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SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY NETWORKING: NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

- ESTABLISHING U.S. SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS TO

- PROTECT ITSELF AND RAISE CONSCIOUSNESS

REF: A) 85 SAN SALVADOR 16561

- B) SAN SALVADOR 4130

- C) SAN SALVADOR 4695

- D) SAN SALVADOR 6512

- E) SAN SALVADOR 5278

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

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2. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

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INCLUDING QUEZADA, ARE ORGANIZING A NETWORK OF GROUPS IN THE U.S. TO AID THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY. THE NETWORK'S PURPOSE IS TO PUBLICIZE ARRESTS OR DISAPPEARANCES OF THE UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP IN EL SALVADOR AND TO ACTIVATE A CASCADE SYSTEM OF PHONE CALLS IN AND FROM THE U.S. MOBILIZING AN AVALANCHE OF PUBLIC OUTRAGE, CALLS TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND LETTERS TO CONGRESS. THE U.S. NETWORK ALSO PROVIDES FINANCIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT TO AGEUS, THE UNIVERSITY STUDENT ASSOCIATION, BY ESTABLISHING "SISTER UNIVERSITY" SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE U.S. WHICH RAISE MONEY AND PUSH

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LETTER-WRITING CAMPAIGNS. THE NEW SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS USE UNIVERSITY ISSUES SUCH AS "REPRESSION" AND LACK OF GOVERNMENT FUNDING AS A SPRINGBOARD TO REACH NEW AUDIENCES, BUILD SUPPORT FOR THE FMLN AND -- MORE IMPORTANTLY FROM THEIR VIEW -- UNDERCUT SUPPORT FOR U.S. POLICIES IN EL SALVADOR.

5. THE SPEAKING TOURS IN THE U.S., EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES, AND CASCADE NETWORKS, ALSO RAISE THE REVOLUTIONARY CONCIUSNESS OF U.S. STUDENTS AND OTHERS IN AN EFFORT TO MOBILIZE IT AGAINST U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR, IN MUCH THE SAME WAY AS RADICAL SALVADORAN UNIONS MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH COUNTERPARTS IN THE U.S., THE SISTER CITIES PROGRAM LINKS U.S. CITIES WITH GUERRILLA-OCCUPIED STRONGHOLDS, AND THE SANCTUARY MOVEMENT SERVES TO INVOLVE OTHERWISE APOLITICAL GROUPS NOT SO MUCH IN SUPPORT OF THE FMLN AS SIMPLY AGAINST U.S. POLICY. THE EFFORT TO CREATE AN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. THAT WILL HASTEN THE END OF U.S. SUPPORT TO EL SALVADOR COMPLEMENTS THE NEW EMPHASIS OF THE FMLN ON FIGHTING A PROTRACTED WAR DESIGNED TO OUTLAST THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT THE GOES.

 6. CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

THE FOLLOWING CASE STUDY OF REVOLUTIONARY NETWORKING IS BASED ON NUMEROUS CONVERSATIONS OVER SEVERAL MONTHS WITH POLITICALLY ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY OF ALL LEVELS, MOST OF WHOM HAVE STRONG LINKS WITH THE INSURGENT LEFT. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WAS DEVELOPED FROM NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, CONTACTS WITH INTERESTED U.S. CITIZENS, AND OTHER SOURCES. OTHER LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS IN EL SALVADOR APPEAR TO HAVE PARALLEL NETWORKS (WITNESS THE CALLS COMING IN NOW ON THE CO-MADRES), BUT WE USE THE UNIVERSITY AS A CASE STUDY BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DEVELOP RELATIVELY GREATER INSIGHT INTO UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES.

7. "WAVE OF REPRESSION" PROTEST BEGINS

GERARDO LIZANO HERNANDEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE AGRONOMY
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STUDENTS ASSOCIATION, WAS ARRESTED ON FEBRUARY 9 ON SUSPICION OF BELONGING TO THE ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION (FARN) AND RELEASED ON FEBRUARY 21. UPON RELEASE, LIZANO REPORTEDLY TOLD AGEUS THAT HIS INTERROGATION FOCUSED HEAVILY ON THE MEMBERS OF THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE." (THE "COMMITTEE" ORGANIZED THE "NATIONAL DRIVE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE" WHICH WAS HELD IN DECEMBER 1985 AND SERVED AS A PODIUM FOR A FREE-FOR-ALL ATTACK BY THE LEFT ON THE GOES -- SEE REF A.) AFTER HIS RELEASE, UNIVERSITY CONTACTS BEGAN TO TALK OF LIZANO'S CASE AS SIMILAR TO OTHER CASES, AND SAID THEY WERE WORRIED ABOUT A GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED EFFORT TO QUASH POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTY. (NOTE: THE READER SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY HAS SOMEWHERE AROUND 28,000 STUDENTS, NONE OF WHOM ARE IMMUNE FROM ARREST AND AT LEAST SOME OF WHOM ARE KNOWN TO BE ACTIVE IN THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT.)

8. UNES RESPONDS: ORGANIZES PROTEST COMMITTEE

 IN RESPONSE TO THE "WAVE OF REPRESSION," IN LATE FEBRUARY, THE UNIVERSITY SUPERIOR COUNCIL (MADE UP OF DEANS AND ADMINISTRATIVE HEADS FROM EACH FACULTY) ORGANIZED A COMMITTEE "FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNIVERSITY" MADE UP OF THE RECTOR, TWO DEANS, THREE PROFESSORS AND THREE STUDENTS. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES SAID THE COMMITTEE WAS SET UP ON A "PERMANENT BASIS TO ORGANIZE PUBLIC PROTESTS AND MAKE VISITS TO VARIOUS NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS." ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THE COMMITTEE WAS PLANNING TO SEND A LETTER TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION "PROTESTING THE RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (BY THE C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 08057 RIGHT) AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY." THE COMMITTEE ALSO INTENDED TO ASK THAT "WESTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS" IN EL SALVADOR REQUEST THEIR COUNTRIES TO RECONSIDER THEIR AID TO "A REGIME THAT TERRORIZES THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY."

9. INTERLOCKING MEMBERSHIPS: A FORM OF PROTECTION?

 ONE OF THE FACULTY ON THE NEW PROTEST COMMISSION, HECTOR CANJURA LINARES (MEMBER OF THE POPULAR LIBERATION FORCES - FPL) WAS ALSO A MEMBER OF THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE" AND HAD JUST BEEN ELECTED HEAD OF THE UNES PROFESSORS ASSOCIATION (ADUES) THE PREVIOUS DAY. TWO OTHER OFFICERS OF ADUES, JOSE LUIS GALVEZ (FPL) AND POMPILIO VILLAFUERTE (FPL) WERE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE." (NOTE: ADUES WAS FORMED A YEAR AGO, BUT WAS LARGELY INACTIVE UNTIL FEBRUARY 27-28 WHEN AN ORGANIZING CONVENTION WAS HELD AND A NEW SLATE OF OFFICERS WAS ELECTED.)

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SELECTION OF CANJURA, GALVEZ AND VILLAFUERTE FOR SEVERAL POSITIONS AT THE SAME TIME, WHILE EVIDENCE OF THEIR INFLUENCE IN UNES AFFAIRS, MAY ALSO BE AN ATTEMPT TO PROTECT THEM BY MAXIMIZING THE NEGATIVE PUBLICITY ENTAILED IN ARRESTING PROMINENT UNIVERSITY LEADERS. ACTIVATING ADUES WITH A BOARD OF "POLITICALLY AWARE" PROFESSORS ALSO PROVIDES ANOTHER FPL-RUN SPRINGBOARD FOR PROTESTS OF REPRESSION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

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10. STUDENT ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT ARRESTED; UNES
- NETWORK ACTIVATES

RUFINO ANTONIO QUEZADA SANCHEZ, A 30-YEAR-OLD STUDENT, WAS ARRESTED BY THE NATIONAL POLICE ON THE EVENING OF MARCH 20. QUEZADA IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF SALVADORAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS (AGEUS) AND IS WELL KNOWN TO THE EMBASSY AS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE FPL. HE WAS ALSO THE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE ON THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE" AND SPOKE AT THE CONFERENCE AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STUDENT SECTOR. (SEE REFS B AND C FOR DETAILED ACCOUNT OF QUEZADA'S ARREST AND RELEASE.)

QUEZADA'S ARREST PROVIDED THE FIRST REAL DEMONSTRATION OF THE NEW NETWORK, AND REVEALED A GOOD DEAL OF THE PREPARATION AND ORGANIZATION THAT HAD BEEN INVESTED BY AGEUS AND OTHER UNIVERSITY GROUPS IN CONTACTS WITH THE U.S.

UNIVERSITY CONTACTS SAID THAT UPON LEARNING OF QUEZADA'S ARREST THEY IMMEDIATELY CALLED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, THE FEDERATION OF CENTRAL AMERICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (NON-GOVERNMENTAL) AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. THEY TOLD US THAT IN ADDITION TO INFORMING QUEZADA'S ANCIET WIFE, ROBYN BRAVERMAN, THEY INITIATED THE CASCADE NETWORK OF STUDENTS IN THE U.S. WITHIN 48 HOURS, PAID RADIO SPOTS WERE RUNNING HOURLY DENOUNCING THE ARREST, AND THEY HAD PLACED PAID NEWSPAPER ADS AS WELL.

11. DELUGE OF PHONE CALLS FROM THE U.S.

BY MID-MORNING OF MARCH 21, LESS THAN 24 HOURS AFTER QUEZADA'S ARREST, THE EMBASSY WAS RECEIVING PHONE CALLS FROM ORGANIZATIONS AND COLLEGES UP AND DOWN THE EAST AND WEST COASTS, ASKING FOR INFORMATION AND DEMANDING ANGRILY THAT THE U.S. EMBASSY INTERVENE TO PREVENT QUEZADA'S POSSIBLE TORTURE AND DISAPPEARANCE. MANY OF THE CONCERNED CLAIMED TO HAVE MET QUEZADA AND THE AGEUS VICE-PRESIDENT JOSE RODOLFO ROSALES LOBO (AKA "CHINO" ROSALES LEE), A 27-YEAR-OLD MEDICAL STUDENT AND A MEMBER OF THE FPL, ON THEIR RECENT "UNIVERSITY TO UNIVERSITY FRIENDSHIP TOUR," A 40-CITY TOUR OF THE WEST COAST FROM OCTOBER 10 TO NOVEMBER 20, 1985. FEW OF THE CALLERS CITED AFFILIATION WITH ANY OF THE BETTER KNOWN FMLN

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SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE "COMMITTEE IN
 <> SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR" (<><>CISPES<><>), AS
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 HAS BEEN THE CASE WITH SOME OTHER CALL-IN CAMPAIGNS.
 THE MAJORITY SOUNDED LIKE AVERAGE COLLEGE STUDENTS WHO
 HAD BEEN TOUCHED BY QUEZADA AND ROSALES' ACCOUNTS OF
 ANTI-UNIVERSITY REPRESSION DURING THEIR TRIP. THESE
 CALLERS ARE THE NEW AUDIENCE WHICH AGEUS IS TRYING TO
 REACH AND MOBILIZE IN SUPPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS
 MEMBERS. (NOTE: THE RECENT ARREST OF NATIONAL POLICE
 ON APRIL 29 OF JORGE ALBERTO ROSALES AND LUIS ANTONIO
 ROSALES, BROTHERS OF JOSE RODOLFO ROSALES, ON CHARGES OF
 "COLLABORATION WITH TERRORIST GROUPS" HAS SPARKED A
 SIMILAR REACTION (REF D). OTHER SKETCHY REPORTS TALK OF
 DEATH THREATS TO JULIO AMILCAR SOSA DIMAS, AND PHONE
 CALLS ARE COMING IN FOR HIM AS WELL. SOSA IS THE
 FINANCE SECRETARY OF THE MEDICAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION AND
 A MEMBER OF THE FPL.)

12. CALLERS DESCRIBE U.S. SUPPORT NETWORK

 THE CALLERS SAID THAT THE PURPOSE OF QUEZADA'S AND
 ROSALES' SPEAKING TOUR WAS TO ESTABLISH A "SISTER
 UNIVERSITY" NETWORK TO PROVIDE MORAL AND FINANCIAL
 SUPPORT TO THE UNES. WESTERN WASHINGTON STATE AND
 SOUTHERN OREGON STATE UNIVERSITIES ARE TWO KNOWN SISTER
 UNIVERSITIES ON THE WEST COAST; RUTGERS UNIVERSITY IS
 ANOTHER ON THE EAST COAST. IT IS APPARENT FROM LETTERS
 AND CALLS RECEIVED BY THE EMBASSY FROM THESE NASCENT
 GROUPS THAT OTHER UNIVERSITY STUDENT GROUPS ARE
 BEGINNING TO ORGANIZE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF VARIOUS
 <> SANCTUARY GROUPS AND <><>CISPES<><>. (NOTE: QUEZADA AND
 ROSALES TRAVELED ON OFFICIAL PASSPORTS ISSUED BY THE
 GOES AT THE REQUEST OF THE UNIVERSITY, DEMONSTRATING
 OFFICIAL HIGH-LEVEL SUPPORT WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY
 LEADERSHIP FOR THESE ACTIVITIES. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY
 ISSUES OFFICIAL PASSPORTS AT THE REQUEST OF THE RECTOR
 AND SUPERIOR COUNCIL.)

13. WHEN QUEZADA WAS ARRESTED, THERE WAS AN AGEUS GROUP
 TOURING THE EAST COAST OF THE U.S. AT THE TIME, WHICH
 URGED U.S. STUDENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CALL-IN
 CAMPAIGN. THE SALVADORAN NEWSPAPER ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE
 AGEUS TRIP PRIOR TO DEPARTURE SAID THE (UNNAMED)
 SPEAKERS FROM AGEUS WOULD VISIT NEW YORK, WASHINGTON,
 BOSTON, CHICAGO, CHARLESTON AND ATLANTA, AMONG OTHERS.
 THE PURPOSE WAS TO EXPLAIN THE SALVADORAN UNIVERSITY
 STUDENT SITUATION, COLLECT FUNDS FOR AGEUS AND
 "IMPLEMENT SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
 TOWARDS THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE." LATER CALLERS FROM THE
 U.S., ASKING ABOUT REPORTS OF DEATH THREATS, IDENTIFIED
 THE AGEUS SPEAKER AS JULIO SOSA DIMAS, WHO SPOKE ABOUT
 UNIVERSITY REPRESSION AND SOUGHT DONATIONS.

14. THEMES: INADEQUATE BUDGET AND REPRESSION

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 THE TWO THEMES OF THE AGEUS SPEECHES DURING TOURS IN THE U.S. ARE REPORTEDLY THE INADEQUACY OF THE PRESENT GOES FUNDED UNIVERSITY BUDGET AND RIGHTWING/GOES REPRESSION OF UNIVERSITY POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. AGEUS EXPLAINS TO U.S. AUDIENCES THAT THE TWO ISSUES ARE PART AND PARCEL OF THE SAME PROBLEM, THE EXTREME ANTI-UNIVERSITY ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THE UNES PUBLICLY CRITICIZES THE GOES. THE FMLN HAS PREVIOUSLY SHOWN AN INTEREST IN EXPLOITING THE UNIVERSITY BUDGET ISSUE AS A PRESSURE TACTIC AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. DOCUMENTS CAPTURED WITH PRTC GUERRILLA LEADER NIDIA DIAZ IN APRIL 1985 INCLUDED THE "PLAN UNIVERSIDAD," WHICH FOCUSED ON THE NEED TO MOBILIZE THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY TO PUSH THE GOES FOR A LARGER BUDGET. IT INCLUDED PLANS TO INFORM THE REST OF THE WORLD OF UNIVERSITY COMPLAINTS. THIS LATEST AGEUS EFFORT TO GET OUTSIDE FUNDS MAY WELL BE AN OUTGROWTH OF THE COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE UNIVERSITY TO SECURE AN INCREASE IN ITS UNIVERSITY BUDGET. IF THE UNIVERSITY HAD HAD A LARGER BUDGET, IT WOULD HAVE FUNDED SUCH ACTIVITIES AS THE "NATIONAL DRIVE FOR PEACE" CONFERENCE, SOURCES SAY, AS PART OF ITS SELF-ASSIGNED INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP ROLE.

15. QUEZADA FREED, WARNS ACTIVISTS, AND DISAPPEARS
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 WHETHER AS A RESULT OF THE PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN OR FOR OTHER REASONS, THE NATIONAL POLICE RELEASED QUEZADA ON MONDAY, MARCH 24, FOUR DAYS AFTER HIS ARREST. QUEZADA APPARENTLY REPORTED TO UNES THAT THE QUESTIONING HAD AGAIN FOCUSED HEAVILY ON INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS ON THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE." ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY SOURCES, QUEZADA REPORTEDLY LEFT EL SALVADOR ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS RELEASE FOR THE UNITED STATES, WHERE HIS WIFE, ROBYN BRAVERMAN, STUDIES AT OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY. HE IS REPORTEDLY MAKING A NEW ROUND OF APPEARANCES, INCLUDING VISITS TO CONGRESSMEN IN WASHINGTON D.C. REPORTED REGULAR CONGRESSIONAL CONTACTS INCLUDE CONGRESSMEN KERRY, BARNES, CONYERS, AND DELLUMS. (NOTE: QUEZADA DID NOT REQUEST AND WAS NOT ISSUED A NEW VISA IN HIS OFFICIAL PASSPORT FOLLOWING HIS TRIP TO THE U.S. IN OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER. QUEZADA'S WIFE, ROBYN BRAVERMAN, HAS VISITED EL SALVADOR IN THE PAST, MOST RECENTLY IN AUGUST 1985, AS AN ORGANIZER OF A TRIP BY THE UNITED STATES STUDENT ASSOCIATION (USSA), AND IS THE "COORDINATOR OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF EL SALVADOR.")
 16. LIKELY TARGETS GO TO GROUND

 IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTED DEATH THREAT TO THE NEW DEAN OF HUMANITIES ON MARCH 20 AND THE ARREST OF QUEZADA ON THE SAME DAY, THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE

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AND DIALOGUE" -- THE SUPPOSED LIKELY FUTURE TARGETS -- WENT TO GROUND. THE WEEK FOLLOWING THE ARREST AND DEATH THREAT WAS EASTER WEEK, NORMALLY A TIME WHEN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY GOES TO THE BEACH. APPARENTLY, PEOPLE WHO CONSIDERED THEMSELVES TO BE AT RISK OF ARREST OR DISAPPEARANCE DECIDED TO CANCEL THEIR VACATION PLANS AND STAY AT HOME. THEY KEPT IN CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER BY TELEPHONE OVER THE WEEK-LONG SCHOOL HOLIDAY, ONE MEMBER OF THE NETWORK REPORTS, IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING ARRESTED OR "DISAPPEARED" FOR A WEEK WITHOUT ANYONE KNOWING BECAUSE OF HOLIDAY SCHEDULES. THE MEMBER SAYS THAT IF ANOTHER ARREST HAD OCCURRED, THE NETWORK WOULD HAVE MADE CALLS AND PLACED ADS AS THEY DID FOR QUEZADA.

17. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES CONTINUE, DESPITE REPORTED FEARS

THE FORMER MEMBERS OF THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND DIALOGUE" SAY THEY ARE LOOKING OVER THEIR SHOULDERS, BUT HAVE NOT STOPPED THEIR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. TWO MEMBERS SPOKE AT THE RECENT "NATIONAL FORUM" GIVEN BY THE LEFTIST NATIONAL UNION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (UNTS): HECTOR CANJURA AS HEAD OF THE UNIVERSITY FACULTY ASSOCIATION (ADUES), AND JOSE LUIS GALVEZ AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (REF E).

18. OUTREACH PROGRAMS CONTINUE

AT THE NATIONAL FORUM, GALVEZ APPROACHED POLOFF ABOUT A VISA, SAYING HE HAD BEEN DESIGNATED TO GO ON A SPEAKING TOUR OF THE U.S., DUE TO DEPART AS SOON AS THE FUNDING DETAILS WERE WORKED OUT. THE RECTOR OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY JUST COMPLETED A TRIP TO EUROPE LOOKING FOR FUNDS FOR "RECONSTRUCTION" OF THE UNIVERSITY. NEWSPAPER REPORTS SAY THAT DELEGATIONS FROM THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAVE "PLEGGED THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNIVERSITY" AND WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE FUNDS, OVER AND ABOVE THE FOUR MILLION EURODOLLARS PROVIDED LAST YEAR. IN EARLY MARCH ROBYN BRAVERMAN ANNOUNCED IN A NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW THAT SHE WOULD RETURN IN THREE MONTHS WITH A DELEGATION OF U.S. PROFESSORS, AS PART OF AN EXCHANGE PROGRAM BETWEEN STUDENTS AND FACULTY FROM U.S. UNIVERSITIES AND THE UNIVERSITY OF EL SALVADOR.

19. COMMENT

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ARRESTS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY THE POLICE ARE NOTHING NEW, ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN A LULL UP TO THE RECENT ARRESTS. FEW INFORMED OBSERVERS DOUBT THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE ARRESTS. HOWEVER, THE DEATH THREATS, IF TRUE, MARK A DISTURBING RECURRENCE OF ACTIVITIES THAT, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, HAVE NOT BEEN COMMON RECENTLY. WHILE THE REPORTS HAVE NOT BEEN INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRMED AND THE SOURCES ARE OF DOUBTFUL CREDIBILITY, THE UNIVERSITY

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LEADERSHIP HAS CERTAINLY RESPONDED AS IF THE THREATS WERE SERIOUS. AT THIS POINT, WE ARE UNABLE TO ASSESS WHETHER THE THREATS ARE REAL AND IF THEY COME FROM THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT. OTHER SOURCES RAISE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE VIOLENCE AND THREATS ON THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS ARE THE RESULT OF INTERNECINE STRUGGLES ON THE LEFT -- A MORE RADICAL GROUP IS REPORTEDLY TRYING TO FORCE THE RESIGNATION OF THE UNIVERSITY RECTOR AND HIS SUPPORTERS WHO ARE MERELY RADICAL. (THIS MAY EXPLAIN WHY RECTOR PARADA HAS REFUSED TO TAKE HIS COMPLAINTS TO THE POLICE.)

20. BUT MORE INTERESTING FOR THIS REPORT IS THE SCOPE OF THE UNIVERSITY ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES THAT HAS BEEN REVEALED, BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE EL SALVADOR. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, AND PERHAPS EVEN BEFORE, THERE HAS BEEN A CONCERTED EFFORT TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS WITH ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF EL SALVADOR THAT CAN PROVIDE MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT. SISTER UNIVERSITIES, COMMITTEES TO APPROACH THE UNITED NATIONS, EXCHANGE PROGRAMS AND SPEAKING TOURS BY STUDENT LEADERS ARE ALL GEARED TO ATTRACT SYMPATHETIC ATTENTION TO THE "REPRESSION" OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AND TO ENCOURAGE FUNDING FOR UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATIONS.

21. THE "SISTER UNIVERSITY" CONCEPT IS A CLONE OF EFFORTS BY ANOTHER GROUP, "NEW EL SALVADOR TODAY" (NEST), WHICH PROMOTES "SISTER CITY" RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN U.S. CITIES AND TOWNS IN NORTHERN EL SALVADOR. THE U.S. CITIES PROVIDE "HUMANITARIAN AID" TO SELECTED TOWNS IN NORTHERN CHALATENANGO, STRONGHOLD OF THE FPL. TWO CASES WE ARE AWARE OF ARE MADISON, WISCONSIN, PAIRED WITH ARCATAO (POPULATION: 500), AND BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, TWINNED WITH SAN ANTONIO LOS RANCHOS (POPULATION: A FEW DOZEN). "NEST" CLAIMS TO HAVE RAISED 140,000 DOLLARS FOR SALVADORAN TOWNS IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS, WITH NONE OF THE AID GOING THROUGH SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT CHANNELS. VISITING "NEST" REPRESENTATIVES TOLD POLOFF ON APRIL 30 THAT "NEST" WAS PLANNING TO INCREASE ITS PROJECTS IN EL SALVADOR IN THE COMING YEAR, BUT PROVIDED NO DETAILS.

22. RECEIVING FUNDS FROM OUTSIDE SOURCES COULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO THE STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS, WHO ARE UNLIKELY TO HAVE MANY LEGITIMATE FUNDING SOURCES EXCEPT STUDENT BODY CONTRIBUTIONS. THIS LACK OF MONEY HAS RESTRICTED ACTIVITIES IN THE PAST. FOR EXAMPLE, THE "NATIONAL DRIVE FOR PEACE" CONFERENCE REPORTEDLY ENDED UP BETWEEN 11,000-14,000 COLONES (2,200-2,800 DOLLARS) IN THE RED, VIRTUALLY KILLING THE BUDGET FOR AFTER-CONFERENCE PROPAGANDA. BECAUSE THE UNIVERSITY BUDGET HAD NOT BEEN INCREASED BY THE GOES, IT COULD NOT TAKE ON THE FUNDING OF PEACE CONFERENCE AS PART OF ITS SELF-ASSIGNED INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP ROLE.

23. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT FUTURE CONFERENCES WILL NEED NEW

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SOURCES OF FUNDS, AND DOLLARS SENT FROM THE U.S. WILL PAY THE BILLS NICELY. ANOTHER ADVANTAGE IS THAT FUNDS COMING IN FROM SISTER UNIVERSITIES ARE UNLIKELY TO HAVE ANY ACCOUNTING CONTROLS AND CAN EASILY BE DIVERTED TO OTHER PURPOSES, UNLIKE MONEY PROVIDED BY MORE PROFESSIONAL GRANT-MAKING ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH ARE UNLIKELY TO FUND ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS AGEUS.

24. IN ADDITION TO THE FUNDING, THE RELATIONSHIPS ESTABLISHED THROUGH TOURS, EXCHANGE PROGRAMS AND "SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES" CONTRIBUTE IN SOME UNQUANTIFIABLE WAY TO THE PROTECTION OF UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL. UNIVERSITY ACTIVISTS HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT THEY WOULD DISAPPEAR OR BE TORTURED AFTER CAPTURE IF NOT FOR THE LIFE-SAVING BARRAGE OF PUBLICITY FOLLOWING C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 08057 ARRESTS -- AND THEY CONVINCED THEIR U.S. AUDIENCES OF THIS. AND EVEN THOUGH TREATMENT AFTER ARREST MAY BE THE SAME BY SECURITY FORCES IN ALL CASES, THE KNOWLEDGE THAT AN ARREST CAN IMMEDIATELY BECOME A CAUSE CELEBRE CAN BE INHIBITING TO A DETECTIVE CONSIDERING AN ARREST ON OTHER-THAN ABSOLUTELY SOLID GROUNDS. (IT IS UNCLEAR HOW THE SOLIDARITY NETWORKS AFFORD PROTECTION IF THE SOURCE OF VIOLENCE IS THE LEFT, NOT THE RIGHT.)

25. WITHIN THE COUNTRY, UNIVERSITY ACTIVISTS ARE GEARING UP TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AS WELL. "THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNIVERSITY," STAFFED BY SOME OF THE VERY PEOPLE LIKELY TO BE PICKED UP BY THE POLICE, WILL UNDOUBTABLY BE ACTIVE. THEY HAVE ALREADY GIVEN ONE DEMONSTRATION OF THEIR ABILITY TO RESPOND TO A PERCEIVED THREAT, WITH THE ARREST OF QUEZADA. RADIO ANNOUNCEMENTS, NEWSPAPER ADS, TELEPHONE ALERTS, WERE ALL DONE QUICKLY AND PROFESSIONALLY.

26. BUT THE DIRECT BENEFITS OF ADDITIONAL FUNDS AND PROTECTION OF RADICAL POLITICAL ACTIVISTS MAY NOT BE THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT. RODOLFO ROSALES, VICE PRESIDENT OF AGEUS SAID TO POLOFF THAT "THE FUNDING IS NOT THE IMPORTANT THING, THAT IS SOMETHING THAT WILL ONLY DEVELOP OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT THE U.S. PEOPLE BE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNIVERSITY, AND THAT THEY UNDERSTAND THE TRUE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR AND CAN WORK TO CHANGE U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICIES." CLEARLY, THE OVERRIDING GOAL IS TO RAISE THE REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS ("CONCIENTIZACION", IN SPANISH) OF U.S. STUDENTS IN AN EFFORT TO MOBILIZE PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR, IN MUCH THE SAME WAY THE SISTER CITIES PROGRAMS AND THE SANCTUARY MOVEMENT INVOLVE OTHERWISE APOLITICAL GROUPS IN THE SUPPORT OF THE FMLN.

27. EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, SPEAKING TOURS BY "OPPRESSED STUDENTS," AND SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES SERVE TO REACH NEW AND SYMPATHETIC AUDIENCES FOR THE CAUSE. SANCTUARY FOR

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"OPPRESSED" SALVADORANS SERVES THE SAME FUNCTION IN HUNDREDS OF CHURCHES ACROSS MIDDLE AMERICA. A PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER WAS RECENTLY QUOTED IN THE U.S. PRESS AS SAYING THAT THE INDIVIDUALS GIVEN SANCTUARY IN HIS CHURCH HELP "TO SEE THE SITUATION NOT IN TERMS OF NUMBERS OR ABSTRACTIONS, BUT IN VERY PERSONAL TERMS. THE ANGUISH BECOMES VISIBLE ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS." THE MINISTER WENT ON TO NOTE HIS COMMITMENT TO SPREADING WORD ABOUT THE "REPRESSION" OCCURRING IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR STUDENTS ATTENDING TALKS BY SALVADORAN STUDENTS TOURING U.S. CAMPUSES. THE SALVADORANS PRESENT A CASE WHICH IS VERY APPEALING -- MANY OF OUR CALLERS SAY "QUEZADA (OR WHOEVER THE OBJECT OF THE CALL IS) CANNOT BE A TERRORIST. I MET HIM AND HE IS ONLY STRUGGLING FOR LEGITIMATE GOALS."

28. THIS "PERSONALIZATION" OF THE PROBLEM BY SEEING THE ANGUISH IS ALSO BROUGHT HOME BY U.S. VISITOR TOURS TO EL SALVADOR AND THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY. A CAREFULLY GUIDED TOUR OF THE CAMPUS, PAST THE BOMBED AND BURNED BUILDING OF AGEUS, A RELIC OF THE EARLY YEARS OF THE WAR, CANNOT HELP BUT SERVE TO RADICALIZE OR ACTIVATE AMERICAN VISITORS. PERSONAL CONTACT BRINGS HOME THE WAR. THE VISITS ARE A NEW PHENOMENON IN EL SALVADOR. WHILE IN THE PAST LEFTIST SYMPATHY WAS FROM AFAR, AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE INCREASINGLY PREVALENT IN ACTIVITIES IN EL SALVADOR, INCLUDING DEMONSTRATIONS AND OTHER EVENTS. THIS WILLINGNESS TO VISIT EL SALVADOR AND STAY FOR EXTENDED PERIODS APPEARS TO REFLECT INCREASED CONFIDENCE BY AMERICAN CITIZENS THAT THEY WILL NOT BE KILLED BY THE SAME DEATH SQUADS THAT THEY COMPLAIN STILL EXIST AND STILL THREATEN THE UNIVERSITY.

29. "CONCIENTIZACION" IS AT BEST A MEANS FOR SLOWLY BUILDING SUPPORT COUNTRY WIDE IN THE U.S., BUT RECENT PUBLIC COMMENTS FROM FMLN LEADERS POINT TO A CHANGE IN FMLN THINKING ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE WAR. REALIZING THAT AN FMLN VICTORY IS IMPOSSIBLE OVER THE SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM, THE FMLN IS CHANGING ITS TACTICS TO A
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"GUERRA PROLONGADA" (PROLONGED WAR) OF INDEFINITE DURATION IN ORDER TO DESTROY U.S. DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO EL SALVADOR. THE FMLN IS CLEARLY HOPING TO RE-CREATE AN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. TO HASTEN THE MOMENT WHEN U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE GOES DISAPPEARS. UNABLE TO DEFEAT THE ESAF, THE FMLN IS NOW HOPING TO OUT-WAIT THE "GRINGOS" BY PLAYING ON U.S. IMPATIENCE WITH LONG-TERM COMMITMENTS AND EMPHASIZING THE ALLEGED "REPRESSIVE" NATURE OF "THE U.S. PUPPET REGIME."

30. IT APPEARS THAT IN ALL THESE SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES, THE FPL IS THE DOMINANT INSURGENT GROUP. THE SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES OF THE UNIVERSITY ARE USUALLY LED BY MEMBERS OF THE FPL, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "SISTER

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UNIVERSITIES" FOLLOWS THE PATTERN OF ESTABLISHMENT OF "SISTER CITIES" IN FPL-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. WHEN MEMBERS OF INSURGENT ORGANIZATIONS ARE ARRESTED BY THE SECURITY FORCES, THE BIGGEST AND MOST IMMEDIATE RESPONSE FROM THE U.S. SEEMS TO BE FOR ARRESTS OF FPL MEMBERS OR LEADERS. THESE SOLIDARITY EFFORTS IN THE U.S. FIT IN WITH WHAT WE KNOW OF THE FPL EMPHASIS IN CHALATENANGO ON ORGANIZING THE POPULATION TO SUPPORT THE FPL, IN CONTRAST TO THE DIFFERENTLY STRUCTURED AND MORE ALOOF PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) IN NORTHERN MORAZAN. IT IS WORTH NOTING, IN THIS CONTEXT, THE NUMBERS OF FPL MEMBERS WHO RECEIVED THEIR ACADEMIC INSTRUCTION AT THE JESUIT-RUN UNIVERSIDAD DE CENTRO-AMERICA, WHOSE RECTOR -- DR. IGNACIO ELLACURIA -- HAS CLOSE AND CONTINUING PERSONAL TIES TO MUCH OF THE FPL LEADERSHIP. DR. ELLACURIA HIMSELF HAS FREQUENTLY SAID THAT HE BELIEVES IT IS A NECESSARY FUNCTION FOR UNIVERSITIES TO KINDLE A REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR IN THEIR STUDENTS, THAT THEY MAY SERVE AS THE VANGUARD FOR CHANGE IN A REACTIONARY SOCIETY.

31. IN THE FUTURE, AS MILITARY AND POLITICAL PRESSURES INCREASE ON THE VARIOUS COMPONENT ORGANIZATIONS OF THE FMLN, WE CAN EXPECT TO SEE MORE OF THESE ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES, NOT ONLY FROM THE FPL, BUT FROM OTHER INSURGENT GROUPS AS WELL, AS GROUPS RECOGNIZE THEIR USEFULNESS FOR GETTING NEW FUNDING AND APPLYING COUNTERVAILING PRESSURES AGAINST BOMBING OR ARRESTS.
END COMMENT.

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