



Washington, D.C. 20505

22 JUN 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Soviet and Latin American Communist
Involvement in El Salvador

This document has been declassified and can be used publicly. I would strongly recommend that. The attached version includes some minor editing so that it can be used in toto.

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William J. Casey

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MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: SOVIET AND LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN
EL SALVADOR'S LEFTIST INSURGENCY AND RELATED PROPAGANDA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since early 1980, the Soviet Union, assisted by Cuba, has been involved in a massive overt and covert disinformation campaign on El Salvador. The campaign is directed at Western Europe, Latin America, the U.S. and to a lesser extent Australia and New Zealand. Up until now Moscow's primary interest in conducting the campaign was to divert public (mainly European) attention from the invasion of Afghanistan.

Besides overt propaganda, the campaign is characterized by the use of forgeries, communist international fronts, communist parties, covert media placements and staging of demonstrations and protests.

Those involved in the campaign are the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the DRU/FDR (policy planning organization of the insurgents and their political front charged with international representation).

The campaign is also accompanied by diplomatic efforts and official propaganda. Diplomatic activity includes USSR and Cuban efforts in international organizations to gain acceptance of the DRU/FDR, and sponsoring travel by FDR representatives to the United States, Europe, and Canada. Official Soviet propaganda stresses the theme of U.S. intention to intervene militarily in El Salvador.

INTRODUCTION

Since early 1980, the Soviet Union has been involved in a massive covert disinformation campaign on the subject of U.S. policy towards El Salvador. The campaign is directed at Western Europe, Canada, and the U.S. and to a lesser extent Australia and New Zealand. In 1980 the Soviet Union also caused weapons and ammunition to be sent to the insurgents by the Bloc countries, the PLO and others. The Soviets are being helped by the Cubans in the disinformation campaign, but the campaign is ultimately a Soviet operation.

SOVIET OBJECTIVES

Although the USSR clearly wishes to see El Salvador ultimately become a Communist state, Moscow's primary interest in early 1980 in conducting the disinformation campaign appears to have been influenced substantially as an effort to divert public attention from the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The campaign was designed to criticize U.S. "intervention." Propaganda stressed "U.S. militarism," identified the U.S. with "atrocities" in El Salvador, and stressed throughout the campaign that the U.S. was poised to invade El Salvador.

In early 1980, instructions went out from Moscow advising there was a new propaganda policy. Instructions were to begin immediately stressing "militaristic" policies of the United States in the strongest terms.

By June 1980, the theme of U.S. militarism was particularly important for propaganda going to Western Europe, especially West Germany. Soviet instructions to their media offices said that both in the short and medium terms it is necessary both strategically and tactically to reduce world attention on Afghanistan. Instructions also said that on El Salvador the Soviets should proceed with a great deal of caution and delicacy.

BACKGROUND

The Soviets had been in touch with the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCES) for years. The Soviets were monitoring armed insurgent activity in Nicaragua during 1979; however, the Cubans were closest to the insurgents at that time.

In early 1980, Soviets, Cubans and Salvadoran insurgents (the PCES was represented) met on two occasions that were significant. As a result of the first meeting, the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR) was established. As a result of the second meeting, the United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) was established. The FDR is the political front organization which represents the insurgency abroad. The DRU is the central planning and tasking organization of the insurgents. The DRU plans both internal military and international political strategy.

In March 1980, a PCES representative travelled to Moscow in the company of other insurgent leaders. He met with CPSU officials. From there he travelled to a World Peace Council Conference where he met with an East German official who promised financial and other aid for the insurgents. From there, the PCES rep travelled to other East Bloc countries.

In April 1980, PCES representatives and leaders of other insurgent groups met at the Hungarian Embassy in Mexico City with representatives of the GDR, Bulgaria, Poland, Vietnam, Hungary, Cuba and the USSR, and made "certain requests," probably weapons.

In May 1980, "Aide et Amitie," an organization founded by the late Henri Curiel to provide support to national liberation movements, met in Paris to discuss requests for support and training of cadre for the insurgency in El Salvador. There are reasons to believe that Curiel had links with the Soviets and that the organization may ultimately be responsive to Soviet guidance. The Curiel groups, even at this early date, expected a major military offensive in November, 1980.

In June, Shafick Handal (head of the PCES) traveled to Moscow and met with the Deputy Chief of the Latin American section of the CPSU. The Soviets suggested that Handal travel to Vietnam to seek arms and offered to pay for Handal's trip. Handal during June obtained promises of weapons, training or financial assistance from Vietnam, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Ethiopia.

An examination of El Salvador related events during 1980 and early 1981 shows that the Soviets and their Cuban and Salvadoran clients engaged in covert activities to influence public opinion in Western Europe, Latin America, Canada, and the U.S. These activities included fabrication of forgeries, use of front groups, covert placement of media items, and staging of demonstrations and protests on El Salvador.

They also engaged in overt diplomatic activities to gain recognition for the insurgents in international organizations, and in overt propaganda.

STRATEGY

The Salvadoran DRU, central planning and tasking organization of the insurgents, was established in a meeting in Havana at which the Soviets were present in June 1980. The exact role of the Soviets at this meeting is unclear. The meeting established a strategy for its international political campaign. Elements of that strategy, taken from captured documents, are as follows:

1. Propaganda: Spokesmen should emphasize that the Salvadoran revolution represents the people. The people are fighting against oppression, for independence, and for freedom from outside intervention. The people oppose the imperialistic designs of the U.S. The U.S. seeks to intervene militarily in El Salvador to keep the Junta in power.
2. International Support: Representatives should gain recognition and support for the insurgents in the following organizations: Non-Aligned Movement, International Christian Democratic Movement (to undermine support for the Junta), European Parliament, Socialist International, Council of Europe, UN, OAS, and the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. They should also gain allies in: the German Christian Democratic Party, West German Parliament, Italian Christian Democratic Party, Italian Communist Party, the Italian Parliament, and the COPEI party in Venezuela.
3. U.S. Initiatives: Representatives should strengthen ties with the National Council of Churches and sectors of the labor movement. Representatives should make approaches to Senators and higher levels of the Congress to gain allies for the FDR.
4. Other Initiatives: Representatives should seek endorsement from the World Council of Churches, Amnesty International, and the International Tribune of the Peoples (Russell Commission).
5. Public Posture: From the outset, representatives should call for a dialogue to seek resolution of the conflict. "The policy of a dialogue is a tactical maneuver to broaden our alliances, while at the same time splitting up and isolating the enemy." Representatives should take up the banner of peace, and maintain that we seek only lasting peace and justice.
6. Humanitarian Organizations: The DRU should establish a front organization to funnel aid and money from European and Canadian Catholic, Protestant and Humanitarian organizations, like the Catholic Relief Services, International Committee for the Red Cross, and others.

A comparison of DRU strategy laid out in captured documents with actual events shows that the insurgents followed this strategy very closely.

CUBAN AND SOVIET STRATEGY

A Cuban official told a leader from a radical leftist party in Central America that the Soviet Union and Cuba were engaged in a world wide campaign to block U.S. aid to El Salvador. The campaign "will denounce U.S. assistance to and training of Salvadoran military" at U.S. bases in Panama. The campaign will also expose an allegedly U.S. sponsored plot, "discovered" by Cuban intelligence, to invade El Salvador using the armies of Honduras and Guatemala with assistance from Brazil, Argentina and Colombia. The campaign will characterize the U.S. plot as a last ditch effort by the U.S. President to turn the situation in El Salvador in favor of the JRG prior to the U.S. elections in November, 1980.

The themes from the Cuban official's statement were echoed in propaganda put out by the FDR (the political front of the insurgents which represents the insurgents abroad), the FDR's Solidarity Committee abroad, pro-Soviet communist parties, and official Soviet propaganda. Soviet media showed particular interest in printing and broadcasting alleged U.S. plotting to invade El Salvador.

COORDINATION

Captured DRU documents revealed that the DRU coordinates the FDR and the latter's international activities (in the U.S., Canada, and Europe) out of Mexico City. The Soviets in Mexico City have been in contact with the Salvadoran insurgents; however, logistics and international relations policy is all handled out of Havana. In fact, the Cuban press agency, Prensa Latina, handles international communications for the FDR and its representatives abroad.

THE COVERT CAMPAIGN

The following sections describe the covert activities conducted outside El Salvador.*

Forgeries and Documents of False Origin

1. Purported NSC Document Entitled "National Security Council Background Paper on Mexico." This document reportedly covered a range of alleged issues in U.S./Mexican relations, but the relevant thrust was that the U.S. was dissatisfied with Mexico's independent stance on Central America. On 26 August 1980, the Mexican press reported on the contents of the alleged NSC Report; however, there never was any such NSC Report. The U.S. Government has never been able to obtain a copy of the document from which the article was written.

2. Bogus Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America. This paper, dated November 6, 1980, was mailed with no return address to several executive departments in Washington and the Congress. It was also mailed to selected government officials in El Salvador. The paper charged that an energetic but mainly covert U.S. intervention took place to prevent the crisis in El Salvador from climaxing prior to the elections.

It has been determined that the document was never entered in the State Department's Dissent Channel (as the paper claimed); however, the provenance of the document still remains uncertain.

*Because these activities are designed to conceal the true identity of their originator, it is often difficult to attribute each activity. Therefore, some activities will appear below unattributed. Where there is clear evidence that a particular group was responsible for a particular deed, the responsibility is noted. Moreover, though there is evidence the campaign was carefully coordinated among the parties to it, one cannot assume that coordination was in such detail that every group had knowledge of every act of every other group.

The paper makes several false allegations that support Soviet CA goals in Central America. It alleges that the U.S. has been training (in 1980) Salvadorans at its bases in Panama, "in the largest training program it has ever sponsored for any Latin American country in a single year." The paper also claims that Argentina has become the second largest trainer of Salvadoran officers, and that Chile and Uruguay (two frequent victims of Soviet propaganda) are providing intelligence, logistics and urban and rural counterinsurgency training. The paper goes on to allege that the U.S. knows of a paramilitary strike force in Guatemala made up of members of Somoza's former National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries.

3. Bogus Press Release Purporting to be from the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Relations. This release was sent to a number of newspapers in Mexico City. It falsely announced that the Government of Mexico had decided to break diplomatic relations with the Government of El Salvador. A report out of San Salvador suggested that the Salvadoran insurgents hoped for a rupture in relations between Mexico and El Salvador.

4. Purported Identity Document Taken from a U.S. Soldier Killed in Action in El Salvador. In September 1980, during a secret meeting between members of the Salvadoran Communist Party and the Salvadoran Christian Democratic Party, the PCES representative alleged that there were U.S. troops fighting on Salvadoran soil, and produced a U.S. social security card allegedly taken from a dead soldier as "proof." Subsequent propaganda echoed this claim while charging that large numbers of U.S. troops were fighting in El Salvador.

Communist International Fronts

The Soviets employed their large front organizations in support of the campaign -

1. International Union of Students. This Soviet front group, based in Prague, funded a number of solidarity meetings on El Salvador. From early to mid-April a representative of IUS travelled throughout Central America to organize solidarity functions.

2. World Federation of Democratic Youth. This Soviet front group was planning an international conference on solidarity with El Salvador to take place in late July or early August 1980. It was planning to co-sponsor the conference with the International Union of Socialist Youth, the youth arm of the non-Communist Socialist International.

Though the conference was never held, it is noteworthy because it indicates that the front groups were already beginning to plan their support for the Salvadoran insurgency as early as March 1980.

3. World Peace Council. In December 1980, the Ecuadoran government gave its approval for a World Peace Council- sponsored "Solidarity on El Salvador" meeting. The Conference took place in April 1981. The Conference was to be jointly sponsored by the Latin American Association for Human Rights, the Socialist International, and the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties. The WPC was to play a discreet role, perhaps because it is so widely known as a Soviet front.

Communist Parties

Communist parties in Europe, Latin America, Canada, and Australia participated in the propaganda campaign and helped organize demonstrations. Their publications continuously printed articles on the situation in El Salvador, and contributed to the disinformation circulating about the country. For instance, the Communist party of Spain, in its magazine "Mundo Obrero Semanal," amid pictures of blood-covered bodies, accused the U.S. of surrounding El Salvador with the aid of Honduras and Guatemala, of sending tanks and helicopters "piloted by yankees," of invading El Salvador, and of murdering Archbishop Romero (a leftist Catholic bishop murdered early in 1980 in El Salvador).

Others examples are the Quebec Communist Party in Canada, which organized a demonstration and carried it out even in a driving rainstorm, and the Australian Socialist Party (pro-Soviet) which joined with Trotskyites and other leftists to stage a demonstration against U.S. intervention."

In Central America the Communist parties carried out clandestine activities at the behest of the DRU. They were involved in gun-running, and in planning acts of violence against U.S. Embassies. (This is treated in more detail in a separate section.) No information is available re any Soviet role in the DRU tasking.

Fidel Castro also attempted to have the Communist Parties in Central America stage uprisings in support of the Salvadoran insurgents. He tried to have them contribute personnel to fight in El Salvador. However, he was not successful.

Solidarity Committees

The DRU directed the establishment of Solidarity Committees throughout Europe, in Canada and even in Australia and New Zealand. Their purpose is to serve as outlets for information (propaganda), to serve as conduits for aid contributions, and to organize solidarity meetings and demonstrations in support of the insurgents.

In many cases the insurgents established these solidarity committees as part of a broader "Nicaragua-El Salvador Solidarity Committee" or "Guatemala-El Salvador Solidarity Committee." In other cases the committees stood alone as "El Salvador Solidarity Committees" or "El Salvador Support Committees."

These committees helped plan, in conjunction with Communist parties and local leftist groups, many of the demonstrations that took place throughout Europe, Latin America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These demonstrations were planned in anticipation of the "final offensive" to be conducted in El Salvador.

Nicaraguan television announced in March 1981, that the "Nicaraguan Solidarity Committees," through agreement with the World Peace Council, would join the fight against TNF modernization in Europe. TNF (Theater Nuclear Force) is an issue on which Soviets have been active in Europe, but the issue has not received any significant attention in Latin America. The World Peace Council; is the Soviet Front Organization that has been in the forefront of opposition to TNF in Europe.

Demonstrations and Protests

Throughout 1980 press reports, both Soviet inspired and others, on El Salvador in Europe, Latin America, Canada and the U.S., had generally portrayed the Salvadoran government as a "rightist, repressive regime" and created a poor public image. Missionaries and other clergy returning from El Salvador also brought with them stories of oppression. The murders of Archbishop Romero, and other American religious workers in El Salvador contributed to the perception that the Junta government was responsible for outrages against its own people.

Following the January 10 "final offensive" in El Salvador and the January 16 USG decision to resume military aid to El Salvador, demonstrations broke out in Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the U.S. Over 70 demonstrations have been recorded around the world since January 10. However, most of these demonstrations were not spontaneous; they had been planned in anticipation of the final offensive.

The pattern of dates and places of the demonstrations shows that they were the result of a well-coordinated world-wide effort. Their sponsorship, for the most part, by Communist parties and "El Salvador Solidarity Committees" also demonstrates that this was a coordinated effort.

However, other groups participated in the demonstrations as well, indicating that parties and solidarity committees were able to draw the participation of others interested in El Salvador. Some of the other groups were Trotskyite parties, leftist student groups, and some labor organizations. The largest demonstration thus far was held 31 January 1981 in Frankfurt, West Germany. Fifteen thousand people attended the demonstration and marched on the U.S. Consulate General. See Appendix for listing of many of the demonstrations.

Violence Against U.S. Persons and Installations

The DRU urged violence against U.S. persons and installations as a means to protest U.S. "interference" in El Salvador. Following are examples of violence that took place or had been planned.

1. 28 January. The U.S. Ambassador's residence in Tegucigalpa was under surveillance. A check of the license number of the car used by the surveillant revealed he was a member of the Honduran Communist Party.

2. 3 February. The U.S. Consulate in Milan received a threat to "take measures against you" unless the U.S. stopped giving arms to El Salvador. The caller identified himself as part of the "Movement of 28 February," a Salvadoran guerrilla organization.

3. 5 February. The U.S. Embassy in Stockholm received a letter warning that the Embassy would be bombed in two weeks unless the U.S. stopped economic aid to the Junta in El Salvador.

4. 5 February. The U.S. Consulate General in Amsterdam was attacked and physical damage was such that it closed for five days. This was the sixth security incident since mid-December in Amsterdam. No group claimed credit for the incident, but it probably was the work of groups protesting either the neutron bomb or El Salvador.

5. 23 February. The El Salvador Committee, which had been protesting U.S. aid to the Junta in El Salvador, threatened to assassinate the U.S. Ambassador in The Hague.

Covert Media Placements

Placing material supporting a viewpoint in local media has also been a feature of Soviet and Cuban propaganda activity in El Salvador. An example of covert placement of material is indicated by the activity of a Cuban Embassy official in one Latin American country, who obtained a copy of a color video tape made by a group called the "Association of Churches." It depicted atrocities allegedly committed by the Salvadoran Army. The official's intention in obtaining the tape was to show it to the President and Vice President of the country and place it on one of the television networks. The official stated that one of the most important things was to show the credits on the tape accurately so that Cuba's non-involvement is made clear.

THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT

International Organizations

Captured documents indicate that the DRU intended to seek recognition of the FDR in international organizations and obtain condemnation of alleged "U.S. interference" in El Salvador. The DRU also expected to obtain financial support as well as relief supplies from international humanitarian organizations. The organizations specifically targetted by the DRU for a diplomatic effort were: the UN, OAS, NAM, European Parliament, and Council of Europe. Some of the Humanitarian organizations selected for approach were: Catholic Relief Services and International Committee for the Red Cross. Captured documents also indicated that the DRU expected the Socialist International to be its ally in this effort.

Given the complexity of the Salvadoran situation and the strategy of the DRU, the congruence of positions taken by groups such as the Socialist International and other target organizations and the position of clearly identified Communist front groups should

not be construed necessarily as proof that all these opposition groups are tools or fronts for the Soviets. Nevertheless, a certain parallelism can be seen in some of the communiques and statements coming out of Socialist International meetings dealing with the Central America area. European Socialist and social democratic leaders involved in SI matters, such as Willy Brandt, have stated that the SI European parties usually defer to the views of their colleagues in the area concerned on matters concerning these areas; i.e., the views of the leaders of the socialist parties in San Salvador, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica have been reflected in SI Latin American communiques. Since these Latin American socialists, particularly the leaders of the Socialist party in El Salvador, are strongly influenced by DRU positions, there is significant convergence of Soviet/Cuban positions on the El Salvador situation and that of the SI.

There also are instances of apparent Soviet manipulation of SI statements. For example, a letter reportedly from the Hudson Institute to the U.S. State Department surfaced at a crucial time. This letter conveyed a list of persons whom, is alleged, that the U.S. Government might wish to call upon to help influence European parties and governments on the issue of El Salvador. One of the names in the letter was that of a delegate to the conference who was falsely identified as from the U.S. Government, if not the CIA, and thereby limited his effectiveness.

In this context it is interesting to note that a signed PRAVDA editorial on 1 October, named this person as a CIA agent and said that he had previously participated in the pacification program in Vietnam during the 1960's and was now "main" advisor to the Salvadoran Junta on agrarian reform. In reality this person worked for the AIFLD in El Salvador as an advisor on agrarian reform. PRAVDA'S accusation against him circulated widely among Congress delegates, further ruining his credibility.

Non-Aligned Movement Ministerial in New Delhi (9 to 12 February). At the NAM Ministerial, the Cubans had sought a strongly worded condemnation of the U.S. and the Salvadoran Junta. They arrived at the conference with a delegation of 30 people and coordinated activities closely with six Soviet diplomatic personnel who were also working the conference. The language of the final communique condemned interference in El Salvador from all external parties, and called upon governments to abstain from supplying arms and rendering other forms of military assistance.

Thus there was no direct condemnation of the U.S. on El Salvador. The final communique did call, however, for the withdrawal of "foreign troops" from Afghanistan, something which could not have pleased Moscow.

Human Rights Commission in Geneva (23 February). Cuban representatives introduced a resolution criticising the government of El Salvador and received help from the Soviets in lobbying the Western European delegations. They circulated supporting papers on letterhead of the FDR which referred to captured DRU documents and said that "falsification of documents is a daily duty of American intelligence agencies such as CIA." They also circulated the Hudson Institute Letter about the Socialist International meeting in Madrid, a Nicaraguan denial of Soviet arms shipments through its country, a New York Times article headlined "Solicitor General Call Two Americans Killed in El Salvador 'Under Cover,'" and an article from The Washington Post headlined "Vietnam from the Phoenix Program to El Salvador." Despite the heavy lobbying effort a far more moderate resolution introduced by the Netherlands delegation was adopted.

Other Organizations

The DRU had targetted other organizations to obtain either publicity, financial assistance or other forms of assistance. The insurgent's cause was taken up in the following organizations:

1. EC Commission - The EC proposed to send \$400,000 EUA in cash assistance and one million in food assistance to humanitarian organizations in El Salvador through the ICRC.
2. International Permanent Commission of the Peoples (Russell Commission). This group held a "trial" of the U.S. for "invading El Salvador, and of the government of El Salvador for "genocide."

3. European/Latin American Parliamentary Conference--Socialist delegates to this conference sought a condemnation of the Salvadoran Junta and U.S. support for it. However, a gentleman's agreement among European delegations dropped condemnation of the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in return for dropping condemnation of the U.S.'s support for the Salvadoran Junta.

Travels by FDR Representatives

Representatives of the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR), including Guillermo Ungo and Hector Oqueli, travelled extensively in Europe, Latin America, and Canada. Some FDR representatives visited Australia. The FDR also sent "permanent representatives" to live in many European capitals. The Cuban news service, Prensa Latina, provided communications facilities for the FDR representatives.

During their travels, FDR representatives met with heads of state, members of parliament, socialist leaders, religious leaders, and others to talk about El Salvador and secure political support. They also spoke at demonstrations and rallies. Public statements by these representatives generally followed the propaganda line established by the DRU and repeated in Soviet and world-wide Communist party propaganda. These ranged from statements that the U.S. is planning to intervene militarily in El Salvador, to claims that invasion was already a fact accompanied by great detail on the "thousands" of U.S. troops, tanks, helicopters supposedly in the country. FDR representatives always maintained that the insurgents were ready any time to "dialogue" with the Junta, and characterized the Junta as "rightist, military, repressive, and genocidal."

OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA

Soviet Media Commentary on El Salvador

Overt Moscow media comment on El Salvador has attempted to discredit U.S. policies by convincing international audiences that U.S. actions are motivated by narrow self-interest and constitute a threat to all of Central America. As in its comment on other Third World areas, Moscow accuses Washington of supporting tyranny and of attempting to suppress popular struggles for legitimate social, economic, and political goals. The Soviet Union is portrayed in this propaganda as a champion of people fighting for freedom and sovereignty. Moscow publicly acknowledges Soviet political and moral support of the Salvadoran insurgents but dismisses charges about Soviet arms supply as fabrications aimed at justifying U.S. interference in the country.

Moscow's propaganda line is conveyed to foreign audiences in more than 1,800 hours of broadcasts per week. Of these broadcasts, slightly over 108 hours per week are beamed to Latin America, primarily in Spanish and Portuguese. The major part of this broadcasting comes from the official Soviet radio, Radio Moscow. Some 14 hours per week are beamed to Latin America over the purportedly unofficial Radio Peace and Progress--a radio using Radio Moscow transmitters but claiming to speak for Soviet public opinion. In addition, the Moscow World Service, established in June 1978, is on the air around the clock in English to international audiences; some of its programs can be heard by English-speaking people in Latin America.

Soviet international broadcasts first stepped up attention to El Salvador in early January 1981, with commentary supporting Salvadoran guerrilla plans for a "final offensive" against the government. The volume of broadcast attention to the subject peaked in mid-January in reaction to the U.S. decision to resume military assistance to El Salvador. While the volume of comment then diminished, the tone became much more strident in early February in response to statements by U.S. officials linking the Soviet Union with international terrorism and charging the Soviets with helping to arm the Salvadoran guerrillas.

The preponderance of Soviet broadcast comment on El Salvador in the past three months has been directed at audiences in Latin America and West Europe. The targeting and content of this material suggest a dual purpose: to exploit Latin American opposition to increased U.S. involvement in the Salvadoran conflict, while isolating the United States from its NATO allies. The use of Soviet international broadcasts to serve both objectives was demonstrated in mid-February, when U.S. envoys were visiting Europe and Latin America to seek support for U.S. policy and to document Soviet and Cuban involvement in the Salvadoran conflict. During the week of the visits, 16-22 February, 99 percent of sampled Soviet broadcast comment on El Salvador was beamed to audiences in Latin America and West Europe.

While the volume of Soviet broadcast attention to El Salvador has been greater in recent weeks than the negligible attention Moscow usually gives to that country, it has not approached the magnitude of other propaganda campaigns. A week's sample of Soviet broadcasts in mid-January, at the height of Moscow radio attention to El Salvador, revealed that only 5.5 percent of Soviet commentary was devoted to the topic. By contrast, a comparable sampling of Soviet broadcasts during the anti-neutron bomb issue. In normal times Moscow radio seldom mentions El Salvador. Even at the time of the coup in El Salvador in October 1979, less than one percent of Moscow radio comment dealt with events in the country.

The principal themes of current Soviet media commentary on U.S. policy toward El Salvador are identified below in descending order of frequency:

1. *The United States is fomenting trouble in El Salvador by arming an unpopular regime and sending in agents disguised as technicians.* Moscow has attempted to refute recent statements by Secretary of State Haig that the United States is not going to expand the scope of its current military assistance to the Salvadoran regime. Soviet commentators have argued that Haig's assurances regarding the limited scale of U.S. involvement in El Salvador are unconvincing. Typical charges appeared in a Moscow radio broadcast in Spanish to Latin America on 2 March:

As reported by the American press itself, Washington is planning to allocate to the anti-people regime more than 200 million dollars--a fabulous sum for such a small country. . . . We do not even mention the fact that the number of Pentagon and CIA "advisers" in El Salvador is continually growing; they are not only acting as instructors to the punitive detachments of the junta but are taking a direct part in the operations aimed at smashing the patriots.

2. *U.S. charges of Soviet and Cuban involvement in the supply of arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas are contrived to justify U.S. military intervention in the conflict.* Soviet propagandists contend that U.S. statements about arms shipments from Moscow and Havana to the Salvadoran insurgents are a smokescreen that has failed to mask increased U.S. intervention. Thus Moscow radio told Spanish-speaking audiences in Latin America on 4 March:

The main claim of U.S. propaganda is that international conspirators and not the Salvadoran people are fighting the Salvadoran regime. However, despite all their efforts the North Americans have not managed to make anyone believe their lies.

3. *The United States is attempting to revive gunboat diplomacy in Central America and is contributing to the repression of the Salvadoran masses in order to protect U.S. interests in the region.* Moscow routinely plays on the theme that U.S. actions in El Salvador run counter to the legitimate interests of the Salvadoran people. The following example is drawn from a commentary by Latin American affairs commentator Leonid Levchenko, broadcast by Moscow radio on 4 March to a variety of audiences:

The U.S. Administration tries to shore up the reactionary regime in El Salvador and protect the order against which the people of that country have risen in rebellion. . . .

The people of El Salvador have risen against a system of oppression and repression. In these conditions the United States has made a choice in favor of a tyrannical regime responsible for the deaths of many thousands of people.

4. *Washington has failed in its efforts to gain the support of its European allies for U.S. initiatives in El Salvador. Seeking to undercut the U.S. position that external communist military involvement has become a crucial factor in the Salvadoran conflict, Moscow portrays West European governments as unconvinced by Washington's arguments and as persuaded, on the contrary, that U.S. interference is the troublemaking factor. The Levchenko commentary cited above also touched on this theme:*

The public of Western Europe and Latin America are showing concern over America's increasing military interference in El Salvador. The majority of America's allies have made it quite plain that they do not only refuse to give support to the American intervention in El Salvador, but treat very negatively Washington's attempt to keep the junta in power.

5. *U.S. interference in El Salvador is only part of a larger U.S. plan to put an end to revolutionary upheaval in Central America. This theme underscores Moscow's charge that Washington's support for the Salvadoran junta may presage more forceful U.S. action against other leftist movements in the region, particularly against the Sandinist-led government in Nicaragua. A commentary by Leonid Levchenko broadcast by Radio Moscow's World Service on 17 January said:*

According to the U.S. magazine NATION, a war in Central America would be a fine excuse for sending U.S. Marines and crushing revolutionary upheavals in that region once and for all. As it is preparing for a direct armed intervention in El Salvador, the United States would like at the same time to bring down the democratic system in Nicaragua and to help the dictatorial regimes in Guatemala and Honduras to make short work of the mounting opposition movements in those countries.

6. *U.S. charges against the Soviet Union to the contrary, it is the United States, not the Soviet Union, which uses terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy. Moscow commentators typically avoid coming to grips with the substance of the U.S. charges, dismissing them as attacks against the Soviet Union's policy of supporting "national liberation struggles." The following passage appeared in a Moscow radio commentary broadcast to Soviet domestic as well as worldwide foreign audiences on 3 February:*

The efforts of those Washington figures who are blithely hurling accusations at the wrong target and are at the same time giving moral, political, material, and military support to repressive and terrorist regimes look like hypocrisy and sanctimoniousness.

7. *The United States has prepared a number of military options, including direct U.S. armed intervention in El Salvador, to prevent a takeover of power by Salvadoran leftists.* Seeking to bolster the view that Washington is resolved to save the Salvadoran junta at any cost, Moscow has long contended that the United States is preparing to intervene in El Salvador, either directly or through the use of Latin American expeditionary forces. Moscow first warned of possible U.S. military involvement in El Salvador in mid-February 1980 following Washington's decision to provide military aid to the junta. These warnings peaked in December 1980 and January 1981 as the scale of the war between the junta and the leftists intensified. Recent Soviet media commentary on the Salvadoran conflict has included mention of a possible U.S. military role, but with less frequency than during the December-January period. Touching on this issue last December, a commentary by Leonid Levchenko broadcast over Radio Moscow's World Service on the 24th said:

The special presidential expert commission on El Salvador is known to have recommended direct military intervention in that country. This intervention is to be launched in different forms. The commission suggests, for example, sending into El Salvador troops of the member countries of the Organization of American States. But if this tactic cannot be applied this time because of the opposition by most members of the organization, then it is proposed to support the junta by sending in troops of the United States, Guatemala, and Honduras.

APPENDIXDemonstrations and Protests Against U.S. Policy in El Salvador

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>SPONSOR</u>
13 Jan.	Montreal	40	Comite Unitaire De Solidarite Pour Salvadore
16 Jan.	Bern	800	"Usual run of left-wing youth and third world interest groups, mostly Swiss but with a smattering of Latin American participants
16 Jan.	Panama City		Federation of Panamanian students, Revolution Student Front. There was also an attempt to firebomb the Embassy.
16 Jan.	Sydney	40	"Australian Socialist Workers Party" (Trotskyite) (NOTE: Some Chileans were to participate, according to permit, but were not seen at site.
16 Jan.	Managua	300	All U.S. Citizens, mainly Maryknollers, and others describing themselves as tourists.
17 Jan.	Georgetown	40	Peoples Progressive Party (Pro-Soviet
17 Jan.	Brussels	250	"A small local Trotskyite party" and other Leftist groups.
19 Jan.	Bilbao	40	Members of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Deusto
20 Jan.	Barcelona	50	Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, Movimiento Comunista de Catalunia
20 Jan.	Vancouver	75	El Salvador/Nicaragua Support Committee.
20 Jan.	Wellington	8	Nicaragua Solidarity Committee
20 Jan.	Quito	unk	Leftist students from Catholic University

20 Jan.	Rome	Unk	Committee of Solidarity with the Salvadoran People. Speakers included Brazilian labor leader and Communist "Lula" Uruguayan Ernesto Gogi, and others
22 Jan.	USUN	200	Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador
22 Jan.	Bilbao	3	Communist Party of Euskadi, Basque Regional Branch of Spanish Communist Party.
22 Jan.	Bogota	35	Colombian Communist Party (pro-Soviet)
22 Jan.	Managua	15	Group describing itself as American Professional people from New York and California
22 Jan.	San Jose	unk	Unidentified group, mainly foreigners. The Government of Costa Rica subsequently expelled 16 foreigners including 3 U.S. citizens for demonstrating illegally.
24 Jan.	Stuttgart	80	Amnesty International, Association of German Catholic Youth, Action Committee Stuttgart, Communist Party of Chile, Latin American Comm., Stuttgart, Movement of the Revolutionary Left, Socialist Party of Chile, Socialist Party CNR, Chile.
24 Jan.	Calgary	200	Committee of Friends of El Salvador New Democratic Party, the U.S. Association, the Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America
29 Jan.	Vienna	1,500	Anti-U.S. campaign spearheaded by Austrian Communist Party.
29 Jan.	Dusseldorf	100	Working Group for El Salvador, Neuss; Central America Committee, Wuppertal; Nicaragua Information Office, Wuppertal; Initiative Group for the Third World, Neuss; Working Group of BDKJ For The Politics of Development; ASTA (Combined German Student Committee); Professional Group of the PH, Neuss;

29 Jan.	Dusseldorf	100	(Cont'd.) Evangelical Student Committee, Dusseldorf; Working Group for Alternatives in Social Work; The Foreigners Group, Bilk; Action Movement for Housing, Dusseldorf; Independent Medical Group; Blker-Base Central Book Assn.; Saegewerke, E. V.; Children's Book Store in Wuppertal, Third World Section; Provincial Association for the North Rhine-Westphalia "The Green Ones" (An Environmentalist Political Party); Free International University.
31 Jan.	Mexico	10,000	(Not attributed by Embassy report)
31 Jan.	Frankfurt	15,000	Informationsstelle El Salvador. Marchers included several hundred masked leather- jacketed rowdies" and "a number of orderly Turks and Chileans." The keynote speaker was Karsten Voigt. There were acts of violence.
31 Jan,	Stockholm	400	Guatemala-El Salvador Committee. Vast majority of demonstrators were Latin Americans, from Latin American exile groups.
3 Feb.	Milan	--	Telephone threat against U.S. Consulate in Milan by group calling itself MOVEMENT OF 28 FEBRUARY. Caller said in Spanish that U.S. must cease giving arms to Salvadoran Junta or his organization "will take measures against you."
6 Feb.	Melbourne	unk	Nicaragua Reconstruction Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Spartacist League of Australia, International Socialists, Communist Party of Australia.
10 Feb.	San Jose	8	Partido Revolucionario de Los Trabajadores. Demonstration followed series of radio announcements claiming Feb. 10 would be day of world-wide demonstrations against El Salvador by the Fourth International "Partido Mundial De Los Trabajadores."
10 Feb.	Mexico	150	Partido Obrero Socialista, Liga Obrero Marxista, Partido Marxista De Mexico, Juventud Democratica Mexicana
10 Feb.	Lima	15	"Leftist and Communist Demonstrators, organized and led by Senator Cesar Napuri (POMR) and Diputado Enrique Fernandez (PST)

10 Feb.	Paris	500	Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.
10 Feb.	Hamburg	10	Unattributed
10 Feb.	Frankfurt	5	Protest letter delivered by reps of Internationaler Arbeitskreis Frankfurt.
10 Feb.	Lima	15	Persons representing various political parties, including the trotskyites.
11 Feb.	Quebec	8	Communist Party - These demonstrators showed up during a driving rain storm for demonstration.
13 Feb.	Perth	6	Unattributed (Perth 0090)
14 Feb.	Amsterdam	2,500	El Salvador Committee, together with the support of other local anti-American protest groups and United Uruguayan Group In Solidarity With El Salvador. International Communist League, Convencion Nacional de Trabajadores del Uruguay, IKB - Grupo Combate.
17 Feb.	Dublin	35	El Salvador Support Committee. (Note: the Embassy in Dublin reported this was the Fifth demonstration by this group.)
20 Feb.	Oslo	200	Unattributed.
25 Feb.	Paris	1,000	Comite Soutien au Peuple du Salvador, Comite du Nicaragua, Comite du Guatemala. (all these groups were organized by the Organisme 4E Internationale, a Trotskyist group).
26 Feb.	Stuttgart	15	Same groups as Jan 24 demonstration.
26 Feb.	Rome	35	Partito Democratico Unione Proletario Movimento Laboratori Per Il Socialismo. Among the group were six parliamentary reps of the PDUP.
27 Feb.	Edinburgh	75	Latin American Solidarity Campaign Of Edinburgh. Some damage was done to the Consulate door by battering it.
28 Feb.	Vancouver	500	El Salvador/Nicaragua Committee.

28 Feb.	Quebec	500	Quebec/El Salvador (NFI)
6 Mar.	Adelaide	30	Socialist Party of Australia, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party of Australia.
3 Mar.	Copenhagen	1,500	"Several Danish political organizations from Center-left of Communist" Chile-Nicaragua Allende-Uruguay Committee.
10 Mar.	Toronto	200	El Salvador Support Committee.