abuse being committed against the people."

In an interview published by the morning paper EL DIARIO DE CARACAS, Romero said although he is not an expert politician, he agrees with analysts who believe that the PDC is taking a serious risk by being a part of the government that is involved in "great repression."

He asked newsmen who visit El Salvador to report that the Christian democracy exists [as received] and that reforms are being carried out, but also that "all the people are receiving is terrible repression," which can "only be explained if its intent is to destroy popular organizations."

Asked whether the PDC is acting in a Christian manner at this time, Romero said the term Christian in a political party does not mean that it is Christian. "The important thing," he said, "is not the name, but the facts and you (newsmen) can judge for yourselves."

The archbishop said he had received a visit from U.S. Embassy officials who came to explain that the \$50 million in military aid was not actually for the security corps but for equipment which the army needed. Romero said he asked the U.S. officials who could guarantee that the money will not be used to increase repression by the security corps, since they come under the jurisdiction of the Defense Ministry. He added that the officials tried to explain that the money was to help the people, but that he asked them to be more objective and suggested that they tie the aid to other things, "because aid for repression is not aid for our people."

Referring to the cooperation of the United States and possibly other countries with the present PDC-military government, the archbishop said:

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"If this involves interference in the people's lives," it is not aid and, therefore, promotes plans against the people.

Monsignor Romero praised the program of government subscribed to by the people's revolutionary bloc, the 28 February People's Leagues, the United Popular Action Front and the Nationalist Democratic Union and said he considers these popular organizations to be "a sounding board for the people."

He said that in El Salvador official repression is greatly out of proportion to the people's armed defense and mentioned that the rumor is that "10 civilians must die for every soldier killed."

The combative archbishop reiterated that the church calls for reconciliation, but if this is unsuccessful, there is justification for a popular insurrection "that the church condones when all peaceful means have been exhausted." He asked for "understanding of our revulsion toward the violence of the government and the right, because reforms are not compatible with repression of the people."

Romero said that the right definitely represents social injustice, while the left represents "the people's organizations and its demands are the people's demands."

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EL SALVADOR

*PRELA' INTERVIEWS PCES SECRETARY GENERAL HANDAL

First Interview

PA152328 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0138 GMT 14 Mar 80 PA

[Interview with Jorge Shafick Handal, Communist Party of El Salvador secretary general, by PRELA correspondent Mario Menendez Rodriguez]

[Excerpts] Somewhere in El Salvador, 11 Mar (PL)--A historical decision of immediate significance and of well-defined strategic projections, the determined incorporation of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES) to the armed struggle--"convinced as it is that this is the only path to a real solution of the national crisis on behalf of the working masses and the people in general"--has, given notable impulse to the development of the Salvadoran revolution, which these days is militarily hitting the forces of the 14 families and their allies in the capital.

"It has been a somewhat delayed decision, but...still timely," PCES Secretary General Jorge Shafick Handal stated during an historical interview with this agency.

"Still timely," as the outstanding theoretician on fascism in Latin America has said, constitutes a just appreciation, an undeniable truth, because the decision was made at a decisive moment of revolutionary fervor and inability on the part of the privileged minority to continue governing as in the past, when it was evident to one and all that a mere reformist solution would not be able to resolve the problems of starvation, misery, exploitation and repression affecting this country.

The moment, the presence of the PCES in the revolutionary coordinating board of the masses, established to direct the people's war, is one of the main reasons why important democratic sectors hailing from what is known as the "middle class" are currently connected with the revolutionary political and military organizations.

For the past 11 years, the PCES has participated in one way or another, either directly or indirectly, in three presidential elections and six

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elections for deputies and mayors alongside democratic forces, which did not think the electoral path was closed in El Salvador and which had hopes of transforming the situation by means of cabinet reorganizations and constitutional reforms. More recently, in a last effort, the PCES also formed part of the first government junta, which was organized after the fall of Gen Carlos Humberto Romero's genocidal regime.

The PCES has played an important part in the commitments acquired from its allies. Its decision to join the armed struggle in order to eradicate the system of injustice that prevails in El Salvador was made only after it was shown that the power of the recalcitrant oligarchy and the forces in charge of guaranteeing that power--sponsored by the Pentagon and the large transnational corporations--were not then and are not now willing to allow thorough reforms. In any case, past events confirm that the 14 families are the ones who determine how far the government can go with its superficial and fragmentary changes.

That is why quite a few of those people in the democratic sectors, which trod that path alongside the PCES and learned in the school of personal experience have now joined the armed struggle as well.

The PCES decision was not an easy one. It was not prepared to take a qualitative jump toward a superior form of struggle and neither did it have time to engage in a previous process of adaptation. More than 87 percent of its members joined during the years of participation in the open and legal political struggle. During that time, habits, customs, ideological concepts, methods and systems of work and of living were developed which were alien to those normally acquired during a political and military process ruled by strict rules and security measures established to guarantee revolutionary clandestinity.

The PCES' directorate's ability to rectify its course and convictions which it holds because it is immersed in a revolutionary process, the lucidity, firmness and determination of the party's secretary general, and the solidarity of other political-military organizations of the Salvadoran revolution, however, have enabled the PCES to adjust and quickly adapt to a path untrodden by most of its militants. This, of course, implies difficulties and obstacles--falls resulting from inexperience; the torture and sure death of valuable cadres, as was the case of well-known sociologist Roberto Castellanos only a few days ago; the loss of "sanctuaries" and other problems of various kinds. But advances are made in spite of the hindrances because aside from the cooperation received from the other revolutionary forces, a climate of confidence, understanding and respect prevails among Salvadoran rebels and because the PCES militants are convinced that unity of action is necessary to speed up the termination of the present shameful regime.

It was under these conditions that this agency interviewed Shafick Handal, an honest leader open to all trends of progressive thought, who enjoys

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well-deserved prestige among national and international intellectual circles for his research in the area of social science.

[PA152339] Both theory and practice are identified with the PCES secretary general, who on Friday, 28 March, at the threshold of popular victory [words indistinct] in Agustin Farabundo Marti's fatherland.

"It Is Not a Last Minute Turnabout"

Could you explain the PCES' reasons for choosing the armed path as the only alternative to a true solution of the national crisis?

"Practically from the outset, the PCES postulated that the revolutionary armed path is the most probable path to victory... Founded on 28 March 1930, before it was 2 years old, that is, in January 1932, it led a great mass insurrection, a great popular revolution, comprised mostly of peasants...unlike many other parties, the PCES was not organized by a group of intellectuals, but emerged from within the extraordinary workers movement in both the cities and rural areas. Its first leaders were workers...the PCES resulted from the mass movement and thus its traditional and notable connection with them...that is precisely one of the Salvadoran revolutionary movement's characteristics..."

How does the PCES interpret its choice of the armed struggle?

"The PCES' determined incorporation into the armed struggle--convinced as it is that this is the only path to a real solution of the national crisis on behalf of the working masses and the people in general--does not constitute an improvised action or a last minute turnabout. Rather, it is the expression of an entire history of struggle... It is the result of a line drawn by the organization many years ago...but experience has shown that it is not enough to draw a correct line. It is also necessary to make great, very consistent, firm and solid efforts and carry them out with conviction in order to take the very important step of leading the party in the implementation of superior forms of class struggle... The armed struggle has existed in El Salvador since before 1977--and by this I do not mean to say that is when we emerged... The armed organizations emerged into the Salvadoran scene in 1970... Nonetheless, the common root of those organizations was basically the PCES, even though there were other contributing forces that stemmed from the radical Social Christian sector, the student sector and the Christian Democratic Party... Moreover, the PCES secretary general resigned from the directorate and the party itself to dedicate himself to the organization and formation of the Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces... If I stress the date February 1977, it is only because once the electoral path was closed, this was the precise moment of the great masses' turn toward armed struggle... Until then, the masses had believed in the electoral path...because otherwise one would not be able to explain the national opposition party's broad victory in the 1977 elections, an even

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bigger victory than that of 1972... Before that, it is true that to some degree, the armed organizations were successful in some regions, particularly in certain peasant areas seriously hit by the proletarianization process and the expansion of capitalism into agriculture... These armed organizations were influential and had support in certain rural areas, but at the same time their ties were weak, as was their support in the cities among the working class and in other parts of the country... In general, until February 1977, there was some confusion about the armed struggle... Among well-meaning people, among the workers who have now joined the revolutionary struggle, reports circulated that guerrilla activities were organized by the enemy to justify the repression of the opposition...but after February 1977, these confusions were completely brought to an end. And this, too, is a sign of what we call the general turnabout of the majority of the people... During your visits throughout the country, in the cities and in the rural areas...you may have observed that the great majority of the people support the armed struggle... This is then the logic of our decision. And I repeat, we acknowledge our mistakes and we do so publicly... Our party has been self-critical and has been so in public... Our decision to join the armed struggle in determined fashion has been made somewhat belatedly, but...it is still timely."

Division Was Untenable

And what about the process of unification? What are its prospects?

This process will soon unite all the people, all their forces and revolutionary and democratic trends... The announcement that unity had been achieved elicited an explosion of popular joy, which shows that division was untenable... The rank and file of our organizations, the great masses we influence, were shouldering this division as an unjustifiable ill... It was a load shouldered because of the discipline of the militants in each organization... That is why, when the establishment of the national revolutionary coordinating board of the masses was announced, the joy was indescribable; people hugged each other and expressed their solidarity eloquently. Division, nonetheless, can be historically explained--not justified--but [word indistinct] intentions did not exist on any one side... Now, the most immediate antecedent, the one which, so to speak, somehow hastened the agreement on Salvadoran unity, was the unity of the three currents that comprised the Sandinist National Liberation Front, which led to the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution... Unity and victory, that relationship, that precise combination that led to the Nicaraguan people's victory, had strong impact in El Salvador and the cause of unity turned into a banner for all... Without being excessive, it could be stated that in the wake of the Nicaraguan revolution's victory, the cause of unity turned into a cause truly embraced by the masses, masses which kept asking us: "And what about you companeros? When are you going to unite?"... In truth, there was great pressure... Yes, division was untenable...

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A Single Revolutionary Party

"Now we have reached an agreement for unity which sets in motion a process aimed, as the PCES sees it, at the creation of a united revolutionary directorate, a united political and military directorate... Furthermore, it leads to the formation of a single Marxist-Leninist party of the Salvadoran revolution... That is the prospect under which all of us work... We think that the common struggle will unite us much more than analyzing our country's problems together would have--the problems of the revolution and its development... And the shedding of blood in combat for the same cause unites us much more... A single revolutionary directorate lies in the near future and the creation of a single party can be glimpsed a bit further away."

Second Interview

PA181616 Havana PRELA in Spanish 2100 GMT 15 Mar 80 PA

[Interview with Jorge Shafick Handal, Communist Party of El Salvador secretary general, by PRELA correspondent Mario Menendez Rodriguez, "somewhere in El Salvador"; date not given--quotation marks as received]

[Text] Somewhere in El Salvador, 15 Mar (PL)--In an exclusive interview granted to PRELA, Jorge Shafick Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador [PCES], said: "There is no possibility for a reformist solution to the national crisis because the revolutionary movement cannot be halted. The revolutionary movement has its roots in a people whose historic struggle has been carried out under the bloody blows of the oligarchy. The machinery of repression built half a century ago cannot be adjusted to a democratic-bourgeois process. Another reason why the reformist solution is not possible is that the Salvadoran oligarchy and almost all the bourgeoisie which have deep and old agrarian roots and have a Prussian ideology are emphatically opposed to in-depth reforms and social changes."

In his analysis of the current situation of the Salvadoran process, the prominent theoretician said that, viewed from the socialist viewpoint, "the only truly revolutionary position which the PCES could have adopted was that of recognizing, as a natural consequence of the delayed development of a dependent capitalist society, the plurality of revolutionary organizations with a social and stable basis in El Salvador. In addition, it could only view the problem of the vanguard of the Salvadoran revolution as something to be solved through the unity of the revolutionary organizations. In other words, the single vanguard is formed through a process of progressive unity."

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Historical Reasons for the Divisions

[Question] In your opinion what were the reasons for the divisions among the Salvadoran revolutionary organizations?

[Answer] That is an interesting question because the subject of unity is inseparably linked to that of division and the reasons for it. These subjects form part of a process which developed amid contradictions... Since we carried out an in-depth study of the reasons and characteristics of the phenomenon of [word indistinct] we were prepared for unity... As we have indicated, the PCES was founded in 1930 and it was not until 1970 when the nuclei, which gave rise to the armed revolutionary organizations, emerged. This means that the PCES was a solitary combatant for the cause of the democratic revolution and socialism in that 40-year period. The PCES was the only Marxist-Leninist organization in the country. It was fought by the enemy and remained isolated from broad sectors of the middle class and the workers for a long time... To give you an idea of the situation that prevailed for years in El Salvador, it is enough to say that when the communists [words indistinct] militancy in public it was considered a serious charge and when it was made we replied with another charge: "Are you a policeman?"... The masses did not know which communists led their struggles. There was much prejudice. This led to traumas among our militants and deviations in the work methodology... Now then, why was the PCES alone for such a long time? If this is studied in depth, it might be believed, to cite some superficial arguments, that this was because the PCES exercised a monopoly of the left and did not leave political room for anyone else or that its political line was correct during 40 years and mistaken beginning in 1970... That is to say, the armed revolutionary organizations emerged 10 years ago due to the mistakes of the PCES and the fact that the PCES' monopoly over the left could not be maintained... We believe those arguments hold some truth but are not entirely correct..."

Industrialization and the Social Changes

"In the 1950's, an industrialization process began in El Salvador. This process had already begun in the South American countries 20 years before... The military dictatorship which seized power after the defeat of the 1932 insurrection consolidated the hegemonic and absolute power of the coffee producing-exporting oligarchy... The state, the laws, the official economic policy, the social structure, everything revolved to benefit that coffee producing-exporting oligarchy. Moreover, the installation of factories was prohibited in El Salvador... Only after World War II and the coup of the army majors in December 1948 did the industrialization process gradually begin. In the 1960's that industrialization process was intensified under the Central American Common Market... that is the period of the penetration of the big monopolies of the United States and Japan, particularly the North Americans... The industrialization process brought substantial changes in the structure of the

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Salvadoran social classes... Until 1950 the working class was associated with workshops which because of their methods and production, were of the crafts type... There were few factories in El Salvador. A manufacturing proletariat then began to emerge. It was recruited from the rural areas and from the urban towns in the interior of the country. It was a proletariat without experience in class struggle. The typical process of dependent capitalist societies in Latin America thus began to develop... It is a process in which the large masses, particularly those of peasant origins, form a marginal population which settles in urban centers... At the same time, due to the need of the industrialization process, the education system is expanded and with it the suffering of an extremely large sector of university students and intellectuals. This group, as in all the dependent capitalist countries, form a mass which, to a certain degree, is also marginal because it cannot be absorbed by the industrial development process and lacks a future in El Salvador... In 1903 [date as received] for example when the movement for university reform was begun, headed by the PCES in alliance with a distinguished group of intellectuals, including Dr Carlos Alfaro Castillo, there was only one university, that of the state, with 3,000 students... In 1930, there were more than 35,000 university students and [words indistinct] the growth is higher than that of the industrial workers class.

[PA181617] If to these sectors we add the factory workers recruited in the rural areas and based in the urban centers, as well as the proletariat comprised of those who, because of their numbers and technical qualifications, cannot be absorbed by the industrial expansion process, then the marginal masses phenomenon acquired an extraordinary dimension... Besides, in the sixties and early seventies dependent capitalism in El Salvador experienced a notable projection into agriculture... Thus, the peasants who used to rent land in exchange for a payment in crops or in cash were eradicated from the scene by modern capitalism which, on imposing itself, proletarianized them and introduced technique...with an eye set on exports... A class struggle then began, new conflicts emerged, and this expansion of dependent capitalism in El Salvador created a social basis that made it necessary for various types of revolutionary organizations to emerge. This new social basis also offered the possibility of various ideological and political persuasions within the Salvadoran left... It is no mere coincidence, therefore, that when the industrialization development model entered a period of crisis...based on the Central American Common Market--whose bankruptcy is intimately connected with the war between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969--what we describe as the mature phase of the structural crisis of dependent capitalism in our country was also precipitated. The crisis in the political scheme supported by the PCES occurred simultaneously. This crisis was aggravated by the mistakes committed in connection with the war with Honduras.

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The "Europeans'" Mistakes

"The PCES' mistakes allowed the other revolutionary organizations to emerge, but the roots, the causes have a social and historical basis... In this process, the PCES does not merely see a confrontation of ideological concepts and an alleged monopoly of the revolutionary vanguard... It also believes that under Latin America's social development conditions, the emergence of the working and other classes, groups and social strata--as well as the equally varied conformation of these classes--repeats itself.

The social class emergence is decisively influenced and marked by the characteristics of independent capitalism... As a result of this, there is sufficient social basis for the emergence of not only one, but several revolutionary organizations within a single country...

It is true that in the beginning serious ideological differences emerged and positions were adopted in connection with the ideological struggle which, viewed under the light of the European experience, might be understood in light of their specific names--left, revisionism, and so forth. However, the very development of the process gradually shows that, even under those ideological labels, and in spite of those doctrinal positions, in fact it is not really the same, it is not a matter of results generated for identical causes...and although by definition they are the same classes, they do not share the characteristics of the classes typical to classic, independent capitalist development... For this reason, and precisely for this reason, these revolutionary currents in Latin America's dependent capitalist countries are...lasting currents... They are not affected by the childish disease of a left overcome by the maturity of the working class parties. No. These currents emerge time after time, are defeated time after time, but again emerge because they have a stable social basis, continuous in its development and expansion...

The Vanguard's Problem

"That is why we concluded that the only truly revolutionary position the PCES could adopt was that of recognizing as a natural consequence of the belated development of a dependent capitalist society the plurality of the revolutionary organizations with a stable social basis of their own in El Salvador, and presenting the problem of the Salvadoran revolutionary vanguard as something that had to be resolved on the basis of the unity of the revolutionary organizations. In other words: The single vanguard is organized through a process of progressive unity... Those are the most profound bases of our policy of...unity, of our line of revolutionary forces unity..."

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Crisis of Social Formation as a Whole

"It represents a strong attempt... There is no possibility of a reformist solution to the national crisis... There is no possibility of such a solution for the following reasons: First, the revolutionary movement is unstoppable, deeply rooted as it is among a people whose heroic struggle has developed under the bloody blows which it has been dealt by the oligarchy... Second, the repressive machinery, built 50 years ago, cannot even be adjusted to a democratic-bourgeois process... This machinery is complex and involves not only the armed forces, but thousands of people who have been trained to place their intelligence at the service of counterrevolution, to torture and assassinate the people... Without destroying this machinery, there can be no process of real democratization... When in fact... a reformist solution necessitates, at least, the need to solve two problems--democratization and structural changes by means of reforms... El Salvador is afflicted not only with a crisis of its political system, but with a profound structural crisis, a crisis of the socioeconomic formation as a whole... Third, the Salvadoran oligarchy and almost all of the bourgeoisie, which have profound and ancient agrarian roots and share a Prussian ideology, categorically oppose thorough reforms and social transformations. Thus, none of the three points explained can be resolved by means of reforms, by means of evolution. There is only one path: the revolutionary path...

[PA181618] Unity Must Be Broad in Order To Achieve Victory

Why then did the PCES participate in the first government junta?

"The PCES participated because the Salvadoran revolution also needs the democratic forces... By itself the revolutionary movement cannot win... And at that time, at the time of the fall of Gen Carlos Humberto Romero's regime, the democratic currents, the progressive sectors offered their support and joined the government junta... As the PCES was the revolutionary organization with the oldest ties with the democratic forces, forces with which in the past it had developed a policy of alliances, it was necessary to (?accompany) them, to go to their side until the project failed in order to avoid a breakup after the defeat and be able to immediately connect them with the revolutionary movement... In the second place, because although the coup staged on 15 October 1979 constituted a maneuver and a pretense by imperialism and the Salvadoran right, a patriotic and progressive current of young military officers, unaware of the objectives of our principal enemy, was involved. In truth they had pinned their hopes on that solution to the national crisis... Now, the paths have also been defined for those military officers and there is the historic possibility that a part of the army may join the people and their revolutionary movement... The PCES feels that this is a beautiful possibility, even though it also stresses that the revolution is an irreversible process and that its victory does not depend on whether or not a part of the army participates... Nonetheless,

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it is also true that the incorporation of the patriotic military officers would result in reduced social costs and we revolutionaries are the first to try to avoid violence and its tragic consequences... Meanwhile, reaction is trying to present us communists as if we were carrying out infiltration work and were participating in a plot to divide the army... and that is totally untrue. What is happening, though, is that most Salvadoran soldiers are peasants, agricultural and other types of workers, and their officers and classes come from the various middle class sectors, all of them involved in the country's current process... Therefore, despite the institutional divisions...and the divisions caused by the reactionary command and U.S. influence, the Salvadoran people's generalized and heroic struggle, of which they, too, are a part, necessarily reflects itself and influences the headquarters... Those military officers are also aware of the urgent need for radical changes and the PCES feels it is necessary for them to take their own path, to learn on the path of experience and to let them realize for themselves that there is only one path open to a true solution of the problems--the revolutionary path... Besides, as regards our participation in the first government junta, it is necessary to stress that the PCES did not limit itself to a, shall we say, superficial presence; no, it was the only political force that issued a platform and a program of political and structural changes in accordance with the popular interests... This is precisely the program which, mutilated, is now making way with the second government junta... We note that it has been mutilated because the political changes aimed at expelling the fascists from the state apparatus were not implemented and that repression did not cease. In addition, political prisoners were not released, assassins and torturers were not punished nor was the paramilitary corps eliminated--and all of this has created a new crisis... The first government junta failed, just as the PCES had expected, and it constituted a defeat for the fascists, because the democratic forces withdrew, dealing them forceful blows... That is how it was for imperialism, the oligarchy and its allies. The only truly realistic option for them is fascism, the fascist counterrevolution, the destruction of the Salvadoran revolution, which at this point is already impossible... Alternatively, there is another realistic and historical option: the armed revolutionary option... Moreover, and despite the fact that the Christian democracy is participating in the present government junta, it is necessary to note that within it there are progressive currents and that to the extent that the class struggle is intensified, it will gradually join the people and the revolutionary movement, which is not closing its doors to them...

The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) Is With the People

What is the PCES' opinion on social democracy?

"In El Salvador, social democracy has a specific [word indistinct]: the MNR, 2 years ago joined the Socialist International... It is a party that comprises a sector of prestigious intellectuals...sympathetic

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to the people's cause. Despite their militance in the Socialist International, the MNR retains its vanguard positions, its commitment to the Salvadoran people's movement... In addition for the past 10 years, the PCES and the MNR have been participating together in the political processes and have trodden the same [word indistinct]. Even though this is not the time to analyze the Socialist International, where various currents move, it is advisable to stress that in Latin America, social democracy follows a policy opposed to fascism and for the defense of freedom and human rights. This constitutes a real and effective contribution to the Latin American peoples' cause. Here in El Salvador, the MNR is on the side of popular, democratic and revolutionary unity."

Third Interview

PA191510 Havana PRELA in Spanish 2030 GMT 17 Mar 80 PA

[Interview with Jorge Shafick Handal, Communist Party of El Salvador secretary general, by PRELA correspondent Mario Menendez Rodriquez "somewhere in El Salvador"; no date given--quotation marks as received]

[Text] Somewhere in El Salvador, 16 Mar (PL)--"We have entered the last phase, the homestretch, the period of the great fight for power..." assured the secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador, Jorge Shafick Handal, in an exclusive interview to PRELA, and added:

"The Salvadoran revolution is democratic and anti-imperialist because its fundamental objectives are freedom and respect of human rights, a profound agrarian reform that will definitely solve the problems of the peasantry, and authentic national independence."

It all recalls the Nicaragua of 1977...

"It is not a matter of a direct socialist revolution. However, since independent capitalism is already historically impossible in our country, and since we also believe in Latin America, and that the power will be assumed by the popular majorities, then the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks and objectives become the first phase of a unique revolution which is absolutely socialist in essence." The communist leader noted, "One of the revolution's characteristics is to speak frankly so that nobody may be deceived which, in political practice, has paid dividends. It has allowed the PCES to establish solid and lasting alliances with organizations such as the National Revolutionary Movement--social democratic--which has always known the policy, objectives and forms of struggle of the PCES and which it considers its 'ally.'"

The Revolution Is Not Imposed by Decree

What is the strategy of the PCES and what are their immediate objectives?

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Jorge Snafick Handal answers PRELA: "The PCES strategy lies within the framework of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and in the option for armed struggle to achieve power. Power is achieved through the unity of action of the revolutionary and democratic forces... It is not a matter, then, of a direct socialist revolution...and it is not imposed by decree from some force that tries to speed up the historic process, but because it corresponds to the Salvadoran reality... The democratic and anti-imperialist revolution underway in our country corresponds to a capitalist dependent society of medium development, if compared with the other nations of dependent capitalism... The PCES establishes three fundamental tasks and objectives of the Salvadoran revolution: First, freedom and respect of human rights, because for the past half century a repressive and bloodthirsty dictatorship has ruled; second, a profound agrarian reform that will make those who work the land the owner of that land and its fruits in order to definitely solve the problems of the peasantry; third, authentic national independence, whose need today is not as evident for the large majority of the population as the two previous ones, but in the measure in which the process advances and imperialism makes efforts to stop it, will be explained to the masses and will become a strong motivation... National independence involves a number of economic, political, ideological, and other connotations. Without it, it is impossible to offer real solutions to the Salvadoran general crisis, stigmatized by dependence..."

The Revolution's Main Problem

In the present international situation, does the PCES believe that these democratic and anti-imperialist tasks and objectives will be accomplished without heading directly toward socialism?

"No, it is impossible. To begin with, the revolution's main problem is the problem of power... Once victory is achieved, the proletarian popular majorities in general, the peasantry, the middle classes--will destroy the old machinery of repression and establish the revolutionary power... Then, the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks and objectives will become the first phase of a unique revolution, which is absolutely socialist in essence..."

How long does a phase take and how does one go from one to the other?

"That question cannot be answered beforehand; it is related to the specific national and international conditions that serve as the framework of the revolutionary victory... The important thing is that the Salvadoran revolutionaries win over power and start the process of changes and that the vanguard be sufficiently mature to establish an adequate pace to the process of changes--a pace that should conform to the popular interests and the defense and advance of the revolution... That phase may be brief or long...violent or relatively peaceful... In Cuba, for example, the defense of the revolution demanded a rapid move

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toward socialism; in Nicaragua, it is still to be seen... There are no decrees, and least of all can any abstract or advanced solutions be offered... That is why the PCES states that the nature of the Salvadoran revolution is democratic and anti-imperialist, and this fact permits the organization of a broad front of forces, not only revolutionary, but also democratic... Each force advances to its objectives with its program. Along the way, it will try to influence the historic process, and that is legitimate... We are in our exposition... The PCES does not deceive or lead the democratic forces into any trap... To say this is to offend the groups of political talent and ability that head the democratic forces and who know perfectly well the bonds existing between the democratic revolution and the socialist one..."

[PA191511] What is the attitude of the PCES toward the Salvadoran bourgeoisie?

"When the PCES refers to the wheels behind the Salvadoran revolution, it does not include any sector of the bourgeoisie... However, we believe that some isolated sectors or perhaps whole sectors may, at a given moment, adopt an attitude favorable to the process..."

This policy is in line with the PCES theory that states that independent capitalism is already historically impossible in El Salvador and, we believe, in Latin America. Therefore, no sector of the bourgeoisie can, because of its condition, its nature and very class orientation, comply and be consistent with anti-imperialist tasks, tasks which are very definitely the ones that determine the fate of the revolution and its democratic objectives... because in it there cannot exist true democracy for the great Salvadoran masses, nor can there exist an effective solution for the problems of the land within the framework of dependence... No dependent capitalist country can be--nor will it be--a model for resolving these problems... so that there is no sector of the bourgeoisie that can go against imperialism because there is no longer any possibility of independent capitalism... The only capitalism that there can be is capitalism that is dependent on imperialism under any of its modalities... In this, there is a great difference in the role of the national bourgeoisie in the colonies... This has to do with the progress of class development, which has been different in the colonies and in Latin America... The issue of whether capitalism will triumph or not is not about to be decided in our countries, because what already exists is a dependent capitalist society. It is this type of society that is in crisis and not precapitalist remnants... What has reached a crisis in El Salvador is the entire structure of dependent capitalist society, and without resolving this structural crisis there can be no real solution for problems of a democratic nature... Now then, when a revolutionary situation matures and a crisis becomes extremely acute, the bourgeoisie divides and there are sectors which in trying to find a way out or a way of ruling, may at a given moment adopt a position favorable to the revolution... This was very evident in Nicaragua... The PCES

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believes that this has nothing to do with the historical role and attitude of the bourgeoisie during and in the face of a revolution... It is the result of the political crisis stemming from a revolutionary situation..."

To Deepen Internationalism

What is the PCES' international policy?

"Our party...believes imperialism is the basic enemy... Hence, our international policy is in favor of world peace, detente, peoples' struggle for social liberation and against all forms of oppression and exploitation... The PCES in solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos condemns the criminal, treacherous and divisionist activity of the Chinese Government leadership and the improperly labeled Communist Party of China; supports the nonaligned nations' movement; and identifies with the Cuban revolution, whose defense is also a matter of principle...but in addition to this international position, the PCES is a determined supporter of unity of action among communist parties and all revolutionary organizations that also struggle in Latin America, in the same manner and the same form as has occurred in El Salvador... The PCES considers that [passage indistinct] any doubt, this is the year of great deployment of the revolutionary struggle... Unity does not only add, but it also multiplies... The alliance of the revolutionary and democratic forces generates great social energies and although it cannot be assured that the triumph will be achieved during the course of the next few months, it can be said that we are entering the final stretch, into the period of great battles for power... In order to better explain today's Salvadoran picture, it would be advisable to draw a parallel with the Nicaraguan process... I think it is legitimate to mark October 1977 as the beginning of the final phase, when the Sandinist National Liberation Front began a series of assaults and attacks to occupy forts and military garrisons...and from October 1977 to July 1979, a course was followed that was historically brief, but it was a course in which there was progress and defeats. They went through great general strikes and the extraordinary insurrection of September 1978, although victory was not achieved. There was a falling back, but there was also a counteroffensive until victory was achieved through the joining of a general popular insurrection, guerrilla warfare, movements and positions, in the midst of the participation of hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans, especially youths. There was a great international effort, as well as the support of progressive peoples and governments... The Salvadoran period can be prolonged or brief... We have entered into the last phase, the final stretch, which can also be long..."

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EL SALVADOR

'PRELA' INTERVIEWS FARN SECRETARY GENERAL JOVEL

PA261945 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0035 GMT 25 Mar 80 PA

[Interview with Ernesto Jovel, secretary general of the Armed Forces of National Resistance, conducted by PRELA correspondent Mario Menendez Rodriguez, on 24 March "somewhere in El Salvador"]

[Text] Ernesto Jovel, secretary general of the National Resistance Party and top leader of the Armed Forces of National Resistance [FARN], has told PRENSA LATIN that "it's time the sector of honest and patriotic young officers in the reactionary armed forces took its place in the people's revolutionary movement; it's time for it to immediately abandon the fascist leaders who have now intensified the mass killing of the Salvadoran people to protect the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism."

The textile worker was accompanied by two other young people who are members of the [movement's] national executive directorate and who have been tempered in the crucible of adversity. Their lives symbolize the history of the revolutionary political and military organization. They are Ferman Cienfuegos, a former university student who ranks second in the movement, and social workers Julio Rodriguez.

Jovel noted that "the church of the poor, represented by San Salvador Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero plays a progressive and brave role in the people's struggle and has a place in the Salvadoran democratic revolution."

Meanwhile, conflicts are growing worse. The regime has militarized large rural areas and it commits serious acts of violence and murders dozens of peasants every other day. In the cities--and most particularly in San Salvador--all youths are arrested in the streets, regardless of their sex, by the repressive corps, which carefully scrutinizes their identification papers and everything they carry in their handbags and pockets. Each one of those youths is viewed as possible revolutionary activist or sympathizer of the people's movement...combing operations are carried out throughout the land...searches are made for insurgent "sanctuaries"...there is a strict censorship on the mass media and any infringement entails a very high price. High-powered bombs silence people and anyone who has committed "the crime of reporting the truth" is sentenced to death. One of those sentenced is precisely the San Salvador Archbishop.

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National Resistance

These two words have a marked political and military connotation. The Salvadoran people view the national resistance [movement] as one of the solid bastions of the revolutionary process...the national resistance results from the selfless work initiated by a small but courageous group of young workers and students. It was established in 1975 as an organization independent from the People's Revolutionary Army [ERP]. It undertook to establish ties with the disposed sectors and the difficult task of building a party with a military structure--militias, guerrillas, army--and a front of the masses in order to be able to tackle successfully the struggle against the military dictatorship of the 14 families supported by the United States.

A scant 5 years later, and following difficult and complex efforts which have taken a toll of sacrifice and death, the national resistance now enjoys significant influence among the workers and among the largest people's sectors and organizations. Together with the Salvadoran Communist Party, the "Farabundo Marti" popular liberation forces and Salvadoran Revolutionary Party-ERP, it is prepared to "crush the fascists." The single-leadership party directs the political and military affairs."

Democratic and Revolutionary Government

What is the national resistance's strategy and what do the close-range and medium-range objectives of its armed wing consist of?

Cienfuegos said:

"The objective at this stage of the struggle is to achieve power and establish a government of workers and peasants in alliance with the middle class, which means that it will be a democratic and revolutionary government with support from the revolutionary and democratic forces.

[PA261946] Several problems were considered in our line of strategy...one of them, that of the party's unity has become a problem with tactical characteristics due to the unity established by the Revolutionary Coordinating Board.

We feel that with the process of uniting the sectors which until yesterday were divided, the single vanguard of the Salvadoran revolution is beginning to become a concrete reality...as to the problem of construction of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, we also believe the fundamental steps have been taken...one of them is the popular army under a speedy process of formation; another is the arming of the Salvadoran masses...a few years ago, arming the masses was a theoretical problem; today it is a problem that is being solved in practice...thus, the strategic and immediate factors are united, linked. We also considered that the unity of the popular movement was a strategic problem, but the Revolutionary Coordinating Board of the masses, which groups the principal mass organizations--although some still remain to join

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the movement--reduced the problem to an immediate task. Then, in that respect we consider that due to progress obtained, the strategic points have been included in the order of the day and are problems of an immediate nature. That in part reflects the maturity of the democratic and revolutionary government that begins in fact to take shape. It will be the instrument that will serve to build the new society; without misery, illiteracy or sickness, a society of justice and peace, built for all Salvadorans. That society will be the new relation between the Salvadorans and the fatherland and it will be built in the process of the democratic and popular revolution, during the transition period toward socialism."

The People's Hour Has Arrived

What perspectives does the national resistance see to an alliance between the armed forces and Christian democracy?

Julia Rodriguez, the young woman with the skin toasted by the sun of the cotton and cornfields, supplies the answer: "This alliance constitutes the second emergency government which imperialism and the oligarchy have utilized in a fruitless effort to find a solution to the national crisis and keep power from falling into the hands of the Salvadoran people. Its duration will depend on the revolutionary and democratic forces and we feel the time of the people has arrived, the time in which power must fall into their hands."

Has the possibility of a peaceful solution of the present problems been considered?

Ferman Cienfuegos, second in command of the politico-military organization, replies: "We want peace and a just solution of the national problems. It is the oligarchy and the guardians of their wealth, as well as imperialism, who have infiltrated everywhere: in the reactionary armed forces, in the government, everywhere. They do not want peace or a solution to the problems on behalf of the working people. The people have tried every peaceful solution and have exhausted all possibilities offered by the Constitution, and the answer has been merciless repression. Now, the only way left to gain social liberation is through armed action."

Has the national resistance no hope at all of enlisting the aid of any specific sector of the government's armed forces?

Ernesto Jovel, FARN's top leader, notes:

"There is a sector of young honest and patriotic officers within the reactionary armed forces whom, through PRELA, we exhort to immediately abandon the fascist leaders who today have intensified the massacre of the working people of El Salvador to protect the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism. It is time for that democratic sector to occupy its rightful place in the people's revolutionary movement. This is their last opportunity because the commitments now acquired with the fascists have an irreversible nature..."

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What is the national resistance's policy concerning the church?

The party's secretary general says: "Our policy concerning the church is clear, precise and defined: We respect the freedom of cult, the freedom of religion. And, especially, we feel that the church of the poor, the church represented by the archbishop of San Salvador, Mnsgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero, plays a progressive, courageous role in the people's struggle and has its place in the Salvadoran democratic revolution. Yes, definitely, that church will have to share with us many of the tasks in the democratic revolutionary process..."

Ours Is a Salvadoran Revolution

Referring to the revolutionary processes, the international reactionary forces invariably claim that the leadership, the economic and logistic support, the training of the rebels, and so forth, originates in countries where socialism is being developed."

What is the national resistance's opinion in that respect?

Julia Rodriguez affirms: "Ours is very much a Salvadoran revolution; nobody can tell us what we must do, or how and when we must do it. However, that does not mean that we must discard the experience of other peoples who today are the owners of their destiny. On the contrary, we must try to learn from others' experience. We identify ourselves with the struggles of the oppressed and the exploited, particularly with the struggle of our Central American brothers. This domestic independence must necessarily reflect in international policy, that is why we also identify ourselves with the nonaligned movement and with democratic governments such as those of Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama and the member nations of the Andean Pact, all of which have assumed anti-imperialist positions and have prevented U.S. intervention in Nicaragua...we are certain that such solidarity will also be offered to El Salvador, where U.S. intervention is a fact..."

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GRENADA

'PRELA' REPORTS ON COMMEMORATION OF REVOLUTION'S ANNIVERSARY

PA171505 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0057 GMT 16 Mar 80 PA

[Text] St Georges, 15 Mar (PL)--Grenada will never forego its principles and will always be on the side of oppressed peoples anywhere in the world regardless of the consequences, Maurice Bishop said at the event commemorating the first anniversary of the country's revolution.

The "struggles for freedom and national independence will always have true friends, true allies in Grenada," the prime minister stated while addressing 20,000 Grenada people and hundreds of foreign guests gathered at Queen's Park in this capital.

Presiding over the event alongside Bishop were guests of honor Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, a member of the Nicaraguan National Reconstruction Government Junta and of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, as well as other members of the Revolutionary People's Government of Grenada.

Bishop referred to Manley as "our dear friend and sincere ally" and recalled that in the first hours of the revolution, Jamaica "immediately and without reservation" promised its full support to Grenada.

Bishop then saluted Daniel Ortega as "one of the most outstanding commanders of the Nicaraguan revolution" in whose presence "we can feel the spirit and the inspiration of that great patriot, Sandino."

He also extended a special welcome to Jesus Montane Oropesa, head of the Cuban delegation attending the event and a member of the Communist Party of Cuba's Central Committee.

Further on, Bishop described the relations between Cuba and Grenada as one of the principal sources of inspiration for the revolution in Grenada and stressed the Cuban Government's and people's contribution to the advancement of the revolutionary process in this country. "Most important," he stressed, "is the fact that without a Cuban revolution in 1959, there could have been no revolution" in Grenada in 1979.

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In Grenada, the prime minister said, the revolution was waged in order to achieve democracy, justice and the egalitarian participation of the people who, he added, "had never been as united and full of energy."

He then indicated that only when there are institutions and mechanisms through which the people can express their problems, ideas and views can there be talk about true democracy. He added: "There is a right I clearly said we were going to abolish once and for all, and that right is the right to exploit."

Still, he stressed, the forces of imperialism and reaction will try to destabilize the revolution, frustrate its achievements and make it retreat, because those forces are not interested in seeing the peoples advance with dignity and construct societies that respond to their needs.

"There are those who still believe the United States or certain elements in that country have the right to regard this Caribbean Sea as their private lake, as an extension of the United States, as their backyard. We say 'no' to the 'backyard' theory." Bishop then underscored that the American peoples "have the right to develop their own societies and have the right to decide who should be their friends."

Bishop also proposed five fundamental principles which should regulate the area's international relations. The five points are: Respecting the Caribbean Sea as a peace zone, banning military shock troops, dismantling all the military bases, putting an end to the Monroe Doctrine and respecting the right to free determination of the peoples in the area--including the 25 colonies that still exist--as well as the principle of ideological pluralism. The five points also include putting an end to the financing, support and impetus given to mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries, to the policy of assassination, isolation, division and arms race, and respecting the sovereignty, legal equality and territorial integrity of countries in the area.

He also proclaimed respect for the right to join other exploited countries in order to form organizations to demand a new international economic order.

Bishop expressed his solidarity with the struggle being waged by the peoples of Haiti, the Palestine Liberation Front and the POLISARIO Front, Chile, Puerto Rico, Belize and Panama. He expressed his support for the reunification efforts being made by the peoples of Yemen and Korea, sent a special greeting to the people of Vietnam and thanked Algeria, Iraq, Libya and Syria for their economic aid.

Bishop saluted the Cuban Government and people, "who have been on our side during the past 12 months," particularly that "living legend, that great and indomitable leader, Fidel Castro."

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In his speech, Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley described the Grenada revolution as "a victory of the peoples of the world." "I am impressed with the feeling of unity, seriousness and determination I see everywhere," he commented, and suggested that those achievements and "the flame of the revolution" be well cared for.

He called for joint efforts and for a surge in Latin America and the Caribbean toward unity and solidarity. He also stressed the role played by the continent's independence heroes and underscored: "There is a man who occupies a special place in the hearts of all those interested in freedom: Fidel Castro."

Daniel Ortega, for his part, said Grenada plays a very important role in the struggle for the unity of the peoples and stressed Latin America's solidarity against U.S. attempts to intervene in Nicaragua.

"The enemies of our peoples, the Gairys, the Somozas and those who gave orders to those criminals, sought to erect a barrier among the poor peoples of Latin America and the oppressed and exploited peoples of Central America and the Caribbean," the Nicaraguan leader said.

"Our peoples knew how to quickly identify each other, because we shared a just and common cause, because we were all being oppressed and exploited and because in imperialism we had a common enemy."

According to the Sandinist leader, it was no mere coincidence that their two peoples had been liberated in the same year and he added that the Sandinists had been inspired by the victory of Grenada for, "through your example you helped us achieve victory."

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GUATEMALA

POLITICAL CRISIS IN COUNTRY DISCUSSED

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 2 Mar 80 pp 44, 45, 47

[Text] "Did you know that President Romeo Lucas was attacked yesterday? He was stopped at a traffic light in his car when someone on a bicycle threw a dictionary at him through the window."

The joke is one of the thousands about the president of the country that circulate in Guatemala. CAMBIO 16's special correspondent Pedro Paramo is reporting from Guatemala. The jokes are the pressure release valve for people who on paper enjoy every freedom, whereas the reality is that the only law in effect is that of might, whereby a human life means nothing.

Romeo Lucas now has the might in Guatemala. Brought out of the shadows in 1978 by the Congress in a way that no one has been able to convincingly explain, this obscure mestizo military man, who speaks Kekchi (a Mayan dialect) whenever he can because he has not mastered Spanish, is managing the country with such a rough iron hand that he has drawn the attention of the world toward that segment of America's waist where terror reigns.

"The killing of the 39 people occupying the Spanish Embassy was no accident. It is simply another monstrous sign of the government's repression of everything that does not help to advance its plans," a student leader told CAMBIO 16. "Can there be greater disregard for man and civilization than they showed with Gregorio Juya, the surviving peasant, who they took out of the hospital to kill and then dumped here, in front of the university?"

Romeo Lucas was elected president by the Congress over the candidate of the National Liberation Movement (MLN), the Guatemalan ultra-right, with an ideology similar to that of New Force in Spain, which was the party that actually received the highest number of votes in the 1978 election. The party did not attain the presidency because the Guatemalan Constitution grants the Congress the privilege of naming the president, and, as has been shown in the last two elections, in which tradition was ignored, it can do it without respecting the results of the popular voting.

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Those, then, were the two major choices that the country had in 1978. Romeo Lucas represented the more "progressive" choice, and his present government is composed of a coalition including groups ranging from the extreme right, such as the Democratic Institutional Party (PID), to the "extreme left," represented by the Popular Democratic Alliance (ADP), communists according to some, "radishes"--red on the outside and white on the inside--in the words of Luis Cardoza y Aragon, the leader, in exile in Mexico, of the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT), the authentic communist party in Guatemala. Even so, under General Lucas the repression has exceeded all bounds and has generated a climate of increasing violence that, in the opinion of many, is driving the country to the brink of a civil war. A recent report by Amnesty International states that 2,000 deaths resulted from political violence between May 1978 and September 1979. It is an item of reference now that every day an average of nine bodies not attributable to common crime appear in the country. Many of them bear clear signs of torture.

Bloody Balance

Often, the victims are soldiers or policemen shot down by the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the People in Arms Revolutionary Organization (ORPA), Labor Party Youth (JPT) or the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the armed groups fighting the government in the country and in the city with raids and terrorist acts. Most, however, are peasants' and workers' leaders or political officials murdered by the Death Squadron or the Anticomunist Secret Army, groups which, according to the Amnesty International report, "often include uniformed members of the armed forces and security agencies."

All these deeds are spreading fear and insecurity through the streets of Guatemala, and more and more people are speaking openly of civil war. "Look how we live," this journal was told by Mario Sandoval Alarcon, former vice president of the country, a lawyer trained in Madrid, an admirer of Franco and creator of the MLN, indicating the machineguns set up in the small garden in front of his house near the La Aurora Airport in Guatemala City. "We can't go out into the street unless we're in this (He patted an armored automobile that had cost 3 million pesetas). We always have our heart in our mouth, afraid that they're going to violate our wives and take everything away from us."

Indian Majority

Six and one-half million Guatemalans are distributed over an area of 131,800 square kilometers. One-fourth of the population lives in the country's capital, most of it in "champas" (shacks). Some 65 percent of the inhabitants are illiterate. It has the lowest literacy rate in Central America. Two percent of the families own 62 percent of the country's land.

Moreover, Guatemala is a mosaic of races and languages. There are 22 different Indian groups speaking a half-dozen languages and numerous dialects. Officially, there are two million Indians, according to the

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most recent census; but there are considerably more, for the law provides that for anyone to be considered an Indian, he must consider himself one. In his book "The Homeland of the American-Born European," sociologist Severo Martinez Pelaez estimates that Indians make up one-half of the country's population.

Be that as it may, it is the Indians who thus far have not shared in the progress which has benefited the "ladinos" (mestizos) and the "Europeans," who only 35 years ago modified the law that required Indians to work for the neighboring landowner, as occurred during the Spanish colonial period.

They are by far the cheapest manual labor in the country. Whereas the minimum wage in industry is 2.50 quetzales, the wage for laborers is set at 1.50. The laws made by the "Europeans" and ladinos for all Guatemalans are applied rigorously only to Indians.

For example, the law requiring military service is applied in practice only to Indians, and in Guatemala it is hard to find a mestizo face under a soldier's helmet unless it is accompanied by an officer's insignia. Levies of recruits are at times true manhunts.

Two days a week there is a market in the community of Joyabaj, in the El Quiche region. On those days many Indians come to town to sell their meager products and to obtain the most basic materials. Well, it is on those market days that the Army obtains the soldiers that it needs.

Hunting Recruits

The soldiers arrive in vehicles and block the exits from the marketplace, and, among the cries of the women and the running of the men, the armed body goes about catching the future recruits, the young men who appear to be about 18 years old, and loading them into trucks which then carry them to the country's capital or to other provinces. It is always far from their home. "Military service for these young Indians," says a professor at the University of San Carlos, "is disastrous for their families during the 2 years that they serve. Many of those caught in this way are married and have children. The 60 quetzales they are paid each month scarcely cover their expenses in the city. Furthermore, many of the 'limonadas' (shantytowns) in Guatemala City originated in these levies. The Indians who have performed their military service here no longer want to return to their villages, so they build a tin shack wherever they chose, and there it is. This is one of the reasons for the inordinate growth of the city and, therefore, of most of its problems." Also, whereas the law requiring military service is applied to the Indians in rural areas, the "Europeans" or ladinos in cities merely engage in military training 52 Sundays a year at the base nearest to their home and then enter the reserves.

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The Guatemalan Constitution is a progressive document. It explicitly recognizes all the freedoms: thought, expression, union activity, right to strike . . . but in reality it is a one-sided law serving the whim of the upper and upper-middle classes, with the consent of the Army and the police, whose officers and commanders they provide.

In practice, political freedom is limited by the law requiring that, to be legalized, a party have over 60,000 members, 60 percent of whom know how to read and write. In a country with 6.5 million inhabitants and a 65 percent illiteracy rate, there is little room, then, for many parties.

On paper, there is complete freedom of the press. There is no prior censorship of news, and the law troubles no one for expressing opinions in the communications media. However, it is practically impossible to find direct criticism of the government in the newspapers, on the radio and television in Guatemala. Some of the 2,000 who died violently between May 1978 and September 1979 were journalists. Just last week Adolfo Zarazua y Calderon, producer of the radio bulletin "The Patriot," sought asylum with his wife in the Venezuelan Embassy after a group of strangers attempted to kidnap him at the door of the radio station.

Freedom of union activity has the same limits. The actions of the parapolice groups are especially effective in the case of union activists. Since Romeo Lucas took office, 20 top leaders have been shot down and as many others have had to go into exile.

Adolfo Suarez, "Communist"

At times, according to union sources, even the Army participates in the repression. "Several months ago, they kidnapped nine peasants from El Quiche, from the area made up of Nabaj, Gotzal and Chachul," a member of the National Federation of Workers told CAMBIO 16. "They put green uniforms on them, gave them some old weapons, and the Army machinegunned them in the square of a town, saying that they were guerrillas who were trying to occupy the place."

To Ramiro Faillace, a surgeon and spokesman for the Revolutionary Party (PR) in the Congress, one of the three parties that compose the governing coalition, "the present violence is nothing more than an international campaign by socialist or communist governments which in their crazy race to take over the world are interested in the Central American countries because of their strategic position. That's why Guatemala is the objective of evil Guatemalans and foreign groups who want to install a communist government in our country." Faillace, who says "President Juarez" when referring to the president of Spain, and calls him a "communist," and believes that the Russian Revolution took place "nearly 150 years ago," is certain that it is Cuba that is pulling the strings of subversion in Guatemala and that has direct contact with the guerrilla groups operating in the western part of the country.

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Against Carter

The same opinion is held by Lionel Sisniega, spokesman for the Catholic National Party (MLN), the strongest party in the country now in the opposition. To Sisniega, however, although the Soviet Union and its satellites are responsible for the anti-Guatemalan conspiracy, the United States is primarily responsible for the present situation in his country "because they're giving ground before communism here in Central America and in Iran and Afghanistan, and everywhere. Why do they want to impose a model on us that they don't use? Let them nationalize their banks. Let them divide up their land, for there are immense ranches there, properties bigger than the republic of El Salvador. Let them take their Indians from the reservations where they're oppressing them and give them that land."

The National Liberation Movement has some 300,000 members--most of them poor, lower-class people--40,000 cadres and 4,000 branches throughout the country; and 6 years ago it demonstrated that it can bring together 40,000 peasants with their machetes in the country's capital. All observers consider it the best structured and most powerful party in the country in every regard.

Its leaders know this and are prepared to demonstrate it with force if necessary: "If the government is unable to protect private property, the security and lives of its citizens, we can do it and we are going to do it. We passionately defend what is ours," said Mario Sandoval Alarcon. "I acknowledge it; but for some time we have been prepared to confront whomever we have to."

"Che" Guevara's Dream

According to estimates by leftists, the fighting arm of the MLN could be as large as 15,000 men, more or less the same number they give for the combined strength of the 4 guerrilla groups now operating in Guatemala. Of course, the latter could have grown markedly in recent months with the slow, but now very steady, addition of Indians to the guerrilla movement.

"Che" Guevara's dream, insurrection by the American Indians, is now a fact in Guatemala. The process has crystallized through union activity, another sphere scarcely familiar to Indians.

"At present, the percentage of Indian comrades is about 20 percent," this journal was told at the headquarters of the National Federation of Workers (CNT) in the heart of Guatemala City. "Since the Committee for Peasant Unity was founded 2 years ago, these comrades have been joining in increasing numbers because we've succeeded in penetrating the areas where very different languages are spoken, and the language problem was a very large obstacle. Today there are good Indian union cadres."

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Given the particular harshness with which Romeo Lucas is suppressing union activity among the peasants--20 organizations destroyed in less than a year, according to the CNT--it is not surprising that union members who have been "burned" or are excessively well known are taking up arms and joining the guerrilla groups.

Thus, the scene can change overnight, with an increasingly active guerrilla movement that nearly sent Minister of Government Donaldo Alvarez (See box) along the same road as Carrero Blanco on 11 February and that is capable of enlisting the Indians; and with no other political sector than a right clinging to its privileges and incapable of engaging in a dialogue, and with a powerful, aggressive, armed nationalist-Catholic movement prepared for anything, peace is hard to attain. The Guatemalan volcano has now begun to smoke.

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NICARAGUA

FINANCE MINISTER VIEWS U.S. AID, EUROPEAN TOUR

PA192257 Havana PRELA in Spanish 2345 GMT 16 Mar 80 PA

[Report by Angel V. Ruocco]

[Text] Bonn, 17 Mar (PL)--Nicaragua needs much money, and much support for its national reconstruction process but it will not accept any aid to which conditions have been attached, Nicaraguan Finance Minister Joaquin Cuadra said. In an interview granted to PRENSA LATINA, Cuadra said after many years of struggle, waged to reaffirm its nationality, sovereignty and right to self-determination, Nicaragua will not agree to any, directly or indirectly, conditioned aid which will limit its right to choose its political, social and economic system.

In referring to the U.S. Congress' reluctance to grant Nicaragua a \$75 million loan, the minister said it is up to the Nicaraguans to say if they will accept this aid or not.

"Personally, I would say that the only acceptable condition, although I have my doubts, would be that they grant the loan with the condition that never again would a marine be sent to Nicaragua..." he said ironically.

Besides the negative attitude toward Nicaragua, which extreme right and reactionary congressional sectors may have in the United States, it is cause for concern that Congress has frozen the loan because it needs the money to purchase weapons and cannot assign funds to aid poor countries, the minister said.

The fact that the United States does not have sufficient funds to simultaneously finance its excessive armaments program and aid for development, gives food for thought to underdeveloped countries, he added.

"This is cause for concern for Nicaraguans, because we well know what the empire is and what it stands for, that it has always been ready to send its marines and that it imposed Somoza on us," he said.

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Our Sandinist vanguard expelled Somoza and the last "marine" from Nicaragua. This past will not return whatever they try. He said, this is impossible.

Regarding the Nicaraguan delegation's European tour of which he was a member and which was led by Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction member Sergio Ramirez, Cuadra said it was very successful in Belgium, the Netherlands and the FRG.

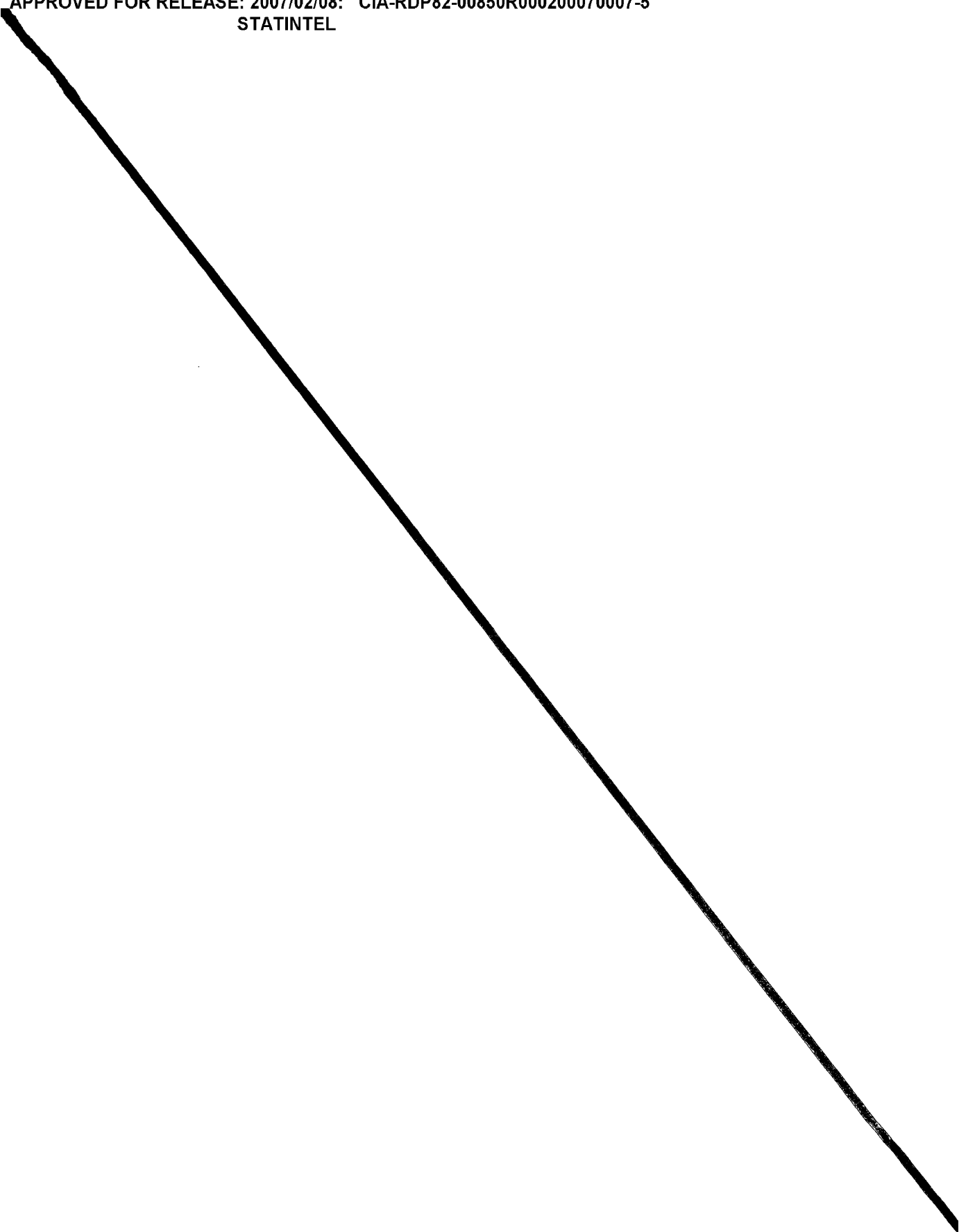
"The results were optimum since we obtained positive financial and technological support from the governments, institutions and peoples of these countries which expressed their solidarity and that is very important for us," he explained.

We have received, he said in conclusion, expressions of understanding and even identification with our liberation process which are really encouraging and I believe that this is because West Europe must also strive, although not to the extent that we must, to end dependence.

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NICARAGUA

NUNEZ COMMENTS ON MDN, LITERACY CAMPAIGN

PA191916 Havana PRELA in Spanish 1700 GMT 18 Mar 80 PA

[Text] Managua, 18 Mar--Revolutionary Commander Carlos Nunez said that the Nicaraguan revolutionary process is reflected in the ideas of the recently created Nicaraguan Democratic Movement [MDN] and the statements by its leaders. Nunez said there can be no doubt about the historical continuity of the Nicaraguan revolution.

He said that when everyone condemned Sandino, called him a bandit and despised his teachings, the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], without considering the risks, had the courage and valor to defend the struggle of the 1920's and 1930's and organized the masses under the Sandinist flag.

Today, certain sectors try to distort Sandino's struggle, he said.

Nunez also said that there is a conflict today between those who believe that the literacy campaign should have political purposes and those who feel it should not.

The literacy crusade, he said, must teach the masses who exploited and robbed them.

If the literacy campaign does not help to teach thousands of ignorant persons so that they can in the future become part of the essential elements for the country's development, then what was the purpose of the revolution, he said.

There are those, he said, who want the workers, peasants and fighters to ignore what they have achieved and the changes attained with the people's efforts.

They, he added, do not want the people to know the role played by the various organizations. They want the people to remain ignorant so that it cannot identify its enemies.

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When the MDN says that the army must be apolitical, and become professional, it is trying to tame it. However, it was precisely an army like this which the Nicaraguans defeated.

It is an obvious fact that the people are part of the people's army. It would be ridiculous to tell those who fought, sacrificed and died for this revolution, under FSLN leadership, that they are not Sandinists. This is absurd, he said.

In commenting on the participation of the various sectors who fought against Somozism, he recalled that between 1978 and 1979 there were two fundamental alternatives:

1. Those who tried to maintain a political-economic regime with Somoza's resignation and based on direct U.S. action.
2. The FSLN positions which proposed the need to destroy the dictatorship's criminal machinery.

During this time mediation emerged as a way of sabotaging the people's struggle, he said.

We know who supported mediation and who refused it because it implied a pact with the dictatorship. This would have been the equivalent of liquidating ourselves historically, he concluded.

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PERU

GOVERNMENT SEEKS MEASURES TO CHECK TYPHOID FEVER OUTBREAKS

PA140227 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0043 GMT 14 Mar 80 PA

[Text] Lima, 13 Mar (PL)--The district councils of Lima will meet tomorrow with health inspectors to draft an emergency plan to check typhoid fever outbreaks in the capital, it was revealed today.

The dangerous sickness has reached unprecedented levels in Lima, Callao and the rest of the country, according to official reports.

The Directorate of Epidemiology of the Peruvian Health Ministry on 7 March officially declared 1980 as "typhoid epidemic year" in the country, based on predictions of a high incidence of this ailment among the population.

Early this month, the president of the Peruvian Society of Epidemiology, Galindo Torres Zuniga, revealed that typhoid outbreaks had increased in the Peruvian capital by 100 percent, mainly affecting persons between the ages of 5 and 35.

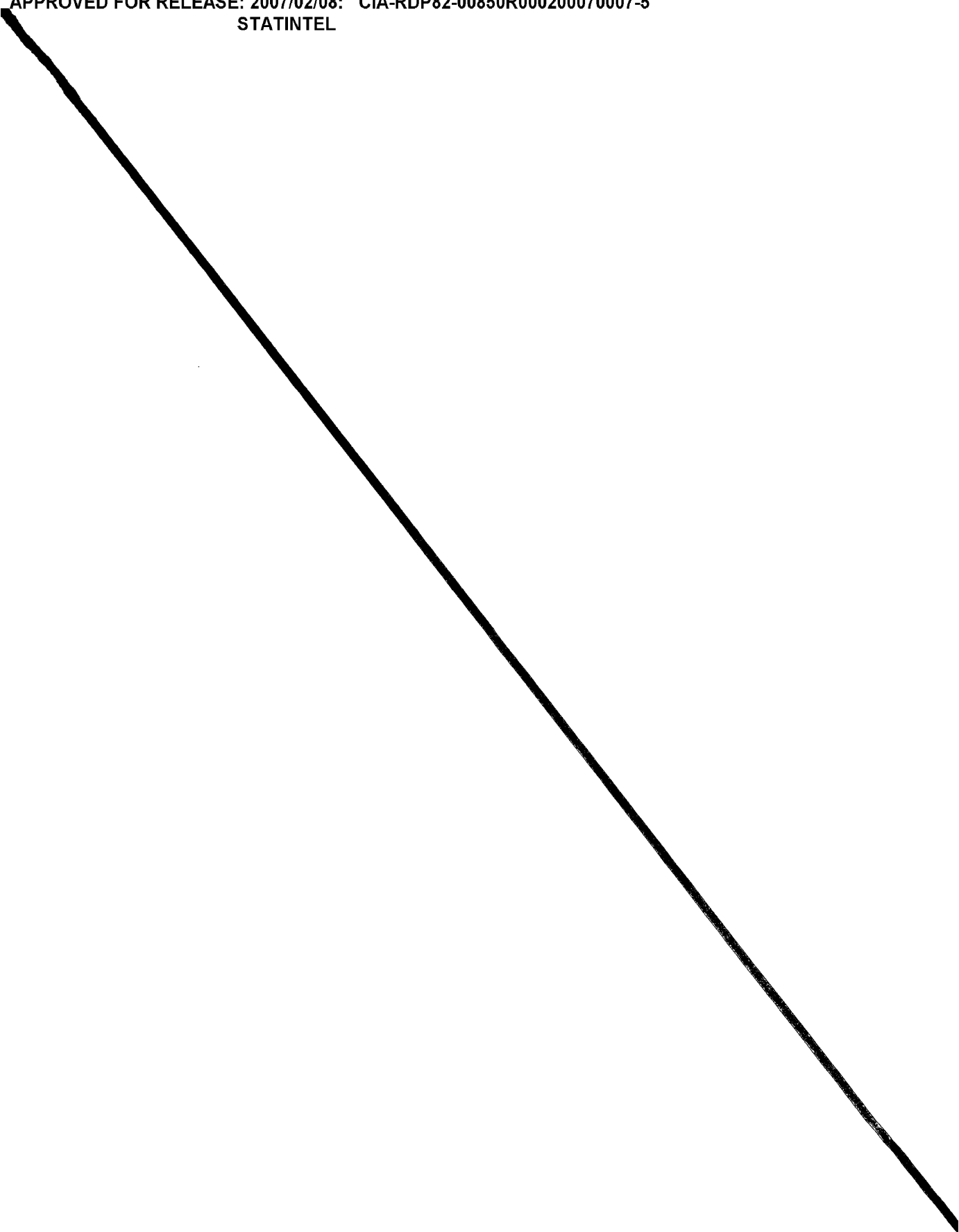
The main producing and transmitting sources of this disease, which may become endemic in the coming years, are found in the unsanitary conditions in which hundreds of thousands of persons live in the so-called young towns, communities surrounding Lima, according to authorized medical sources.

According to statistical figures, the health centers of Lima treated 2,058 cases of typhoid fever out of the 7,854 cases registered throughout the country, in addition to 5,466 cases of salmonellosis, similar to typhoid fever in 1979.

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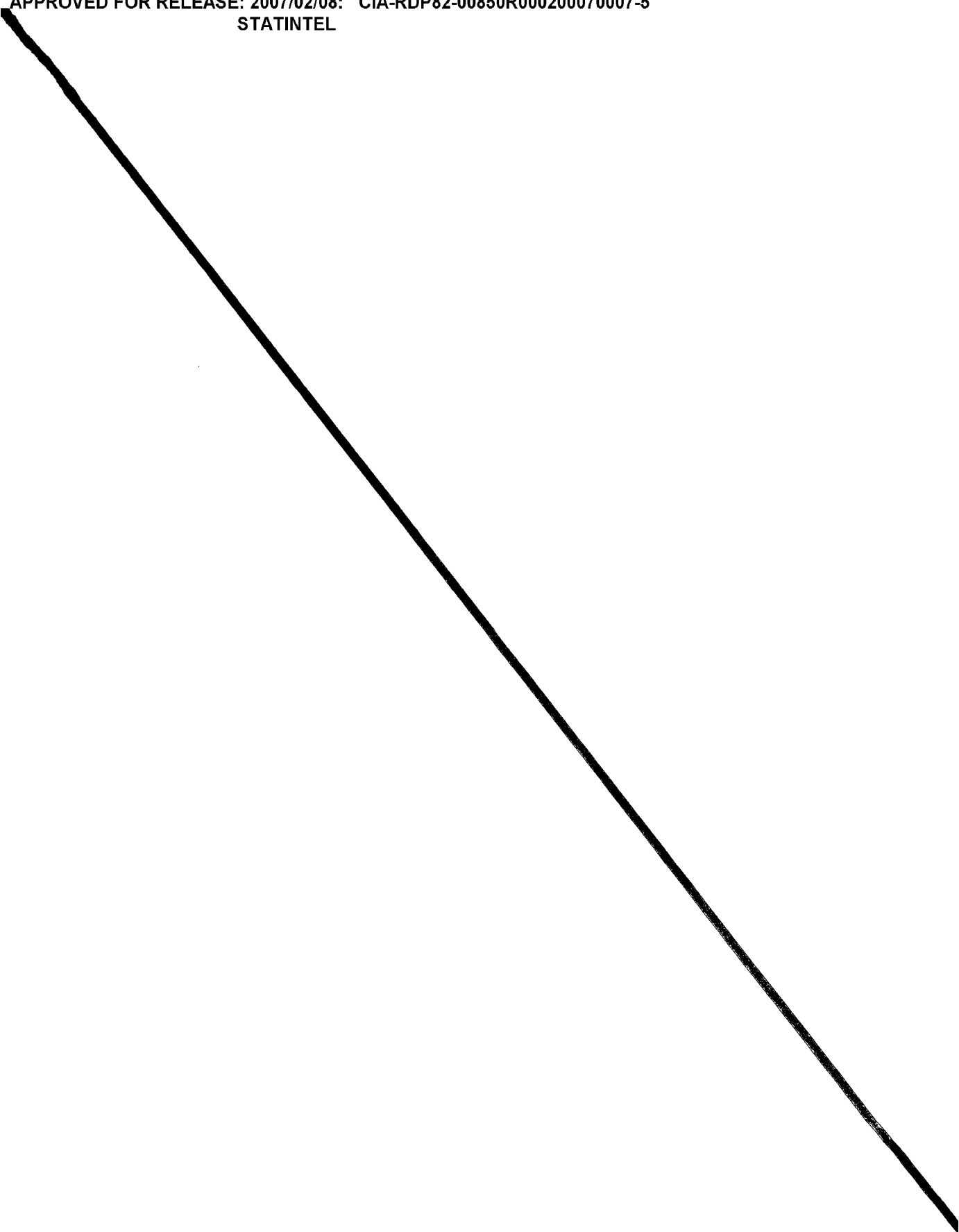
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