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20 April 1982

Latin America Report

(FOUO 5/82)

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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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COUNTRY SECTION

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE CONGRESS DENOUNCES U.S. INTERVENTION

PA050102 Havana PRELA in English 1920 GMT 4 Apr 82

[Text] San Jose, 5 Apr (PL)--The participants in the third conference of peace and sovereignty in Central America and the Caribbean denounced the United States' interventionist policy in the area.

Grenadian representative Basil Gahagan said that the "United States does not want peace nor an authentic process of self-determination" and added that Ronald Reagan uses "lies and infamy to justify aggression" against his country.

For his party, Harry Randas, secretary of the Peace Council of Guyana, declared that his people reject the aggressive U.S. policy against Central America and the Caribbean.

Also, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Jorsleus Gradige, accused the USA of interference in the internal affairs of his country to torpedo the popular and democratic movement.

The third conference for peace and sovereignty in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean was opened Friday by Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo.

In the Saturday session the decision of the Nicaraguan people to fight to the death if their country is invaded was confirmed by Father Fernando Cardenal, delegate of the FSLN, who said his people will prevent the penetration of any army, be it Somozist, from the Southern Cone or from the USA.

"We do not want a peace like the one proposed last year by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders, who went so far as to say to the Sandinista leaders that we would have good relations with the USA if we stopped being so friendly with Cuba."

But, continued Cardenal, Enders was told that "we Nicaraguans paid the price of fifty thousand dead for the right to choose our own friends."

Delegates from all the countries condemned the recent U.S. Security Council veto.

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A motion in that regard made by the movement of support to the progressive Costa Rican coalition Pueblo Unido was hailed with lengthy applause while the delegates of more than 30 countries demanded respect for the self-determination of the peoples of the area.

Representatives of Central America, the Caribbean and South America declared that today more than ever before world peace is threatened by the current U.S. administration.

Those present at the meeting called on the U.S. people to reject the aggressive policy of Washington.

Salvadoran writer Claribel Alegria said that the U.S. aggressivity [as received] against the liberation movements in Guatemala and El Salvador has no parallel in contemporary history.

She said that any invasion of the zone would place the world on the brink of a war of incalculable results.

Spanish writer Alfonso Sastre warned that no country in the world is safe from Washington's aggressive policy. The Central Americans and Caribbeans, he said, suffer the U.S. onslaughts in one way while we Europeans feel them in another.

The U.S. Government without any doubt played its part to make us Spaniards part of the European powderkeg, added the writer.

He agreed in calling on the U.S. people to stop any future invasion of Central America.

Jesus Reyes of Cuba said that the peoples of the region are determined to defend their liberty and independence, notwithstanding the U.S. threats and aggressions.

The Cuba delegate added that the struggles also signify a contribution to the attainment of a peace that will benefit all the nations of the world.

The region has become the center of the struggles of the continent for its genuine liberation, peace, justice and social progress, he indicated.

Reyes went on to state that the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean are demonstrating with their fight for freedom and the defense of their sovereignty that the Cuban revolution is not an isolated event of an historically exceptional nature.

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COUNTRY SECTION

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PERUVIAN MINISTER ON MALVINAS--Lima, 6 Apr (SAPORITI)--Peruvian Foreign Minister Javier Arias Stella has stated that the recovery of the Malvinas Islands by Argentina is based on the 1960 and 1965 UN resolutions that call for a peaceful decolonization of the Malvinas Islands. Similarly, the Peruvian foreign minister noted that the presence of armed British ships cause fear and concern for the peace of the continent. Arias Stella voiced his hope that the British action will be of a dissuasive nature and not one designed for specific offensive purposes. [Excerpt] [PY061856 Buenos Aires SAPORITI in Spanish 1535 GMT 6 Apr 82]

VENEZUELA TO SUPPORT ARGENTINA--Caracas, Venezuela, 5 Apr (SAPORITI)--Venezuelan Foreign Minister Alberto Zambrano Velasco has said that the Venezuelan Government cannot act on the basis of suppositions, but if there is a confrontation regarding the Malvinas Islands we have to comply with our responsibility as a signatory of the TIAR [Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty] and support Argentina. The TIAR is the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty and the country would comply with it since it represents a case of extra-continental aggression. On his part, Cesar Rondon Lovera, Venezuelan ambassador to Panama, also gave his opinion by pointing out that he hopes that a diplomatic agreement will be reached during the 2 weeks it will take the British fleet to reach the Malvinas. However, he added, in the case that the confrontation should take place, Great Britain will be defeated since it cannot maintain logistics for an army hundreds and hundreds of miles from its base. [Text] [PY051724 Buenos Aires SAPORITI in Spanish 1615 GMT 5 Apr 82]

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COUNTRY SECTION

ARGENTINA

GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY TO LIFT STATE OF SIEGE

PY111323 Buenos Aires DIARIOS Y NOTICIAS in Spanish 1214 GMT 11 Apr 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 11 Apr (DYN)--The newspaper LA NACION stated today that the government is studying the possibility of lifting the state of siege and of issuing a law of amnesty to facilitate the participation of former guerrillas in the future political reorganization.

In its Sunday political commentary, the morning paper states that the two resolutions are part of a detailed report on the national situation which President Leopoldo Galtieri has on his desk.

The document, which according to the newspaper, was prepared at the General Secretariat of the Presidency headed by Gen Hector Norberto Iglesias, is based on the new domestic situation created with the recovery of the Malvinas on 2 April.

The initial paragraphs of the study indicate that an unprecedented political situation has been created in the country, which must be answered with gestures which are also unprecedented, from the government standpoint, LA NACION states.

According to the newspaper's report, the seven points of that document which are under study by President Galtieri are:

Establishing communications channels with all political parties seeking their participation in the agreement of a minimum political plan;

Issuing a generous law of amnesty for all those involved in political crimes, the scope of which could also include situations stemming from the war against subversion;

Totally or partially cancelling the corresponding institutional act;

Lifting the ban on political activities through the approval of a new statute for political parties. The cancellation of the ban on political activities without the implementation before or simultaneously, of a new statute would be unthinkable because in this case the political parties would automatically be ruled by the Illia statute;

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Lifting the state of siege;

Issuing a new special and temporary rule which will allow the executive branch to maintain at its disposal certain terrorists confirmed to be dangerous;

Commuting sentences.

LA NACION states that to prepare the political plan, the government will call all leaders of all political parties within the next few months.

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COUNTRY SECTION

CUBA

READEX, OCEAN VENTURE EXERCISES DENOUNCED

PA311228 Havana PRELA in English 2320 GMT 30 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 31 Mar (PL)--The United States persists in its attempts to turn the Caribbean into a war theater with the announcement of two sets of maneuvers for April, READEX 2-82 and Ocean Venture 82.

According to Pentagon sources the READEX exercises will begin on 6 April with the participation of 39 naval units including two task forces headed by the aircraft carriers Independence and Forrestal, and 200 planes.

It was also reported that British and federal German naval forces will take part in the maneuvers with the U.S. vessels. The three countries belong to NATO.

The sources said that the Ocean Venture 82 maneuvers, to start at the end of April and run through the middle of May, will include an invasion rehearsal in Puerto Rico, a Marine landing at the Guantanamo naval base, Cuban territory illegally occupied by Washington, the use of B-52 bombers and the NATO anti-air warning system.

The series of maneuvers will take place less than a month after the U.S.A. and other NATO countries staged their first joint maneuvers in the Gulf of Mexico and the Florida strait.

The decision of the U.S.A. and its NATO allies to carry out "Safe Pass 82" precisely while Washington stiffened its campaign against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada and upgraded its intervention in El Salvador, was repudiated by world public opinion as a threat to peace.

Although the Pentagon tried to define Safe Pass 82 as routine training exercises, observers said that they were planned with the aim of extending NATO activity to other regions.

The forces that took part in the maneuvers approached NATO's operation limits. The Western limit of the exercises was the Tropic of Cancer, at 23 degrees 27 minutes northern latitude, that is, close to the city of Havana.

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COUNTRY SECTION

CUBA

'PRELA' OUTLINES DECREE ON MIXED ENTERPRISES

PA170117 Havana PRELA in English 2320 GMT 16 Mar 82

[By Jose dos Santos]

[Text] Havana, 17 Mar (PL)--Economic partnership between Cuban enterprises and foreign interests designed to support the country's economic development is the object of a measure adopted by the Council of State.

Decree law 50 enacted last month establishes that such a link is contemplated for activities whose financial resources, raw materials, technology and markets are not within Cuba's reach but are nonetheless indispensable for the use of Cuban human and natural resources.

The central standard to be used is that such partnerships promoted or accepted by the socialist state must promote the consolidation of this country's economic and social system.

The new legislation stresses that the prime aims of mixed ventures include the expansion of Cuban exports and the promotion of foreign tourism.

Partnerships may take the form of mixed ventures with Cuban and foreign capital with their own assets and personality, or other forms that do not involve the creation of a legal personality.

In order to regulate the operations of such ventures, the Cuban state has set up a commission to grant the authorization for their formation and the conditions under which they operate.

The measure states that the duration of the ventures must be such as to promote the recovery of [word indistinct] capital invested and the obtention of profits that will make it attractive to both sides.

The mixed ventures will adopt the form of corporations with nominal shares, with Cuban nationality and the possibility of opening representations abroad.

The other forms of economic relation are organized through partnership contracts.

The financial regulations established by Cuba include [number indistinct] percent limit on foreign ownership of the mixed venture.

The Cuban state will guarantee the foreign partner free transfer abroad of the dividends or net profits obtained.

The partners in mixed ventures will be exempt from payment of taxes on the gross income of the institution and personal income, although they will be liable for payment of taxes on profits, tariffs and on vehicles.

Under the measures the zones of top priority for international tourism could be declared tax free with entry facilities through the national tourism institute.

Finally, the measure states that these stipulations are not applicable to partnerships organized in Cuba at the agreement of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) or the Latin American Economic System (SELA).

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COUNTRY SECTION

EL SALVADOR

SALVADOR'S DUARTE INTERVIEWED BY 'PARIS MATCH'

PM231705 Paris MATCH in French 26 Mar 82 pp 70, 72

[Interview with El Salyador's President Napoleon Duarte by Patrick Forestier: "France Wants To Impose Terrorism on Us"--date and place not given]

[Text] MATCH: What do you think of [French] President Mitterrand's and [Mexican] President Lopez Portillo's joint declaration on the election in El Salvador?

Napoleon Duarte: I think that the French and Mexican presidents' joint statement calling for negotiations and the recognition of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR] as parties to the conflict and as representative political forces is a direct intervention in the country's internal affairs. I do not think any country in the world would agree to another country imposing its conditions on it. Consequently that declaration is a flagrant intervention in El Salvador's internal affairs. We have chosen the same method as Mr Mitterrand: the electoral method. I will not say the same of the Mexican Government, because that is a different matter.... If Mr Mitterrand's government now has the right to nationalize the banks it is because he won the elections and has his people's support--whether or not we agree with that measure. Similarly, we have proposed that the method here should be that of elections and not that of bullets and death. Just consider that Mr Mitterrand and Mr Lopez Portillo are proposing a method which delegates power to the guerrillas: that contradicts the principles which they uphold in their own countries. The French Government maintains that the elections are not representative because the left is not represented. The left has never been representative in this country. [National Revolutionary Movement leader] Ungo did not obtain 1,000 votes in the whole country on the only occasion he ran alone in the elections.

The argument that the extreme left is not representative [as published] or is not taking part is not valid in an election process. The extreme left has never believed in elections, it only believes in the use of force--bullets, machine-guns, death, terrorism--to impose a will opposed to the people's will.

Observe the paradox: the extreme left says that it is defending the people, that it is struggling for the people, but it does not want to allow the people to express their opinion. Why? Simply because that is called totalitarianism, in all languages. It is deception. That is how things are.

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MATCH: Can the French Government play a role in the Salvadoran crisis?

Napoleon Duarte: I believe that the best role which the French people and government can play is to give the Salvadoran people the opportunity to determine their future. Anything else they try to do can only be called intervention.

As for President Mitterrand, he must not continue to upset the balance in Central America's internal forces. Because as he gives arms to the Nicaraguans so he upsets the balance of forces and Central America runs the risk of a blood-bath. That is not helping the peoples. It is going against the people and trying to impose on them his personal will.

MATCH: A propos, what do you think of the French Government's arms sales to Nicaragua?

Napoleon Duarte: The fact that one country sells arms to another country is not important per se. But the fact that they are being sold in a premediated way as France is doing is certainly dangerous because that implies France's participation in a plot which is aimed at upsetting the balance in Central America. If it was just a trade like any other, there would be no problem. But it is a political sale. What is the objective of that sale? Mr Mitterrand must explain that. Not me.

MATCH: If Mr Mitterrand were sitting opposite you what you you say to him?

Napoleon Duarte: I would tell him exactly what I am busy telling you: that he has no right to interfere in Salvadoran affairs. But he is perfectly entitled to express his opinion, and I respect it. However, he cannot impose his conditions on anybody. Just as France would never allow conditions to be imposed on it. France's history shows that. Therefore if he did so he would be anti-French.

MATCH: Would you accept French observers during the elections?

Napoleon Duarte: Yes. We have appealed to all countries so that they can observe that these elections are free. Observing is one thing, interfering is another.

MATCH: Do you sincerely think that the elections on 28 March will be free?

Napoleon Duarte: You have seen the people today. People saw and heard an army colonel assuring them that they will be free. We are repeating that throughout the country. We are making a specific effort to ensure that the people know these elections will be free.

MATCH: But how will the inhabitants in the zones controlled by the guerrillas be able to vote?

Napoleon Duarte: They will be able to vote because there is no village which is under the guerrillas' control. Cite me a single such village. Cite me the name of one village which is controlled by the guerrillas.

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MATCH: What about the Morazon region?

Napoleon Duarte: There is no village in the guerrillas' hands. There are remote desolate places...but they are not villages. The whole population is in the villages and the villages are controlled by the armed forces.

MATCH: If you win the elections will you negotiate with the guerrillas?

Napoleon Duarte: If you analyze it the idea of negotiation amounts to our unconditional surrender. It means the seizure of power. They claim to negotiate on the army and want to give the guerrillas the status of army. They want to negotiate on the government and have the right of veto. They want to negotiate the economic, political and social program in order to impose their will. Nobody can negotiate that. A dialogue to incorporate them into the democratic process is possible before, during and after elections. In other words, if they are prepared to abandon their weapons, abandon violence and accept the rule of democracy--as has happened with many communist parties in Europe--we are prepared to dialogue with them as of now. But if they want to negotiate with a machine-gun on the table, we reject that.

MATCH: The guerrillas have warned that they will continue the fight whatever happens.

Napoleon Duarte: There is no doubt about that. It is their decision. If they continue to struggle the government will continue to defend itself.

MATCH: So, despite the elections the situation will not change?

Napoleon Duarte: Of course it will, it will change because the guerrillas now say that the government is not legitimate, that it does not represent the people, that the government is a de facto government. They want a share of power. But after the elections they will not be able to claim that. Just as they are now scarcely talking about the agrarian reform. Just as they are no longer saying a word about the reform of state structures. All they are talking about now is power. When the people have chosen who will govern them, that power will no longer be negotiated by anybody. The conditions will have changed. They will have to agree either to join the democratic game or to remain guerrillas--isolated from the people. In the long term that means peace.

MATCH: But it is not difficult to fight the guerrillas?

Napoleon Duarte: No. It is not difficult if the outside support is severed. And that is the problem with the intervention of France, Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Russia, Libya, Vietnam and all those countries which are strengthening the guerrillas.

MATCH: Are you comparing France with Cuba?

Napoleon Duarte: No, no. they are not the same. France is a democratic country. Mitterrand won free elections and has the right to be in power. That is not true of Cuba. But, unfortunately there are countries who are giving military aid and others who are helping by playing into the hands of the extreme left. In doing that the French Government is playing into the communists' hands.

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MATCH: The left and extreme left are criticizing you violent. Are you strong enough to maintain power?

Napoleon Duarte: When we took power the extreme right and the extreme left said we would only last a week. We have been in power for 2 years. And we are going to continue.

MATCH: The army is said to have most power in El Salvador. Do you not fear a coup d'etat?

Napoleon Duarte: Of course. A coup is still possible. The extreme right constantly plays on [the threat of] a coup. But at present there is no danger of a coup. There is no danger of the army taking an attitude opposed to the compromise to which it is committed.

MATCH: Do you share President Reagan's view that if the guerrillas triumph in El Salvador all the Central American countries will be won over by communism?

Napoleon Duarte: That is the domino theory. I think that there is a strategy for Central America. If you consider geopolitics, you realize that communist strategy is developed by sectors. After acting in Cuba they acted in the Dominican Republic, Panama, Guatemala, Jamaica, and throughout the Caribbean. They have kept Cuba. Lost the rest and have penetrated South America. Che Guevara in Bolivia, then in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile. When they failed in that sector they mobilized in another region, Central America: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala. If they triumph here they will have a spearhead. And if they fail they will make plans for another region. Colombia, Venezuela, Peru or Ecuador. They do not launch into just one country. They create sectors which guarantee the stability of the communist regimes. They know that with just Nicaragua in Central America it is difficult for them to steer the region toward communism. That is because they need other countries. That is the justification for El Salvador but if they win, the next step takes them to Guatemala. Then to Honduras to destabilize the region and strengthen the communists. They will not attain that because they will not win in El Salvador. You can go to any part of the country and you will realize that the communists are not winning here.

MATCH: What type of regime do you want in El Salvador?

Napoleon Duarte: The only acceptable regime is that of democracy. There is no doubt that we have vanquished totalitarianism, which is the foundation of social injustice and is responsible for the violence in this country.

MATCH: A democratic regime with the left?

Napoleon Duarte: A democratic and just regime. We say that there must be the alternative of a democratic revolution in the country, not a violent revolution, which is the Marxists' idea.

MATCH: What is your attitude toward the left?

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Napoleon Duarte: When I am asked whether I am on the right or the left, I reply that I do not like to be labeled but that I love justice and freedom and that I am working for social reform and for the poor people. In that case many people could describe me as a leftwing individual.

MATCH: Is it true that the pope might come to El Salvador soon?

Napoleon Duarte: Yes, he may come. He would be welcomed by millions of Salvadorans.

MATCH: Have you already had contacts with John Paul II?

Napoleon Duarte: No. The archbishop has asked him to come. The foreign minister has also asked him to come.

MATCH: What will you do if you lose the elections?

Napoleon Duarte: You are asking me a pessimistic question.

MATCH: Is it not a possibility you have to consider?

Napoleon Duarte: I am optimistic. But in that eventuality I think that I will continue to struggle for democracy outside or inside the government. That is my role. I am not going to leave the country, I will stay here and I will struggle.

MATCH: Will you still take part in political life?

Napoleon Duarte: Fully.

MATCH: Do you fear for your life?

Napoleon Duarte: There have already been attempts on my life. The other week Radio Venceremos, the guerrillas' radio, stated that there might be attempts on my life. But that is the price which has to be paid for saving the country.

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COUNTRY SECTION

EL SALVADOR

GUERRILLA LEADER SPEAKS WITH 'AKAHATA'

OWO20905 Tokyo AKAHATA in Japanese 29 Mar 82 p 7

["Summary" of remarks given by (Habil), head of international affairs in the Central Command of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), to AKAHATA correspondent Yasuhiro Tanaka on 25 March in Managua]

[Excerpts] Managua, Nicaragua--The Salvadoran people fought with legitimate means and elections for years against the exploitation of the oligarchic government as well as against hunger and misery.

The U.S. imperialists were forced to modify their strategy after our general offensive last year. They thus embarked on an open intervention.

First, they began injecting enormous funds to maintain the economy and help the oligarchic forces regain the public's confidence.

Second, they sent military advisers to bolster the government forces. Although those advisers were stationed in the capital city in the first months, they are now openly seen in each camp and places where military operations are going on. They are using assault helicopters. In addition to the open training of Salvadoran troops in the United States, secret training is in progress at military bases in Panama and other places. Argentines and Israelis as well as American troops are being used to torture members of the liberation forces. There are also the spying operations and infiltrations by the CIA (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency).

Third, they are attempting to turn neighboring Honduras into a counterrevolutionary stronghold. The U.S. Marine Corps and Green Berets are training Honduran troops in counter guerrilla warfare to use them in interventionist operations. In border areas, Honduran troops are cooperating with Salvadoran troops in antiguerrilla operations.

We want the people the world over to know about the increasing U.S. intervention in El Salvador over the past year. U.S. intervention is no longer a mere possibility. It is a reality now and is expanding.

The following is our appeal to the Japanese Government and people:

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First, we want them to know the realities of and truth about El Salvador. We are fighting for an improvement in our living conditions and for a society and political system that respects humanity. Justice rests with the liberation front, the Democratic Revolution Front. No nation would object to this goal. We know the U.S. imperialists are trying to pressure Japan into cooperation with its interventionist policy against Central American states. The Japanese Government should know it will gain nothing from cooperation with the interventionists against national self-determination and rights of the people.

We expect the Japanese people to manifest their support for and solidarity with our struggle for freedom and self-determination and to raise their voices to prevent the Japanese Government from taking part in the intervention. In addition, we want them to extend us financial and medical assistance if possible.

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COUNTRY SECTION

EL SALVADOR

BRIEFS

D'AUBUISSON SUPPORTS AMNESTY LAW--San Salvador, 2 Apr (REUTER)--Maj Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the Salvadoran extreme rightwing that claimed victory in the constituent elections held last Sunday, said on Friday that he supports a legal amnesty for leftist guerrillas. The leader of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), told newsmen that the 60 percent of the vote won by his party and its four allies in Sunday's elections reflect the people's rejection of the centrists in the Christian Democratic Party. Nevertheless, he felt that it will be possible to hold talks with the Christian Democrats on the formation of a government of national unity once the results of the constituent elections are announced officially, perhaps this weekend. Major D'Aubuisson emphasized, however, that the rightwing will not accept Gen [as received] Jose Napoleon Duarte, current president of the junta and leader of the Christian Democrats, as an interim president. On the subject of the leftist guerrillas, D'Aubuisson said: "We will adopt an amnesty law, but we will not talk with those who do not accept democracy. If they persist in the bloodletting, our first measure will be to expel them." [Text] [PA022121 London REUTER in French 2054 GMT 2 Apr 82]

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COUNTRY SECTION

GUATEMALA

'PRELA' INTERVIEWS PEACE COMMITTEE HEAD

PA021615 Havana PRELA in Spanish 2023 GMT 1 Apr 82

[Article by Victorio M. Copa]

[Text] Havana, 2 Apr (PL)--Former Guatemalan Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello declared here that the recent military coup in his country was prepared and carried out with the support of the United States Department of State.

He also described as decisive the participation of Israel in maintaining the repression in Guatemala and denounced the presence of military personnel from Chile, Argentina and Taiwan.

In an interview with PRENSA LATINA the president of the Guatemalan Peace Committee declared that Cuban-born terrorists are linked with the paramilitary bodies operating in his country.

He added that the State Department plan included having General Hernan Ovidio Moral Paiz emerge in the first instance as the only one responsible for the coup in order to observe reactions inside Guatemala and abroad.

"But when they saw that the plan received the support of the officers in order to oust the government of General Romeo Lucas Garcia, they began to maneuver so that the real choices of the State Department would come to the fore," added Toriello.

The foreign minister in the government of Jacobo Arbenz (1951-54) described General Efraim Rios Montt as a protege of General Carlos Arana Osorio, one of the most bloodthirsty military chiefs in the country and known as the "jackal of the east."

Toriello recalled that Rios Montt was army chief of staff at the time of the slaughter of 800 people in the farming community of Sansirisay in the Department of Progreso, Jalapa [as received], in the eastern part of the country.

He said that the new regime chief served as director of the Polytechnical School (a military institution), representative in the Inter-American Defense

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Board in Washington, director of the Inter-American Military School and military attache in Washington and Madrid.

Toriello said that Horacio Maldonado, promoted to general in 1980 by Romeo Lucas Garcia, is very repressive and for years commanded the "Honor Guard" Brigade, one of the three main garrisons of Guatemala City.

He added that Colonel Francisco Gordillo Martinez is a pro-Washington counter-insurgency specialist and until January, headed the military brigade of Quezaltenango, which conducted operations against the guerrillas.

Toriello added that there has been no essential change in Guatemala and stressed that what has occurred is a "change of military chiefs. It is a government run by simians, some of them gorillas and others orangutangs."

CSO: 3010/1298

COUNTRY SECTION

GUATEMALA

'AFRIQUE-ASIE' INTERVIEWS GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS

PM061605 Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 29 Mar-11 Apr 82 pp 38-39

[Report by Nur Dolay: "Between Ballot Boxes and Arms"--undated interviews conducted in Guatemala by Marta Harnecker (not further identified)]

[Text] "If we had decided to fight right from the first day we would have made a serious mistake because the enemy would then have launched its forces against us with a great chance of wiping us out," Rapeil Samayac, commander of the Third Front of the [Guatemalan] Organization of the People in Arms [ORPA], said.

Those remarks take on special significance when you know the reasons for the creation of the ORPA: to wage armed struggle. And, according to Commander Samayac, "the armed propaganda campaign sought--and that was one of its most important objectives--to portray the people's war as the definitive solution to the existing problems and situation."

It might seem paradoxical, therefore, that the ORPA spent 8 years without carrying out any military action. This politico-military organization is now described by Marta Harnecker as "one of the armed groups in this country which has carried out most military actions during the past 2 years, disconcerting the enemy and drawing admiration and respect from the other Guatemalan revolutionary organizations." For the ORPA that was still a period of "implantation," and they learned from the memory of several guerrilla movements which had been wiped out before they had even taken root.

As soon as it was formed the ORPA realized that the aim was not to achieve small successes or spectacular actions in record time. Guerrilla warfare is a war of attrition, and the main thing is to be able to keep going, while draining the enemy's material and moral capabilities but also seeking to extend the people's support for the struggle and to lead the masses toward insurrection.

The Revolutionary [as published] Armed Forces [FAR], the oldest organization in the present armed struggle in Guatemala, knows about that. The Guatemalan Labor Party [PGT] was largely responsible for its creation in 1962. The latter, savagely persecuted after the overthrow of the progressive Arbenz government, supported the conspiracy attempt by the democratic military

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against Castillo Armas' regime in 1955 and tried to overthrow it "by calling the masses onto the streets and trying to spark off a political general strike which would lead to insurrection." Indeed it was an attempt to repeat the plan which led to victory in 1944 without analyzing a historical situation which was no longer the same.

It was only after the triumph of the Cuban revolution that the PGT admitted that sustained people's armed struggle is the only possible course for the revolution in Guatemala. However, it was not easy to go into action. The FAR was created after several failures and heavy losses. It is "a broad organization of communist and noncommunist militants grouped into three movements": the 20 October Movement comprising party members; the 13 November Movement--a group of rebel officers who took part in a plot against the regime in 1961--which failed--and, finally, the 12 April Movement comprising students, mainly from the Communist Youth Movement.

Pablo Monsanto, who joined the guerrillas at the age of 17, has been commander in chief of the FAR for 10 years. He is one of those in the best position to comment on the armed struggle in his country because he experienced "the bitter moments of a guerrilla experiment which, despite its world fame, suffered more defeats than victories in the sixties." Many guerrilla attempts have developed and vanished into thin air before his eyes.

Unlike the other Guatemalan leaders Monsanto does not think it is the communist parties' conventional organic concept which prevented them from taking part in the armed struggle. It is a question of line--a question which, moreover, is more "practical" than "theoretical."

"The problem is not one of a politicomilitary organization," Monsanto said. "It is the struggle which is politicomilitary. But it is necessary to have a military organization and a political organization. The two cannot be confused, they complement each other or are combined.... The political leaderships can decide on the future of the war without being soldiers."

The need for these two levels of organization is clearly shown when it comes to support from society, without which the guerrillas could not exist. Referring to "logistics" as one of the weak points of any army Monsanto stressed the importance of organizing the masses who provide the logistical support which is vital to the guerrillas. However, it is not "military" organization of the masses but political organization "which makes them aware of the fact that they should support the armed struggle and this military force, and that that guarantees their victory and the triumph of the revolutionary objectives."

And the Masses...

If the masses are ever to join the armed struggle they themselves must be convinced that there is no other solution.

"The guerrillas cannot bring about that conviction solely by their example," Monsanto said. "An intermediate process of economic and social demands is

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necessary before attaining political radicalization in order to move on to new forms of struggle. If the guerrillas' military actions coincide with the intensification of the masses' struggle, those actions can serve as a catalyst for the enthusiasm, will need those masses have to move on to a higher form of struggle which, in this case, would be armed struggle."
[sentence as published]

"It is wrong," he also stressed, "to think that we are going to arm the entire Guatemalan people.... The masses will have other forms of participation." He was thinking of protests, general strikes and so forth. Although the guerrillas' goal is to lead the masses into insurrectional situations, they are also aware that "the masses do not launch into insurrection unless they can count on a military force which is capable of neutralizing the enemy's repressive forces."

Rolando Moran, commander in chief of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor [EGP], gave further details on the possible nature and dimensions of this participation by the masses in the revolutionary struggle: "First we tried to apply conventional tactics," Moran said: "penetration of the factories, creation of cells. And yet that did not bring about the solution which we were seeking.... We realized that the masses of a country like Guatemala--which is, first, an underdeveloped country and, second, a country assailed by repression--had differences determined by the levels of organization, radicalization or awareness. In a situation of people's revolutionary war, cadres do not necessarily emerge directly from broad mass organizations into the political and military vanguard to form the frontline contingents.... In our case it is necessary to count on mass organizations which are constantly prepared and ready to move from strike action to political and revolutionary struggle."

The work of political organization to attain that objective is carried out at three levels: the level of the unorganized masses, the level of organized but nonpoliticized masses and, finally, among the advanced sections of the masses organized into associations, trade unions and so forth. "It is this sector which must feed what is called the mass revolutionary organizations," Moran added. However, he specified that that is not synonymous with "having a group in a trade union to win the elections in order to control the trade union is under its influence from then on." That is a typical mistake of so many movements in so many countries.... "In our view," Moran continued, "the most important thing is the grassroots and their most advanced sections."

The EGP, FAR, ORPA and PGT are now grouped within a common front: the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, but the process which led to that was not an easy one. The EGP and ORPA are themselves organizations which emerged from splits within the FAR back in 1965.

In the second half of the seventies the revolutionary forces were divided, weakened by internal struggles and incapable of directing the movement toward the overthrow of the existing regime and toward seizing power. The repressive Lucas government took advantage of that situation to hit all the organizations equally hard--aside from the ORPA which had not yet fully emerged--and the

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combative and repressed Guatemalan people are now in mourning for thousands of their children.

This fact has led to the recent creation of a United Patriotic Unity Committee. The committee's aim is to support the guerrillas and to work for the formation of a national patriotic unity front in which the whole opposition would participate.

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COUNTRY SECTION

SURINAME

BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHED--Algiers, 2 Apr (PL)--Suriname and Algeria have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the level of ambassadors, it was announced officially. Both governments have taken the decision that will be effective immediately, "with the desire to develop and consolidate the relations of friendship and cooperation." Both [words indistinct] says the announcement, [words indistinct] develop the relations between the two states on the basis of international juridicial principles, as stipulated by the charter of the United Nations, the principles of the movement of non-aligned countries and in accordance with the Vienna convention, dated 16 April 1961. [Text] [PA021610 Havana PRELA in English 1942 GMT 1 Apr 82]

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