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Panamanian Committee for Human Rights

607 G STREET SOUTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024
(202) 554-4747

SUMMARY OF P. L. O. ACTIVITIES IN PANAMA

- Jan. 4
1974 The Times of London reported that Libya has given £ 1,500,000 to Panama. (1,500,000 Pounds Sterling)
- Apr. 16
1977 The Star & Herald (Panama) reported that a "Mutual cooperation pact was signed in Tripoli, Libya. The visit of Panama's Omar Torrijos and a delegation of 49 to Libya's El Khadafy was reportedly arranged by Torrijos' cousin, Carlos Perez Herrera.
- Apr. 25
1977 Newsweek reported "The two countries reached some substantial agreements on military and economic cooperation" and Torrijos "had given Libya a potential foothold in the Americas in exchange for material support by Kaddafi in the struggle over the Canal."
- Apr. 21
1977 The Star & Herald reprinted the mutual cooperation agreement articles I through VI and also noted, "Panama offered Libya one hectare of land, without cost, in the Colon Free Zone to be used for commercial, industrial, financial and other international activities. "Also offered Libya were Panama's banking facilities, including the possibility of establishing a Libya bank here."
- Apr. 16
1977 Marked the beginning of a series of anti-semitic handbills placed in synagogues, business firms and in post office boxes of selected Panamanians.
- Apr. 28
1977 Carlos Perez Herrera member of Panama's Legislative Commission, signed a secret official document certifying that a Yugoslav firm that had built a dam in Panama "never had any ties of any kind with Jewish or Zionist firms nor persons, nor has it had transactions in which there were any of those Zionist financial agencies."
Disclosure of this statement, complete with the seal of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Panama, exposed the implications of the Libya-Panama pact and the subsequent anti-semitic attacks.
- June
1977 Matutino (Panama) publishes an open letter from Carlos Perez Herrera attempting to explain the stolen secret affidavit that for security reasons Arab countries do not officially permit participation in contracts by firms with Zionist participation.
- June 5
1977 Dominical of Star & Herald publishes an open reply by A. Mizrahi accusing Perez Herrera of anti-semitism and "selling out his country for a handful of petro dollars."
- May 1
1977 Panama Archbishop McGrath condemns from the pulpit the "thousands of fly-sheets insulting our Jewish Panamanian brothers and expressing false accusations, inciting demonstrations of hate....."
- May 2
1977 Senator Richard Stone, in a letter to Secretary Vance raises questions regarding the offer to Libya of land in the Colon Free Zone.

- June 8, 1977 Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal asks Secretary Vance to advise him on State Department findings of the anti-semitic outbreaks in Panama and suggests such trends would bode poorly for Panamanian respect for American principles.
- June 16 1977 Jack Anderson Column reports on the Panama-Libya pact and suggests that the \$100 million arab bank might (according to government analysts) be used "to launder the money he (Khadafi) hands out to terrorist groups."
- Apr 21 1978 N.B.C. TV- The Today Show transcript reads:
Fred Francis:-....."The treaties (Canal) may not have been ratified had the Senate known of Torrijos' plan to sabotage the Canal. That plan was worked out with Libya's marxist leader Col. Muammar Quadaf, and called for Panamanian forces inside the Canal Zone ready to act if the treaties had been rejected."
- Jan. 17 1979 Star & Herald "The Republic of Panama and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahirijah yesterday exchanged the instrument of ratification of the cultural agreement, the economic cooperation and the commercial exchange agreement signed April 16, 1977 in Tripoli." (The pact had been rubber stamped by the National Assembly without publicity on Oct. 26, 1978.
- May 7, 1979 Critica (Panama) reports Libyans to found new bank in Panama and opens offices in Colon Free Zone,
- July 23 1979 Time "Plane loads of weapons have been successfully flown to Central America from Libya and Algeria.
- Sept 7 1979 Matutino (Panama)..Panama President Royo and P.L.O. leader Arafat meet in Havana, pledge mutual support and plan for Arafat's visit to Panama.
- Sept 16 1979 Miami Herald reports that Panama Jewish community leaders fear "Panama is getting ready to recognize P.L.O. with the added implication Arafat would be allowed to open an office here."
- Sept. 1979 Printed leaflets bearing Arafat photo, expressing Panama solidarity with P.L.O. dropped on Panama synagogues by a light plane (only possible with official sanction.)
- Oct 1979 P.L.O. leaflets, meetings and propaganda mount. An "unofficial" P.L.O. office opens on Via Argentina. Reports received of bribing of radio outlets and press.
- Nov 29 1979 "YA" (Panama) Carlos Perez Herrera name appears as the Secretary General of the "Panamanian-Arab League of Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the P.L.O."
- Nov 1979 Jewish community of Panama reprints and distributes a (Anti-Defamation League publication) pamphlet "P.L.O. Its Goals and Methods".
- Dec. 5 1979 Transcript of Radio interview : Ricardo Arias Calderon, leader of the Christian Democrat Party discusses the schisms, antagonisms and dangers to Panama caused by the P.L.O. activities in Panama.

In his testimony on El Salvador before Congress of February 25, 1981, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Bushnell stated "There has been a massive influx of arms from Soviet and other Communist sources. Radical Arab states, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) have furnished funds, arms and training."

In his search for arms and for funds to support the Communist effort in El Salvador, Handal in 1980 visited Cuba, Russia, Vietnam, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Ethiopia. As noted, he is at present in Beirut.

I have also enclosed the State Department's report on "Communist Interference in El Salvador" which I think will also be of interest to you.

I would welcome any comments you may have.

Sincerely,

Elliott Abrams

Enclosures:
as stated.

Black Market in Arms: Strictly Cash and Carry

NY 3/21/82
By PHILIP TAUBMAN

WASHINGTON
SALVADORAN guerrillas, denying Reagan Administration charges that they receive most of their military equipment from Cuba and Nicaragua, often say that they purchase supplies on the black market. "We pay cash for weapons and ammunition in Europe, the Middle East and North America, just like everyone else," said Rubén Zamora, a rebel leader, in Mexico City recently. "The problem isn't buying the arms, it's getting them transported to El Salvador."

Last week, Costa Rican authorities seized an arms cache worth \$400,000 which they said could have been destined for Salvadoran rebels. The weapons included machine guns, mortars, Belgian-made FAL rifles, American-made M-16's, TNT and electronic detonators.

While it is impossible to gauge the extent of the guerrillas' reliance on the black market, there is little question that illegal sources could easily meet their needs. According to Federal law enforcement officials, the illicit trade in arms is a multibillion-dollar-a-year business. All a prospective buyer needs is cash. No questions are asked about the intended destination or use of the weapons.

Britain, the United States, South Korea and Mexico are among the centers for the trade. In Mexico City, dealers and purchasers told of an Israeli dealer who conducts business in a small office near the National Archeological Museum. They said he specializes in small arms and am-

munition — high-powered rifles, grenades and Israeli Uzi machine guns, one of the world's most popular weapons. Mexican authorities said it was not clear whether he had any relationship with the Israeli Government.

In Britain, a number of legitimate arms dealers stockpile huge inventories of weapons. Among them is Interarms Corporation, probably the largest private arms seller in the world. Foreign governments looking to equip a small army can find much of what they need at Interarms, according to several arms purchasers who have shopped there. So can illegitimate buyers. It is relatively easy for them to obtain fraudulent documentation listing them as representatives of a legitimate government.

There is an even more sophisticated black market for bigger military equipment. According to United States authorities, South Korea has become a center for manufacturing American-designed military equipment. One

Korean company, former employees said, is building for Libya American-style military jeeps that Washington refused to approve for export to Libya. Israel, which maintains an aggressive arms sales policy, also manufactures American-style weapons for export. The purchasers are generally foreign governments, but, as with the Uzis, the weapons sometimes wind up in other hands.

In the United States, New York City and Miami are the black market capitals. Among arms dealers, New York is regarded as a place to make deals, though the weapons themselves are stockpiled elsewhere. Miami has developed into a major black market center, Federal officials say, because of its proximity to Central America and because billions of dollars in drug money — often used to buy arms — flow into Miami. Nicaraguan officials said that many of the weapons they used to overthrow Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1979 were purchased in Miami and shipped to Nicaragua through Panama and Costa Rica.

Wilson Eluded the System

It is often difficult to determine where a legitimate deal ends and an illegal one begins. It is perfectly legal in the United States and most other nations to sell weapons. The only Federal restrictions involve shipment and the weapons' intended use. The State Department must approve foreign sales and the Customs Service monitors the shipments. But according to Federal officials, the system frequently breaks down. The Customs Service lacks the manpower to open every piece of cargo and the State Department approval system is based on trust. There is little anyone can do if a buyer misrepresents a shipment's final destination or simply labels arms as something else.

The system's flaws were demonstrated in 1977 when, according to Justice Department officials, Edwin P. Wilson illegally shipped 20 tons of plastic explosives from Houston to Libya by marking the goods as oil drilling fluid. Mr. Wilson and another former employee of the Central Intelligence Agency, Frank E. Terpil, were indicted in 1980. "The problem in the United States is not acquisition of arms," said E. Lawrence Barcella Jr., the chief prosecutor in the Wilson case, "The problem is illegal diversion. Once the weapons leave the country, the Government loses control. They can end up anywhere."

The international demand for arms has led to the development of underground transportation networks. Mexican authorities and American intelligence officials said they knew of several networks for getting arms to Central America. They said one is run by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which keeps agents at strategic transshipment points such as London, Lisbon and Mexico City to provide the official contacts and paperwork necessary to guide weapons through. (A Lebanese leftist newspaper reported last week that a Salvadoran guerrilla leader secretly visited the P.L.O. leader, Yasir Arafat.)

Illegal arms purchasers pay a premium. Justice Department officials said Mr. Terpil negotiated a multimillion dollar deal to sell arms to Idi Amin in the late 1970's and charged the Ugandan dictator at least three times the normal purchase price. "When you're selling to Libya or to a guerrilla force, you don't bargain," a former weapon-

F: PLO-ELSALVADOR

NYT 3/18/82

A Guerrilla Leader Of Salvador Rebels Said to Visit P.L.O.

BEIRUT, March 17 — One of the leaders of the rebel forces in El Salvador has paid a secret visit to Lebanon and met with Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, according to the Lebanese leftist daily *As Safir*.

The newspaper carried an interview with the Salvadoran commander, who was identified only as Lieut. Col. Martell. The newspaper quoted him as declaring that his rebel group, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, wants the United States either to intervene directly in El Salvador or act as a mediator between the rebels and the Government of President José Napoleón Duarte.

"We are prepared for a dialogue as much as we are prepared to fight," Colonel Martell declared, the newspaper reported.

He said that Israel currently maintains a considerable presence in El Salvador, and said the rebels had destroyed four Israeli aircraft at the airport in San Salvador.

As *Safir* said the Salvadoran spent 10 days with Palestinian guerrillas, and inspected their positions in the field. It said he also met with Khalil al-Wazir, better known by his code name of Abu Jihad, the top commander of Palestinian guerrilla forces here.

F:

Leftist Says Salvadoran Troops Are Being Trained by the Israelis

W. P. I. OCT 10 1979
HAVANA, Oct. 9 (Reuters) — A Communist leader from El Salvador says Israel is training troops from the Central American country in counterinsurgency.

Schaffic Jorge Handal, general secretary of the El Salvador Communist Party, said army officers from his country had gone to Israel for training, and Israeli military advisers had arrived in El Salvador.

He also said at a news conference that former members of the National Guard of the ousted Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, were training in El Salvador to attack Nicaragua.

F. 20 -
El Salvador

September 21, 1979

Brothers and Sisters:

We, the members of the Bloc of Salvadoreans in Washington in Solidarity with the Popular Revolutionary Bloc of El Salvador, bring you a cordial and militant salute from the courageous people organized in El Salvador. We have decided to participate in this conference because our people, like the Palestinians, are united in the struggle to achieve a just and egalitarian world. WE CONFRONT THE SAME ENEMY. Our country like Palestine is at war. We demand more attention from the media. We want the world to be informed.

In these moments the crisis of Imperialism is felt in all corners of the world in which it is still able to exploit and dominate the people. This is possible only through the expenditure of great sums of money which fuel the inflation that is felt by the people living in the United States. It is reflected in the high unemployment figures which reach monstrous proportions among the masses of Black, Latino, Puerto Rican, American Indian, Oriental and Mexican nationalities; in the evictions of poor and low-income people from their homes; racist attacks; hundreds of political prisoners; the nazi-like dragnets of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, better known as "La Migra"; and in cutbacks in social services and education. Here in Washington, D.C. the Senate is refusing to authorize the release of the already approved funds for the construction of the Mount Vernon Campus of U.D.C. (the University of the District of Columbia). But all of us know that the same Senate voted this week to increase the military budget by 5%. Imperialism produces wars to cover the inherent crisis and tries to deceive the masses with unreal enemies or behind the cry of the defense of a false democracy.

An example of Imperialism's domination is what is happening in Central America to the people of El Salvador who are withstanding all kinds of repression and massacres by a Fascistoid military dictatorship, by this we mean a military dictatorship that tries to create a social base inspired by a fascist methodology. We accuse U.S. Imperialism of creating, maintaining and nourishing the military forces of El Salvador which carry out such a strategy.

It is through its faithful servants like Israel that the imperialists are able to establish a constant flow of all kinds of weaponry, such as tanks, planes, sophisticated combat jets, armed helicopters, automatic weapons, and also provide military training on counter-insurgency methods including torture. This was happening at the time in which the U.S. was implementing its phony human rights campaign. The hypocrisy of this campaign was recently exposed when the U.S. Government announced that it will resume military aid to the governments

of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. They are the clients in Central America of the Zionist world-wide attack against peoples' liberation movements and progressive governments. In Africa they are actively engaged in collaborating with the racist regimes in Southern Africa and helping King Hassan of Morocco against the Polisario guerillas.

Zionist intervention in El Salvador as well as in Guatemala, and to a lesser degree in Honduras, does not stop here. They are also active in the training of professionals in agricultural, industrial and socio-political aspects. In the agricultural area they have made more efficient the traditional export harvests like cotton, sugar cane and coffee that bring absolutely no benefit to our people, but rather make the already enormously rich large land-owners even richer. These land-owners at the same time own the banks, industries and commerce that generate for the great majority of our people misery, hunger, malnutrition and forced migration, mainly to the U.S. to become so-called "illegal aliens". They are in reality displaced people, as are the Palestinians. The under-utilization of the work force is evidenced by the harvests which provide people with jobs for only three months of the year. Zionist capitalists like DeSola, Goldtree, Liebes, Gutfreund and others, are favored by this kind of "development aid" and in turn they heavily contribute to Israel's war chest.

In the socio-political aspect the intervention takes the form of aid to develop cooperatives which aim to create a climate of understanding between the workers and their exploiters. They create the false illusion among the workers that the machinery, the land and the production is their property and since that basis for distribution of the profits is in direct relation with the initial investment of the member, they should be content and satisfied with the meager salaries they get. Examples of these are the mass transportation cooperatives in the cities where they successfully wiped out the bus drivers' union through making them partners, that is, cooperative members. Moreover, the cooperatives in the countryside serve as support for the paramilitary band of assassins and spies known as O. R. D. E. N, the Nationalist Democratic Organization whose initials in Spanish spell the word that means "order". This organization was founded by General Alberto Medrano after he made a training trip to Israel. He is an ex-chief of the bloody National Guard of El Salvador and an ex-CIA agent by his own admission. Because of its peasant composition this organization is especially essential to the Army. The knowledge of rural paths and roads in the countryside is vital and facilitates the persecution and repression of the peasantry. ORDEN is also responsible for the control of the population's daily activity. It prevents the peasants who are organized from living with their families because of the threats of being ambushed or denounced; they also carry out torture, selective assassinations, killing of livestock and burning of small farms and of the peasants' humble huts. The occurrence of these attacks is growing. And so are the people's answers.

Our situation in what refers to the political prisoners is very much like that of Palestine's freedom fighters. There are prisoners that have been jailed since 1968; now the dictatorship does not take prisoners, it only assassinates or causes people to disappear.

Based on what we have exposed we ask this workshop to resolve:

- a) A condemnation of the Zionist state of Israel because of its participation in maintaining the deplorable conditions under which the peoples of Palestine, El Salvador and Southern Africa are forced to live;
- b) The immediate halt to the repression of our peoples in the forms of assassinations, disappearances, massacres and political imprisonments;
- c) Concrete solidarity with the Salvadorean people, organized under the leadership of the B.P.R. expressed in the dissemination of denouncements and with economic contributions directed to

B.S.W.B.P.R.
P.O. Box 884
Adelphi, MD 20783

Consequently we take on the commitment to support the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people as our people confront the fascistoid aggression of Imperialism and its faithful puppets.

In the face of fascistoid aggression, the organized combat of the people is the only answer.

The Bloc of Salvadoreans in Washington
in Solidarity with the Revolutionary Popular Bloc

Lenny

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE -designate
WASHINGTON

April 6, 1981

*F. O. PLO - Latin
Amer.*

Mr. Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director
American Israel Public Affairs Committee
444 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Suite 412
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Mr. Dine:

On March 27 I had occasion to make some remarks before an ADL group visiting the State Department and spoke to them about the involvement of the PLO in El Salvador. I thought you might be interested in this subject.

Enclosed is a zerox of several pages from the July 1980 issue of the PLO's information bulletin Palestine. It notes that the special guest in Managua to honor the first anniversary of the Sandinista takeover was Yasir Arafat. The text notes "There is no doubt that there is a common front against the common enemy . . ." The text is filled with references to the relationship of events in the Caribbean to the Palestinian struggle."

The leader of the El Salvador Communist Party is Shafik Handal. Handal's parents are Palestinian emigres to El Salvador. Handal identifies himself as a Palestinian. Beginning March 18, 1981, Handal has been visiting Beirut where he quickly met with Yasir Arafat and Nayif Hawatmah, Secretary-General of the DFPLP, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the official host for Handal's visit. He also met with members of the PFLP, George Habbash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. On public occasions, Handal has stressed the close relations between "liberation movements" in Latin America and the Palestinians. In interviews, he has noted his family's Palestinian origin and has claimed that others in El Salvador's 2,000-member Palestinian community were also in the guerrilla forces.

International Report- PLO Activities in Latin America- June 1980

Cuba and the PLO

The PLO first surfaced in Latin America in 1966. Havana, Cuba was the site of the First Conference of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAL). At that conference, Fidel Castro and the PLO clashed on ideological lines, but they soon worked out their differences and began a close cooperation effort which continues to this day.

By 1968, Cuban intelligence and military personnel were assisting the PLO on training missions in North Africa and Iraq. In 1969, Cuban national liberation officers were in joint training with PLO officers in the USSR, and in June of that year, Cuban members of the training class went to Egypt where they conducted a joint raid into the Israeli occupied Sinai desert, as subsequently reported by Paris newspaper Le Monde.

Fidel Castro met with PLO leaders in Algeria in May 1972 to discuss stepped-up coordination of activities. As a result of the meeting in Algeria the PLO undertook to augment Cuban training of Latin American guerrillas with specialized instructions in Lebanon, South Yemen and Libya. To further strengthen the PLO-Cuban connection, the PLO opened its first Latin American office in Cuba on December 18, 1974.

- report claims that Guyana and Grenada are aligned with Cuban policy on the Middle East- Call ADL.

-Latin America Weekly Report Feb. 22, 1980

• Cuba broke diplomatic relations with Israel in the mid-1970's

Latin America Weekly Report- Aug 7th, 1981

The decision to hold the UN annual seminar on the rights of the Palestinian people in Havana this year is a minor setback for the PLO in its campaign for recognition in Latin America. The UN committee, which is chaired by Cuba, had hoped to find a venue in a more neutral country, which would have given more political weight to the event. But both Panama and Guyana declined to host the Meeting, ostensibly because of problems with dates.

-Support in the Open and Clandestine Struggle

Moscow and International Terrorism of Late Links between Latin America and the Near East

by Rolf Tophoven 24 November 1981

Paraphrased- The eight hundred rebels who launched an attack against the Grand Mosque in Mecca in November 1978 had been trained for terror assignment by Cuban and GDR instructors in a camp near Lahej in South Yemen, kept under strict Soviet control.

*A CIA report of 23 February 1981 dealt with the activities of the PLO on the Latin American continent, where the Arafat organization is backed by the Cuban secret service, DGI (Direction General de Inteligencia)/

*Behind Castro's agents, in turn, stands the KGB. The head of the DGI in Havana is a high-ranking officer of the Soviet secret service.

*In addition, Cuba serves as a transit point for arms shipment to the Near East

JM 1982

F: PLO - Nicaragua

NEWS

from

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

ONE PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

679-0600

Refer to: .
Mr. Elan Steinberg

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
May 17, 1982

PLO GIVES AIRCRAFT TO NICARAGUA

NEW YORK, MAY 17, 1982

As a gift from the PLO, Nicaragua is receiving a Boeing 707 freight aircraft, according to a broadcast monitored by sources of the World Jewish Congress.

The report of the gift was carried in a broadcast earlier this week by Managua radio. It was contained in the lengthy state-of-the-nation address relayed by the radio of R. Cordova Rivas, a member of the Nicaraguan junta.

In his remarks, Rivas said that the plane "will arrive here soon."

In a separate development, the PLO radio from Beirut, "The Voice of Palestine", reported that Yasir Arafat will pay an official visit to India on 21 May.

FIDEL CASTRO ATTEMPTS TO COMFORT DEFEATED PLO

The following article is published in the September 6 edition of the Trotskyist magazine, INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS. Few, who are familiar with Castro's obsessions, will be surprised by his accusation that the U.S.A. inspired genocide in Lebanon:

Fidel Castro hails PLO fighters

Letter to Yassir Arafat

[The following letter from Fidel Castro to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yassir Arafat was published on the front page of the August 24 Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*]

Dear Comrade Arafat:

Once more the Palestinian people have demonstrated their integrity and valor. The Palestinian combatants supported by the Lebanese patriots were besieged by a technologically and numerically superior enemy endowed with the most sophisticated war-material, an enemy armed and advised by the United States of America and accustomed to explosively unleashing the blitzkrieg. But the Palestinian people were able to resist with unequalled dignity, and to hold back the machinery of destruction and death marshaled by the Zionists. From the ruins of West Beirut, under cross-fire from Israeli naval bombardment, artillery, and warplanes, the military response of the Palestinian fighters, supported by the Lebanese patriots, never let up for an instant.

With astonishment and admiration, the whole world watched the courageous example provided by the Palestinian people in defense of their inalienable rights, under the sure guidance of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and with the invaluable inspiration of your presence in the front line of battle.

In taking the road of exile, the Palestinian troops did so singing their anthems and with their flags flying, their weapons and heads held high.

Such an army has not been defeated.

Such an army has added new glory to the glory it already has.

The blood that has been spilled in Lebanon must now be added to the record of the present U.S. administration. That administration, which supported the Zionists while making huge political efforts to achieve negotiated solutions favorable to its interests and those of the

Tel Aviv regime, can undoubtedly be viewed as the inspirer of this genocide, which it knew about well in advance and to which it gave its full support and consent.

A new stage has opened before the Palestinian people and their leaders, and it will be no less complex and difficult than those stages already completed in your long struggle to realize your trampled-upon rights.

Now it will be more necessary than ever to call upon the reserves of energy and capacity for mobilization, organization, and discipline of the leading cadres, of the fighters, and of the Palestinian people as a whole. This will be necessary in order to reorganize the struggle in whatever forms it may take, and to carry out the battle with the same heroism shown in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon.

It will be more necessary than ever that there be the closest unity in the ranks of the PLO and among the combatants of the various organizations that make it up. This unity will be a decisive factor in eliminating any manifestation of demoralization and in preparing for the new battles that lie ahead.

Only through this struggle, which we know will be long and filled with difficulties, can the fraternal Palestinian people achieve their national aspirations and establish an independent Palestinian state, which is the only way to finally resolve the central problem of the Middle East crisis.

The Palestinian combatants are fighting in the same trench as the Central American peoples, who are today threatened by the direct intervention of U.S. troops, and in the same trench as the African peoples, who are under attack by the racists from South Africa.

It is also the same trench as the one occupied by our people, who are bravely confronting U.S. imperialism's threats of direct aggression.

By defending their national rights, the Palestinians have defended the rights of all the world's revolutionaries, and the blood spilled by their sons is like the blood of our own peo-

ples.

The pain over the loss of brave fighters and over the losses among the civilian population is our own pain. The pride in their heroism in battle is also our own pride.

Therefore, knowing that there are thousands of orphaned Palestinian children for whom the doors of the future have been gradually closed, we have made the decision to receive 500 of them to do their studies in Cuba, in a school that will be named "Battle of Beirut," in a humble show of solidarity with our Palestinian brothers.

We feel that this is a modest effort by our people to help alleviate to some degree the aftermath of the Israeli aggression.

Our people, party, and government, while extending their hand in solidarity to the Palestinian people, wish to reiterate to them our readiness to resist any imperialist aggression to the end, inspired by the examples provided yesterday by the Vietnamese people and now by the heroic resistance of the Palestinians and their allies in the Lebanese National Movement.

We know that our resistance will make it more difficult to implement imperialist policy and that through it we will contribute to the struggle and resistance of other peoples.

I wish to express to you our readiness to receive you in Cuba, at the time you feel is most convenient, in order to pursue the exchange of opinions on this situation and international events, and to express to you the highest appreciation of the Cuban people.

Esteemed comrade, please receive the profession of my deepest and most sincere friendship.

Fidel Castro

First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and President of the Council of State and of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba

September 6, 1982

SOVIET BAPTIST MOTHERS ARRESTED

"On April 20 the following members of the Union of Relatives of Christian Evangelical-Baptist Prisoners were arrested: Alexandra Kozorezova (mother of ten children; her husband is already in prison), Zinaida Vilchinskaya, Lyubov Kostyuchenko (mother of ten), Serafima Yudinseva (twelve children), Galina Rytikova (mother of ten), Lydia Bondar (who has been on an illegal status since 1979), and Yuri Ovcharenko." (SAMIZDAT, July-1982)

May 15, 1978

F: CUBANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

President Carter, on May 13, announced for the first time that there was growing Cuban presence in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen -- Aden). This is not a new situation and the timing of the "revelation" is open to question.

There has been a communist regime in South Yemen since 1969. Cuban troops have been in South Yemen since 1974, and their number has not significantly increased since 1974.

Israel is the one Middle Eastern state which has been genuinely threatened by Cuban troops -- when in 1973-1975 over 2,500 Cubans were stationed in Syria. These Cuban troops participated in the Syrian War of Attrition in 1974 -- yet at no time did American Administrations warn against the Cuban threat to a close ally of the U.S.

CUBANS IN SOUTH YEMEN

The National Liberation Front came to power in South Yemen soon after the former Aden Protectorate was granted independence by the British. Since 1969 South Yemen has been a Marxist republic with close ties to both the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. The USSR has maintained large naval facilities at Aden and Socotra Island for the last five years.

Cuban forces first arrived in South Yemen in 1974. The level of 200-300 advisors and technicians has remained stable since that time. The Cubans have had two roles in South Yemen. First, to train and modernize the small South Yemen Army. Second, to provide training for Dhofari rebels based in neighboring Oman.

South Yemen has never been a significant threat to Saudi Arabia. Its air force, according to the International Institute of Strategic Studies, is comprised of 12 MiG-17 fighters, and 6 IL-28 light bombers, only a fraction of which are considered operational. South Yemen's armor units presently consist of 200 old T-34 and T-54 tanks, and 20 armored cars. Saudi Arabia's current forces dwarf those of South Yemen from every viewpoint -- modernity, firepower, mobility and sheer number.

Though tribal battles have occasionally taken place in this area, large scale military action by South Yemen against Saudi Arabia is all but impossible. 300 miles of the most forbidding desert in the world (the Rub al-Khali) separate South Yemen from the nearest Saudi town.

CUBANS IN SYRIA

The real Cuban threat in the Middle East has been made against Israel on behalf of Syria. The March 8 and March 15 issues of the Foreign Report of the London Economist detailed the Cuban involvement in Syria. From late 1973 through mid-1975, there were more than 2,500 Cubans in Syria. Most were attached to armor units, operating 250-300 tanks and servicing the 2,000+ tanks of the Syrian forces. The Cuban units were used repeatedly against Israel during the Syrian-Israeli War of Attrition in 1974. The Cubans suffered 180 dead and 250 wounded, and killed 68 Israelis. Most Cuban forces were withdrawn in March, 1975, though 200 Cuban advisors remain in Syria. But the Cuban threat to Israel has not ended. It has been reliably reported that the Soviet Union has established pre-positioned tank and armor units in Latakia and Damascus, and plans to airlift upwards of 5,000 Cuban troops to man these weapons in any future conflict. A promise of Cuban troops and tanks crews was reportedly part of the Syrian-Soviet secret arms agreement negotiated in Moscow in February, 1978. Analysts also note sporadic Cuban aid to Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon. Phalange radio, and the Boston Globe reported only two weeks ago that more than 200 Cuban soldiers and instructors had arrived in Lebanon from Ethiopia and had joined PLO forces near Tyre.

ministration, said the role of citizen groups like MADD and Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID) "has been absolutely critical." Moulden said the initial California results show drivers responding to the threat of penalties, but he advised a close look at how rigorously judges and prosecutors apply the laws when cases begin to come to court in two weeks.

Reducing drunken driving, Moulden said, "appears to be a political and not a technical problem." Most states have harsh penalties on their books that are rarely invoked, he said.

Many of the changes in California law involve subtle distinctions and technicalities such as a new statute making a .10 percent blood alcohol level absolute evidence, and not just a presumption, that the driver is under the influence of alcohol. Maryland last year also stiffened its blood alcohol level requirements, resulting in a sharp increase in arrests for drunken driving. But Maryland, Virginia and the District have not yet instituted the kind of penalties for drunken drivers now in effect in California.

But MADD chapters are working on it. Susan Midgett of Norfolk, the Virginia state representative for MADD, said her group is pushing for law changes that will be "a whole lot" like those California has, "except there are a lot of loopholes here we also want to plug." Maryland's MADD chapter is headed by Tom and Dorothy Sexton of Bowie.

Under the new California law, every conviction for driving under the influence of alcohol requires a jail sentence of at least 48 hours, with one exception. If the case is a misdemeanor first offense, the judge may substitute a fine, require attendance at drinking drivers' school and a 90-day license suspension including permission to drive only to and from work.

A mandatory minimum fine of \$375 for every driving-under-the-influence conviction has been instituted, and \$20 of each fine will be directed to a victims' indemnity fund to help pay accident damages.

On a second drunken driving conviction, a judge may require the driver to attend an alcoholic treatment program for one year and add further jail time if he or she fails to attend. If a judge dismisses a drunken driving charge or reduces one to a lesser offense, he must read into the record his reasons for doing so, and this summary must remain on his personal record, the California law provides. ●

MISSING IN ACTION

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1982

● Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, as we begin our 10th year since the signing of the Paris peace accords, I have more hope than an honorable resolution will be reached regarding the 2,500 heroic men who have not been accounted for in Indochina. It is my hope that live heroes will be returned to their beloved country to which they devoted their lives.

I would like to draw my colleague's attention to a letter I received from Patricia O'Grady Aloat, whose father, Maj. John Francis O'Grady, is 1 of the 2,500 men who has not returned to this great Nation to which he devoted his life. The letter follows:

The sky was rimmed with a violet hue. Dawn broke quietly over the Nevada desert as my father entered my room for the last time. He was tall and impressive in his navy uniform, but his gray eyes were misty with tears. "Don't worry," he said, "I'll be back when summer's in the meadow." I smiled at the familiar, words from his favorite song. Then, he gently kissed my sister and I good-bye. Striding out of our bedroom, he told us to stay in bed. But the moment his last suitcase was stowed in the family car and the front door squeaked closed, seven sleepy children raced to the window to wave their goodbyes. We never saw our father again.

Not only did he never come back to us, but more tragically, he never came back to his country. And, living with that knowledge rekindles my grief. My father was a good and kind man who served his country well even though it must have been difficult for such a gentle, intelligent person. Yet, despite his commitment to his country, his fate and the fate of thousands of others has been ignored by our leaders and erased from our national conscience.

Time and tears have helped heal my personal sorrow and the throbbing hurt of my loss. Yet, the neglect of my father's memory remains a piercing pain and denies me my heritage. As the oldest child and on behalf of my siblings, I need to know if my father lives or how he died on that long ago day in April. I need to welcome him with open arms or carry flowers to his grave. I need to know that he lies sleeping in a comfortable bed or in a peaceful, hallowed ground. The answers to these questions have haunted me for more than half the days of my life.

The key is out there somewhere to open the door to this agonizing problem. It requires an intensive focus on this issue by the executive branch, the elected representatives of the people and by the people themselves. Obviously, a major role will have to be played by the American press, in alerting the public to this humanitarian problem which has been unresolved for too long. It is my hope that 1982 will mark the resolution of this page in a tragic chapter of American history with the full and complete accounting of these brave people and the end of the suffering for them, their families, and all other concerned citizens. ●

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1982

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, if the old saying is true that "we are known by the friends we keep," then it is indeed interesting to learn that the Palestine Liberation Organization loaned the Sandanista Government of Nicaragua about 6 million pounds or something just short of \$12 million recently. Actually, the PLO is more like a big corporation in its financing rather than a struggling guerrilla group. Therefore, I commend this very interesting item to the attention of my colleagues that appeared in the Daily Telegraph (London) of December 2, 1981.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has lent \$6,000,000 to the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua to give new weight to the PLO's boast that it is the "richest liberation organisation in the world."

According to financiers in Beirut the PLO now has a "legal" income of at least \$125 million a year. Most of this comes from direct grants from Arab states and from taxes paid by Palestinians working in the Gulf.

These Palestinians have between three and five percent of their wages deducted at source.

But an increasingly important part of the PLO finance comes from investments, and because some of these investments are in countries and companies which would be considered "enemies of the Palestine Revolution" all details are kept strictly secret.

In Beirut, with its 80 different banking houses and hundreds of fringe finance organisations, money matters are hard to conceal, however, and it is known that the PLO's "official" income is at least matched by the money it receives from other sources—investment income and "under-the-counter" grants.

POLITICAL INVESTMENTS

It is the Arab Bank, based in Amman, which handles the bulk of PLO income, with experts from the Kuwait Investment Corporation advising where surplus funds should be placed.

They are said to give their advice on purely financial criteria. But the Palestine National Fund, under the chairmanship of Mr. Salah Dabbagh, and after consultations with the 15-member Executive Council of the PLO under Yasser Arafat, often decides on "political" investments.

Thus a Belgian air-charter firm is largely owned by the PLO so that its planes can transport arms.

Two hotels in Beirut have been bought to provide secure accommodation for important guests.

A medical supply company in France is largely PLO-owned, and so are a discotheque in Rome and a chicken farm in Syria.

In addition the "Samed" organisation, set up to provide work for disabled, old or destitute former members of the organisation, is now making a profit.

Samed ("steadfast" in Arabic) runs small workshops making clothes, furniture, or handicrafts, and employs more than 3,000 people.

ARMS PROVIDED FREE

Not all the revenue is used to fuel the PLO's war machine. The amount spent on arms is relatively small, as most weaponry is provided free by countries such as Libya, Syria, or Iraq.

The relatively generous and effective system of pensions for dependants of PLO men killed in action or disabled is a major drain on funds.

So, too, is the Palestine Red Crescent, which runs 800-bed hospitals in Lebanon and more than 20 clinics, and employs some 300 doctors, not all of them Palestinian.

The 100 PLO offices around the world, the "embassies" of the movement, have to be staffed, and the accommodation has to be paid for.

And (a major item) the regular Palestinian "fighters" have to be paid, as well as the leaders of the movement and the considerable bureaucracy.

So complicated has it all become that Yaser Arafat called in a business consultant, Dr. Banil Shaath, a professor at the American University of Beirut, to advise on streamlining the system.

The professor reported there was "very little" corruption in the administration of the huge funds, though at one time some officials were found to have been gambling with embezzled funds.●

OUR FRIENDS IN TAIWAN

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1982

● Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 gives the full force of law to the American commitment to supply adequate defensive weapons to the Republic of China. As a major trading partner of the United States, Taiwan is a strategically located island. Its survival as a prosperous, viable nation is of obvious importance to the United States.

The subject of providing modern defensive fighter aircraft to the Republic of China on Taiwan was addressed in a very timely and effective editorial which appeared in the *Aurora, Ill. Beacon-News* of January 11. As this is an issue to which I completely subscribe, I wish to insert it into the RECORD for the Members' review:

[From the *Beacon-News*, Jan. 11, 1982]

U.S. CAN'T FORGET FRIENDS IN TAIWAN

The Chinese Nationalist government on Taiwan has been pressing Washington for permission to purchase advanced fighter aircraft since 1979. Predictably, the prospective sale has long since assumed a significance that is more political than military.

Taiwan desires a new arms deal with the United States partly as a tangible symbol of Washington's continued solicitude for the freedom and security of 18 million Chinese who have no desire to be swallowed by the Communist mainland. Peking officials, of course, oppose anything that would strengthen Taiwan's resistance to eventual assimilation, whether by persuasion, intimidation, or the outright use of force.

The Carter administration and its successor under President Reagan, caught between conflicting pressures to preserve Taiwan's security and to improve relations with The People's Republic of China, repeatedly postponed a decision. The only signal sent to either Taiwan or Peking was one of vacillation, hardly a posture that could instill respect for American foreign policy.

The time has come, we think, for Washington to reach a decision, political considerations aside. Taiwan has a demonstrable need for new fighters to replace the aging F-5As and F-100s that now are the mainstays of the island's air defenses.

From Washington's standpoint, the ideal replacements would be the new F-5Es and F-5Gs that would significantly strengthen Taiwan's air defense without posing even a symbolic threat to mainland China. Although Taiwan wants the more advanced F-16, the modernized F-5 models designed specifically for export to U.S. allies with limited defense budgets would be both acceptable and appropriate.

The sale of F-5Es and even an agreement permitting Taiwan to manufacture F-5Gs

under license would be fully consistent with the security ties spelled out in the U.S.-Taiwan Relations Act, approved by Congress following the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Peking in 1979.

China will continue to oppose any sale of U.S. arms to Taiwan and may even threaten to cool its rapprochement with Washington. But China's leaders know what American policymakers ought to recognize as well: That the Sino-American courtship is based almost exclusively on mutual distrust of the Soviet Union.

Selling strictly defensive aircraft to Taiwan won't alter the superpower equation that has pushed China toward cooperation with the United States. What an appropriate U.S.-Taiwan arms agreement would do is demonstrate to anxious American allies in Asia and elsewhere that Washington doesn't forget its friends. That is the kind of signal that even Peking may someday come to appreciate.●

THE JOB OF REDUCING THE DEFICIT

HON. WILLIAM E. DANNEMEYER
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1982

● Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, Congress will soon begin the process of shaping the Federal budget for fiscal year 1983. This morning's *Washington Post* carries a story in which administration sources are reported as saying that the budget deficit for fiscal year 1982 will be a record one, slightly under \$100 billion. While the President's formal budget message will not be transmitted to us until February 8, 1982, the same news story suggests that the fiscal year 1983 deficit will be more than \$90 billion.

These levels of deficit spending are simply unacceptable, if we are to chart a course of economic recovery. The task of reducing these deficits falls to the Congress in general, and the House of Representatives in particular as the House of Congress charged with originating money legislation by the Constitution.

On Monday, January 25, 1982, in a special order commencing at page H10 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I addressed myself, in detail, to the economics of deficit spending. I quoted from a January 19, 1982, op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* by Martin Feldstein, professor of economics at Harvard and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Mr. Feldstein's article carries the headline, "The Job of Reducing the Deficit." It is an excellent statement, and while I would dissent from the conclusion that the 1983 installment of the individual tax-rate reduction should be postponed, on balance the article is worthy of our careful consideration.

The full text of the article is as follows:

THE JOB OF REDUCING THE FEDERAL DEFICIT

(By Martin Feldstein)

Speculating about the President's reaction to the budget advice of his economic counselors is such an absorbing activity that it's

easy to forget that the administration's proposals are only the first step in the budget process. Congress will ultimately determine the shape of the budget for 1983 and beyond. Because both taxes and spending are in transition, it is particularly important that Congress make its budget decision as part of a long-term strategy.

The immediate focus in Congress will be on controlling the federal deficit. Only a few months ago, the administration shocked many people by acknowledging that tax rules and spending patterns imply a 1984 deficit of \$160 billion. Such a deficit would be about 4 percent of 1984's \$4 trillion gross national product, or about twice the rate of fiscal 1981. How did the prospective deficit get so large? And what will be done to reduce it?

It would be wrong to say that the 1984 deficit figure is due to a massive cut in personal tax rates. The 25 percent reduction that Congress enacted will be just about enough to prevent bracket creep from raising the share of income that is taken in taxes. It would also be wrong to say that the prospective deficit is due to a major rise in defense spending since the 7 percent a year real increase that the President has called for would raise defense spending only from 5.5 percent of GNP in 1980 to 6.5 percent in 1984.

ROOTS OF THE DEFICIT

The main reason that the prospective 1984 deficit is 4 percent of GNP is that the administration inherited a deficit that had grown over the past decade to 2 percent of GNP. The increase in defense spending over four years will add an additional 1 percent of GNP to the 1984 deficit. The business tax reductions (primarily the accelerated cost recovery system) and the personal tax cuts (including the bracket reductions, the saving incentives and the end of the marriage penalty) each increase the 1984 deficit by about 0.75 percent of GNP. Offsetting these increases are the spending cuts enacted in 1981 that, by 1984, will reduce outlays by about 0.5 percent of GNP. Combining the inherited deficit with these changes in taxes and spending implies a 1984 deficit of 4 percent of GNP, or \$160 billion.

Some analysts have overreacted to this figure, saying that such deficits would cause financial chaos. Some administration spokesmen and their outside friends have overreacted in the opposite direction and said such deficits don't matter. Neither extreme position is correct. Large deficits in 1983 and beyond wouldn't cause financial chaos but they would be a very serious economic problem.

Continued deficits put pressure on product markets that makes prices increase faster than they otherwise would. Though the Fed may be able to prevent a significant rise in inflation by allowing high real interest rates to crowd out private spending, large deficits surely put the Fed's monetarist determination to a severe test. Moreover, such a policy could strain Congress' tolerance of high interest rates to the point where it forces the Fed back to the inflationary accommodation policies of the past decade.

But even if their inflationary effect is small, sustained deficits would be pernicious by crowding out private investment. In recent years, net private investment has been only 6 percent of gross national product. A rise of the deficit by another 2 percent of GNP could reduce net private investment by one-third of its current value to just 4 percent of GNP.

Of course the tax incentives enacted this year may raise total saving and increase the

Salvadoran Rebels: An Uneasy Coalition

L.A. March (24?) 1982

By JUAN M. VASQUEZ, Times Staff Writer

SAN SALVADOR—Although their names will not appear on the ballot, the leaders of El Salvador's insurrection will continue to hold a good measure of power in this divided country regardless of the outcome of Sunday's elections.

The civil war that has become the focus of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America is often seen as a peasant uprising, but there is no authentic peasant leader like Emiliano Zapata, the *campesino* firebrand of the Mexican revolution.

Instead, El Salvador's guerrilla chieftains and their political allies are a sometimes uneasy coalition of exiled professors, former seminarians, aspiring poets, college dropouts, labor leaders and upper-middle-class intellectuals. One is the grandson of a former president of the republic.

United for the time being, they represent a handful of splinter

groups that until recently were ideological rivals, their relations with one another characterized by mutual suspicion and internecine violence.

Virtually all the important guerrilla leaders share an allegiance to Marxist-Leninist doctrine but, ironically, many of the groups were

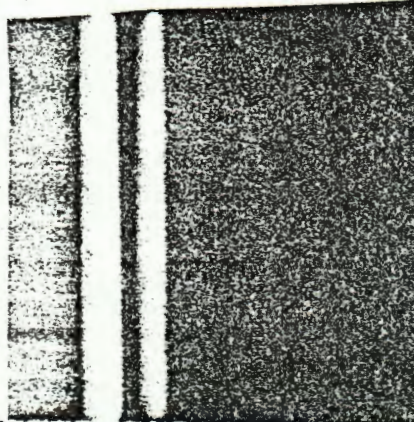
born out of an unwillingness to submit to the discipline of El Salvador's Communist Party.

"It all makes for a very unstable sort of unity," said a university historian who has charted the labyrinth of El Salvador's recent political past. "I'm not sure they could keep it together if they were to triumph."

The professor asked that his name not be used, as did other sources interviewed here in Mexico City, a focal point of activity by Salvadoran exiles, including the guerrillas' political allies, not all of whom are Marxist oriented.

Other information was drawn from literature printed by leftist parties, which have refused to take part in the elections; from transcripts of interviews in Latin American periodicals and from a document produced in 1979 by the

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REBELS: Uneasy Coalition of Marxists

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now-defunct National Security Agency of El Salvador.

The security agency document purported to trace the origin of the various leftist or "subversive" political elements in El Salvador back to 1921, when, it alleges, the first Communist Party cell was formed here.

Bloody Uprising in 1932

An abortive uprising with Communist support in 1932 claimed, by some estimates, as many as 30,000 lives, mostly peasants slaughtered by the army. The uprising was planned and led by a few university students and a political activist named Agustin Farabundo Marti—the son of well-to-do parents who had renounced his inheritance of land and the man for whom the current opposition's military wing is named.

For decades thereafter, political activity was limited to the brokering of power between generals and the upper class. This period was marked by a series of fraudulent elections, military coups and shaky juntas. Authentic opposition was squashed, its leaders exiled or eliminated.

The security agency document

attached sinister importance to the Tri-Continental Congress on Latin American Solidarity, which was held from July 31 to Aug. 10, 1967, in Havana. Leading a nine-member delegation from El Salvador was Shafick Jorge Handal, then 38, the son of Christian immigrants from Palestine and secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

Handal figured prominently in a white paper issued in February, 1981, by the U.S. State Department, blaming the civil war in El Salvador on Cuban and Soviet subversion. He was accused of being the key figure who traveled to various Communist countries in 1980 seeking arms and money to finance a leftist offensive in El Salvador.

Handal is still the leader of the Salvadoran Communist Party, one of the five armed groups challenging the Salvadoran junta. Although it is not a strong military faction, the Communist Party runs a few guerrilla camps in the eastern part of the country.

According to a rebel source, each group is assigned distinct tasks, and the Communist Party is in charge of financing.

Back in 1967, Handal was counseling patience rather than armed revolt. El Salvador was not ready, he believed, and Cuban leader Fidel

Castro was said to agree with him.

Throughout this period, those who opposed the policy of peaceful revolution grew more frustrated. The most forceful of them was Salvador Cayetano Carpio, a onetime seminary student who subsequently became a leader in the bakers' union and turned to communism in the late 1940s. His activism earned him several jail terms, an appreciation for security and a reputation as a hard case. In 1970, Carpio founded the Popular Forces of Liberation.

War the Path of Change

"I saw clearly, I understood that the transformation in Latin America is by the path of war," he said. "The Salvadoran Communist Party held that the path was politics and that only at the end, when the final blow was to be aimed, should arms be used."

At the age of 62, Carpio is old enough now to be the father of most of his guerrilla colleagues except for Handal, the onetime adversary who chided Carpio for "Maoist deviation" from Leninist principles for leaving the Communist Party.

Carpio, known as Comandante Marcial, began traveling through the rugged hills in the northern province of Chalatenango in the early 1970s, selecting the sites for

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OTHER COUNTRIES

V 1

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

TRIBUNAL CONDEMNS ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON

PA102007 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Excerpt] The Executive Committee of the Central American and Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Tribunal [IACC], today strongly condemned the Israeli attacks on the Palestine refugees in Lebanon and the unconditional U.S. support for Israel. In a communique, the IACC said the British colonialist attack on Argentina was still in progress when this grave attack against Lebanon began. In addition, imperialism is again provoking Nicaragua by stationing a warship off its coast.

These violations of world peace, in which Britain and Israel are directly involved and which have U.S. approval and unconditional support, force us to denounce these three countries as enemies of the peoples that are UN members, the IACC communique said.

the first of the armed groups, Carpio's FPL is considered the largest and best-organized rebel force, and Chalatenango remains an FPL redoubt. No other guerrilla group operates on the turf of Comandante Marcial and the army lacks control over a large part of the province.

Over the years, Carpio has become the chief exponent of *la guerra prolongada*, the long-term, Vietnam-type of rural warfare aimed at wearing down the enemy to the point of collapse. In 1980, Carpio's group was responsible for the kidnaping and execution of South African Ambassador Archibald Gardner Dunn.

The second in command of Carpio's group is a former schoolteacher named Melida Anaya Montes, known as Ana Maria. A leader of the teachers' union, she joined his forces in 1972 and helped to found its political wing, the Popular Revolutionary Bloc three years later.

Carpio's daughter, Emma Guadalupe, an important figure in the bloc, was killed while leading an anti-government demonstration in 1980.

Within the leftist coalition, Carpio is considered the most reluctant supporter of a negotiated solution.

people will triumph."

Although he was persuaded to endorse a negotiating document prepared last month by the Revolutionary Democratic Front, the Mexico City-based umbrella group of the Salvadoran opposition, Carpio is also thought of as the most sectarian rebel leader. It is his flag and his emblem that are most evident in his camps, according to visitors, rather than the flag and emblems of the coalition, which are seen in the other guerrilla camps.

In December, Carpio aroused the resentment of other groups by writing a detailed account of how he had narrowly escaped capture and death in an army operation in Chalatenango last October.

The editors of the Mexican magazine in which the story appeared described Carpio as the "Hô Chi Minh of Latin America," and photographed him in a guerrilla camp wearing a beret with a hammer-and-sickle emblem.

The others considered this an effort by Carpio to paint himself as the principal rebel leader of El Salvador. It undermined a leftist effort to show the world a more moderate image and, not for the first time, led to a period of cool relations between Carpio and the others.

is the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP).

The ERP, which took its name from an urban guerrilla group in Argentina, was created in 1972 by a handful of disaffected middle-class members of a Roman Catholic youth movement. At first they simply called themselves "the group" or "the super group."

A Decade of Kidnapings

In 1971, "the group" carried out the first of what was to become a decade-long series of spectacular kidnapings by leftist organizations. The first victim, ultimately assassinated, was Ernesto Regalado Duenas, a member of one of El Salvador's most prominent families.

According to estimates by the government and various rebel groups, \$50 million to \$100 million was paid out to leftist kidnapers in El Salvador in the 1970s.

By 1975, the ERP was clearly divided between a hard-line faction and a group of intellectuals led by Roque Dalton Garcia, a well-known poet who had lived in Cuba and whose writings glorified revolution and mocked his own middle-class upbringing and Jesuit education.

In April of that year, the military

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REBELS: Uneasy Coalition of Marxists

Continued from 13th Page

faction, led by Joaquin Villalobos, assumed control. Dalton Garcia was seized and charged with, among other things, being a CIA agent; being a Cuban agent; being too "bourgeois"; being a right-wing revisionist. His former colleagues put the poet on trial and sentenced him to death. The next month he was executed.

Dalton Garcia's followers left the group and formed a rival organization called the Armed Forces of National Resistance or FARN. In an interview in 1980, the commander, Ernesto Jovel, accused Villalobos of personally executing Dalton Garcia. But he went on to say that such painful issues were best set aside while the leftist groups worked together to overthrow the government.

Villalobos, 30, is a former economics student whose father owns a small print shop. His group is based in the rugged hills of Morazan province in the far northeastern corner of El Salvador, but its units operate throughout the eastern part of the country.

A key leader is Ana Guadalupe Martinez, 28, another former university student of middle-class background who was once jailed and tortured by the army. The government traded her for a kidnaping victim held by the group.

Single Command by 1980

By early 1980, the various guerrilla groups had achieved a measure of unity under a single command, but Jovel, the FARN commander, walked out and the fragile unity collapsed. Then in September of 1980, Jovel was killed in a plane crash. His successor brought the FARN back to the fold the following month.

The new commander was known to his comrades as Ferman Cienfuegos, but his real name is Eduardo Sancho Castaneda. He is 35 and a former student at the national university. He was born in Costa Rica of a Salvadoran mother.

"I couldn't believe Cienfuegos and Sancho Castaneda were the one and the same," said a professor who knew the guerrilla in his university days. "He was something of a Bohemian. He liked to write poetry, romantic poetry at that. He wasn't a political type and he certainly didn't

strike me as a future guerrilla leader."

FARN is based in the eastern, cotton-growing province of Usulután. Some of its best troops are entrenched around the sides of an extinct volcano called Guazapa, just north of San Salvador.

"They're tough," said Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, commander of the government's U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion. "They fight hard."

The last of the five guerrilla groups in El Salvador is the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC). It surfaced in 1979 and says its has members throughout the region.

It is considered the smallest of the groups. Little is known about its commander, Roberto Roca, except that Roca is not believed to be his real name. But much is known about the man considered to be the group's true leader and founder, Dr. Fabio Castillo. Castillo is the grandson of Gen. Fernando Figueroa, who was president of El Salvador from 1907 to 1911. A physician, Castillo studied in the United States and Switzerland. He was rector of the national university before he entered politics.

Castillo was a member of a junta that ruled El Salvador for a brief period in 1961. Later, he founded a political party that operated openly though it was linked to the outlawed Communist Party.

7-Member Ruling Body

Castillo is one of seven members of the ruling body of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, or FDR, the opposition umbrella group in Mexico City. Of the seven, five are former university professors. The others, besides Castillo, are:

—Napoleon Rodriguez Ruiz, a former vice rector of the national university. He is a lawyer and his former academic associates believe he helped to found the FARN.

—Salvador Sanayoa, a former professor at the Central American University here who was minister of education in the divided, short-lived junta that ruled El Salvador after the progressive coup of October, 1979.

—Ruben Zamora, whose brother served as attorney general in El Salvador after the 1979 coup. Zamora

fled El Salvador and joined the opposition after his brother was assassinated by right-wing killers in February of 1980.

—Guillermo Ungo, the principal leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and a former professor at the Central American University. He is the founder of the small Social Democratic Party of El Salvador and ran for vice president in 1972 on ticket led by Jose Napoleon Duarte, the leader of the current junta. It is generally conceded that the Duarte-Ungo ticket won the election but were denied victory by the military.

The other two members of the democratic front's leadership are Ana Guadalupe Martinez, the ERP guerrilla, and Mario Aguinada, a long-time Communist labor leader.

15-Man Joint Command

The military counterpart is the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Three members from each of the five fighting groups form the 15-man joint command.

Rebel sources contend that there is still a measure of rivalry within the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and that most rebel operations are the work of a single guerrilla group, not joint actions.

One of the most significant guerrilla strikes, the destruction of the so-called Golden Bridge across the Lempa River last year, was the work of the Popular Forces of Liberation.

Not to be outdone, the People's Revolutionary Army carried out the attack on Ilopango Air Base last January that destroyed several helicopters and fixed-wing airplanes, embarrassing the armed forces.

The Armed Forces of National Resistance has repeatedly withstood major efforts by the army to drive it out of the volcano of Guazapa, inflicting serious casualties on the armed forces in each attempt.

A political scientist at a local university noted that the various rebel groups originated with the impatience of their leaders—"an impatience not only with regard to power, but with their own opposition comrades as well."

Should they win eventually, he speculated, "the same obsession for power which unites them in opposition will divide them once it is obtained."

120 - 100
ARAFAT-CARTER

HAWANA (AP) -- PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION LEADER YASSER ARAFA DELIVERED A STRONG PERSONAL ATTACK SUNDAY ON PRESIDENT CARTER, ACCUSING HIM OF REMAINING SILENT IN THE FACE OF WHAT ARAFA CALLED ISRAEL'S "MASSIVE LIQUIDATION" OF CIVILIANS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON.

CLAIMING THAT ISRAELI FORCES KILLED 1,180 CIVILIANS IN THE INVASION FOUR MONTHS AGO, ARAFA ASKED, "WHY DOESN'T CARTER REMEMBER IT AS A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS?"

HE THEN SAID, "CARTER THINKS OUR BLOOD IS CHEAP BECAUSE WE BELONG TO THE THIRD WORLD."

ARAFAT, HEADING THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO THE 11TH WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS, SPOKE AT A NEWS CONFERENCE,

OUTFITTED IN AN ARAB READDRESS AND AN OLIVE GREEN MILITARY UNIFORM. ARAFA ANSWERED QUESTIONS FROM AN OVERWHELMINGLY SYMPATHETIC GATHERING OF SEVERAL HUNDRED REPORTERS WHO APPLAUDED HIM AT SEVERAL POINTS DURING HIS APPEARANCE LASTING ALMOST TWO HOURS.

SPEAKING IN ARABIC THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, ARAFA REJECTED THE USE OF THE WORD "TERROR" TO DESCRIBE THE PLO'S ACTS OF VIOLENCE. HE LIKENED THE PLO TO THE ANTI-NAZI RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE DURING WORLD WAR II.

HE SAID THE ONLY TERROR IN THE WORLD TODAY IS CARRIED OUT BY THE FORCES OF "IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM, COLONIALISM AND RACISM."

MANY OF THE REPORTERS PRESENT RESPONDED WITH RHYTHMIC APPLAUSE. ARAFA REPORTEDLY HAD TWO MEETINGS HERE WITH CUBAN PRESIDENT FIDEL CASTRO. HE WAS ON THE REVIEWING STAND WITH CASTRO FRIDAY NIGHT FOR THE OPENING OF THE YOUTH FESTIVAL, ATTENDED BY MORE THAN 20,000 DELEGATES FROM 145 COUNTRIES. THE FESTIVAL ENDS SATURDAY.

ARAFAT WAS ESPECIALLY BITTER ABOUT THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID WASHINGTON IS PUSHING FOR A BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL IN ORDER TO "ISOLATE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND LIQUIDATE THEIR JUST CAUSE."

HE SAID, "THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL DON'T WANT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST."

HE RECALLED THAT U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI TRIED TO DENIGRATE ARAFA LATE LAST YEAR WITH THE REMARK, "BYE BYE PLO."

ARAFAT SAID THE MEANING OF THAT STATEMENT BECAME EVIDENT LAST MARCH WHEN ISRAEL TRIED TO ELIMINATE THE PALESTINIAN PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON WITH ITS INVASION OF THAT AREA.

HE SAID THAT EVENT ALSO DEMONSTRATED THE SHORTSIGHTEDNESS OF THE "NO MORE WAR" PLEDGE LAST NOVEMBER BY EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT AND ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN.

"THERE WILL BE NO PEACEFUL SOLUTION UNLESS THERE IS RECOGNITION OF AND A REALIZATION OF THE LEGITIMATE AND THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE," ARAFA SAID.

"NO PEACE, NO STABILITY AND NO SETTLEMENT WILL EVER BE ACHIEVED BY IGNORING THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE," ARAFA DECLARED.

AP-WX-0730 1732ADT

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CASTRO SPEECH

F. Cuba

MIAMI (AP) — FIDEL CASTRO ASSAILED THE HUMAN RIGHTS PUSH OF PRESIDENT CARTER WHILE THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINS RELATIONS WITH "THE RACISTS OF SOUTH AFRICA" AND THE "ZIONISTS WHO HAVE UPROOTED THE PALESTINE PEOPLE."

"HOW CAN THEY TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN A COUNTRY WHERE A MILLIONAIRE AND BEGGAR LIVE SIDE BY SIDE; WHERE THE INDIAN HAS BEEN EXTERMINATED, THE NEGRO DISCRIMINATED, WOMEN DEMORALIZED, AND GREAT NUMBERS OF CHICANOS, PUERTO RICANS AND LATIN-AMERICANS ARE HATED, EXPLOITED AND HUMILIATED," SAID THE CUBAN PRESIDENT IN A WEDNESDAY NIGHT SPEECH TO MARK THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS REVOLUTION.

ON JULY 26, 1953, CASTRO AND HIS FOLLOWERS ATTACKED THE ARMY BARRACKS IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA, LEADING TO THE DOWNFALL OF FORMER PRESIDENT FULGENCIO BATISTA.

CASTRO CRITICIZED U.S. RELATIONS WITH "THE RACISTS OF SOUTH AFRICA WHO HAVE OPPRESSED 20 MILLION AFRICANS" AND "THE AGGRESSIVE ZIONISTS WHO HAVE UPROOTED THE PALESTINE PEOPLE FROM THEIR LANDS AND HAVE PREVENTED THEM FROM RETURNING TO THEIR ARAB COUNTRIES."

IN HIS TWO-HOUR SPEECH, CASTRO SAID THAT EVERY U.S. PRESIDENT HAS A RHETORICAL PHRASE FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD.

"ONE SPOKE OF THE 'GOOD NEIGHBOR,' ANOTHER OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, AND NOW THE WATCHWORD IS 'HUMAN RIGHTS,'" CASTRO SAID.

"NOTHING CHANGES IN ITS POLICIES TOWARD THE HEMISPHERE AND THE WORLD," HE SAID. "EVERYTHING STAYS THE SAME. ITS DIPLOMACY AND THE STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR IS ALWAYS PRESENT."

AP-WX-0727 1113ADT

47th Street member ... but is good ... FILLER

Terrorism in Costa Rica Causing Concern in U.S.

By BARBARA CROSSETTE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 22 — Administration officials, now preparing an aid package for Costa Rica, said today that they had become concerned over an increase in terrorist activity there.

United States officials and Latin American diplomats believe that Costa Rica, which has had a democratic government for most of this century and no civil war since 1948, is vulnerable to an insurgency, particularly now when social tensions have been strained by economic problems.

Costa Rica has for many years been a haven for exiles of both left and right. A Sandinista movement that now rules Nicaragua based itself there before the overthrow of the Nicaraguan regime of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Now there are reports of anti-Sandinista forces opening up or training on the Costa Rican side of the Nicaraguan border.

Because of Costa Rica's usefulness to a variety of political and military exile groups, officials said, the country's neutrality was safeguarded by insurgents.

Neutrality Is Threatened

Recently, however, Costa Rica's publicly voiced concern over the spread of insurrection in Central America and the military growth of Nicaragua may have cost the country its neutrality, officials say.

Terrorist activity began in Costa Rica just over a year ago. Since then, these events have occurred:

¶ In March 1981, three United States marines stationed at the American Embassy in San José, Costa Rica's capital, were wounded in a shooting attack. Their driver was killed.

¶ In April, according to the Costa Rican authorities, four terrorists were captured after they opened fire with a machine gun in San José.

¶ In June, three policemen and a taxi

driver were murdered by terrorists.

¶ On Jan. 29, three people identified by the Costa Ricans as leftist terrorists — two of them Salvadoran — were killed in an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap a Salvadoran industrialist, Roberto Palomo Salazar. The arrest of three other guerrillas led to the discovery of a "people's jail" in San José.

¶ Also in January, the son of a wealthy Iranian exile was kidnapped. An investigation led Costa Rica's Organization of Judicial Investigation, roughly equivalent to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to a large cache of automatic weapons, vehicles, uniforms, radio transmitting equipment and false passports, drivers' licenses and official rubber stamps from 30 countries.

20 Terrorist Cells

The investigation into the attempted kidnapping of the Salvadoran industrialist, according to the Costa Rican authorities, disclosed the existence of at

least 20 terrorist cells and a "safe house" equipped with arms, food and medical equipment. The house — where Mr. Palomo was reportedly to be held by the guerrillas — had been rented by a university professor, who was subsequently detained.

The Costa Ricans, according to a report submitted to the State Department by the United States Embassy in San José, identified the guerrillas as members of the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers. Documents calling for efforts to undermine Costa Rica's democratic institutions were reportedly found.

According to the Costa Rican authorities, the two Salvadorans captured in the Palomo kidnapping attempt said that they had been trained and given false documents in Nicaragua. "I know Nicaragua, from what I could see," one reportedly said, "they provide entry and exit stamps to or from any country."

The two said, according to the Costa Ricans, that they had made three attempts to kidnap Mr. Palomo. The first failed because they could not find a car to steal, and the second because they could not find Mr. Palomo.

Socialists Are Divided

Latin American and United States officials say that the threats to Costa Rica, along with the arms buildup and polarization of Nicaragua, have created problems within the Socialist International between the European and Latin American branches.

Costa Rica's President-elect, Luis Alberto Monge, broke with the Socialist International last year over its support of revolutionary groups in Central America. This January, a meeting in Caracas of the international, a group of social democratic parties, many from Western Europe, was postponed when Venezuela's Social Democrats objected to the inclusion of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas.

Officials here say that Costa Rica's situation poses a policy challenge to the United States. Washington will have to convince its European allies, many of whom have been critical of United States policy in Central America, that Costa Rica must be supported.

The Reagan Administration is planning to grant Costa Rica \$70 million in emergency economic aid under its Caribbean Basin development plan. Today, the State Department, asked if the United States had plans to send military advisers to Costa Rica, said that no such proposals had been made.

Costa Rica AT A GLANCE

History

Costa Rica, a Central American country with strong democratic traditions, no armed forces and severe economic troubles, has been an independent republic since 1838. While it obtained its freedom from Spain in 1821, it was annexed to Mexico for a brief time and spent the years 1824 to 1838 as part of a Confederation of Central America. Its democratic traditions are considered to have begun in 1889, when it held what was acclaimed as the first truly free election in Central America. The country also had some short-lived dictatorships, and a brief civil war was fought in 1948. José Figueres Ferrer, leader of the Socialist National Liberation Party, emerged as a dominant force in Costa Rican politics, serving as President three times — 1948-49, 1953-58, 1970-74. His Government dissolved the armed forces, nationalized the banks, introduced a comprehensive social security system and reinforced democratic traditions.



The New York Times / March 23, 1982

size of Vermont, it has an area of 19,575 square miles.

Population

Costa Rica's population was officially estimated in mid-1979 to be nearly 2.2 million. The Costa Rican people, most of them of European descent, many of pure Spanish blood, are concentrated around the capital, San José, and in the principal towns of the provinces. There are about 15,000 West Indians. The indigenous Indian population, which has been dwindling, is estimated to number 1,200. The state religion is Roman Catholicism, and the national language Spanish.

Government

The administration is appointed by the President, who is elected for a four-year term, and legislative power is vested in the Legislative Assembly, a 57-member elected body. President Rodrigo Carazo Odio of the United People's Coalition has been in office since 1978. Last month, in the eighth consecutive free election since 1948, Luis Alberto Monge of the National Liberation Party, was elected President. He takes office in May. In the absence of armed forces, the nation's defense is in the hands of a Civil Guard said to consist of 5,000 members. The naval arm consists of 50 officers and men, with a fast patrol craft and an armed tug on the Caribbean coast and five small coastal patrol craft for revenue purposes and three smaller vessels on the Pacific side. The air wing consists of three transports, a few light planes and helicopters.

Economy

Costa Rica's economy is primarily agricultural and heavily reliant on the export of coffee, bananas, sugar and cocoa. Principal manufactured goods include textiles, foodstuffs, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, furniture and cement.

Geography

The country, which was given its name, meaning rich coast, by Columbus in 1502, is bounded by Nicaragua to the north, Panama to the south, the Caribbean to the east and the Pacific to the west. Roughly twice the

Mrs. Gandhi in British Talks

LONDON, March 22 (Reuters) — Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi of India and Margaret Thatcher of Britain conferred here on world issues today in the only political discussions the two will hold during Mrs. Gandhi's six-day visit. Mrs. Gandhi's visit coincides with a large exhibition of Indian culture.

NC181759 Paris AFP in English 1733 GMT 18 Mar 82

PLO - [unclear]

[Text] Beirut, 18 Mar (AFP) -- Salvadoran guerrilla leader Caetano Carpio today ended a nearly-two-week long visit here on the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), reliable Palestinian sources reported. The leader of El Salvador's leftist Popular Liberation Forces (PLF), who is better known by his war-name, Commander "Martial," was invited to Lebanon by PLO Military Chief Khalil al'Wazir (Abu Jihad). He also met with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat during his stay here.

In an interview in yesterday's left-wing daily AS-SAFIR, the Salvadoran guerrilla leader said his forces were fighting "American imperialism" and added that Israel "was just as present in El Salvador as the United States." Israel, he said, had recently dispatched "intelligence and psychological war advisors" to El Salvador and was supplying arms to Guatemalan troops.

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FOREIGN BRIEFS

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR (AP) -- LEFTIST GUERRILLAS SET OFF A BOMB IN THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN SAN SALVADOR, CAUSING DAMAGE BUT NO INJURIES, POLICE SAID.

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACK TUESDAY NIGHT. IT SAID THE BOMBING WAS IN "SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."

THE GUERRILLAS ALSO EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR ANOTHER LEFTIST GANG THAT KIDNAPPED SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR ARCHIBALD GARDNER DUNN TWO WEEKS AGO.

THE KIDNAPPERS ARE DEMANDING EL SALVADOR'S TWO-MONTH-OLD MILITARY JUNTA ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.

x30 F. El-Sal...
PLO-Letter
[unclear]

Jewish Institutions.

CUBA, PLO IN JOINT VENTURE ON FILM DEALING WITH PALESTINIANS

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 (JTA) -- A film dealing with the Palestinian people has been co-produced by the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television and the Palestine Liberation Organization, it was announced in Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The paper, published in English in Havana, said the film, "El camino de la tierra" (The Road of the Earth), "skillfully depicts the tragedy of a people displaced from their land and forced to wander throughout the world." The film includes an interview with PLO chief Yasir Arafat "and men and children who have been victims of Zionist crimes," the paper added. The film had its premiere recently in Havana.

A PLOT OF ARAFAT'S FAILS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Translated from *usd Sormaine*, France, 25 September-1 October 1980

The PLO tried to kidnap our (the French) ambassador in Costa Rica, in order to exchange him for Palestinian terrorists sent to France to assassinate Bakhtiar.

Nothing has leaked out so far from the Quai d'Orsay (the French Foreign Ministry) or the Hotel Matignon (the Prime Minister's residence), which prefer to pass over the matter in silence, but Michel Dondenne, our (the French) ambassador in Costa Rica, has had a narrow escape. On 15 September he was the intended victim of a kidnap attempt by terrorists in particularly spectacular circumstances, during the ceremonies for the national commemoration day of this hitherto peaceful country, known as "the Switzerland of Latin America."

It all began four days earlier, on 11 September, with a cautious approach by the US ambassador to Costa Rica to his French colleague. The American had been informed by his intelligence that a kidnapping was being prepared by guerillas; the intended victims were the French ambassador and another diplomat.

Michel Dondenne was taken aback, for he had already been a victim of a political kidnapping on 4 May 1979, when he was serving in San Salvador, a neighbouring state to Costa Rica. Held prisoner for more than three weeks, the ambassador had been released by his jailers at the beginning of June in exchange for a large ransom.

Following this painful experience, the Foreign Ministry decided to place Michel Dondenne, sorely tried by his imprisonment, in a more peaceful capital. San José in Costa Rica was chosen, because nothing serious had ever happened there.

Although governed by a great bourgeois multi-millionaire, President Rodrigo Carazo, The Costa Ricans enjoyed a kind of immunity from the revolutionaries of Nicaragua,

San Salvador and Guatemala, because they agreed to open their doors to fleeing terrorists, and they provided arms for the liberation movements in these countries.

But now something happened which changed everything. Guerillas planned to kidnap the French ambassador, either in the national stadium in San José during the parade of 15 September, or on the road leading to the stadium, or, later on, during the reception due to take place at the Foreign Ministry.

Having grown wise through his first kidnapping, Ambassador Dondenne rushed to the Minister of the Interior, Juan José Echeverria, a passionate collector of arms. Echeverria did not take this warning very seriously. He claimed that Costa Rica was a paradise which would be spared to the end and did not consider it worthwhile to mobilize the seven thousand men in his police force.

Michel Dondenne then knocked at the door of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There again, they tried to put him off with a few comforting words.

The French Foreign Ministry, which took the matter more seriously, recommended that the ambassador leave Costa Rica at once and take refuge in the French embassy in Nicaragua while awaiting further instructions.

Other Western and Latin American ambassadors, alerted in turn, now began to show anxiety. The Belgian ambassador turned to Brussels for instructions: should he be present at the parade or remain at home? His government left the decision to him, and he absented himself from the ceremonies.

The uneasiness spread and when, on Monday 15 September, the parade finally took place, the seats of most of the diplomatic representatives were empty. France, Belgium, Italy, West Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Peru and Venezuela were not represented. Only the US and Spanish ambassadors were present and, contrary to tradition, they were unaccompanied by their wives.

In the national stadium they were received by the head of protocol, who informed them that the day's programme had been drastically altered. The reception had been cancelled, and President Carazo and his government would receive the respects of the diplomatic representatives in a corner of the stadium following the parade, which had been shortened by half an hour.

The American ambassador and his Latin American colleagues, however, left the stadium before the end of the parade. They had noticed that the entire army and police force were on a war footing, and realized that something serious must have happened in the "paradise of the Caribbean."

Based on reliable information, the Brazilian ambassador explained, in a note to his government, why his French colleague had nearly been kidnapped for the second time. It was the Palestinians of the PLO who had troubled the peace of Costa Rica. Representatives of Arafat, who for months had been in contact with the revolutionary movements of Latin America, had entrusted their new friends with a mission.

This mission, undertaken on behalf of the Palestinian resistance, yet without implicating Arafat, was to capture Ambassador Dondenne in order to exchange him for four Palestinian terrorists currently held in France. One of these terrorists, Walid Husni El Hadj, attacked the Iraqi embassy in Paris in July 1978, causing a bloody shoot-out in which the French inspector Capella was killed.

The three others formed the commando group of Palestinian killers ordered to gun down former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar in July of this year. They failed in their undertaking, but killed a woman on the same landing as Bakhtiar, and a policeman charged with his protection.

The French government was discretely informed of this scheme of the PLO, for what failed at San José might be successful elsewhere...

The Palestinian leaders have received a secret weapon: an electronic apparatus of American manufacture, capable of detonating an explosive charge at a distance of 100 metres. The American counter-espionage does not know by what means the Palestinians obtained this equipment, catalogued as ultra-secret, the marketing and export of which have been strictly prohibited.

501 Sommaire, du 25/9 au 1er/10/1980

L'OLP voulait enlever notre ambassadeur au Costa Rica pour l'échanger contre les terroristes palestiniens envoyés en France pour tuer Bakhtiar

Un complot d'Arafat échoue aux Caraïbes

Rien n'a filtré jusqu'à présent au Quai d'Orsay ou à Matignon, qui préfèrent passer l'incident sous silence. Mais notre ambassadeur au Costa Rica, Michel Dondenne, l'a échappé belle. Il devait être enlevé par des terroristes, le 15 septembre dernier, et ceci dans des conditions particulièrement spectaculaires, pendant les cérémonies marquant la fête nationale de ce pays jusqu'alors inconnue, surnommée « la fête de l'Amérique centrale ».

Tout commence quatre jours plus tôt, le 11 septembre, par une démarche discrète faite par l'ambassadeur des États-Unis au Costa Rica, auprès de son collègue français. L'Américain a été alerté par ses services de préparatifs de rapt organisés par des guérilleros. Sont visés : l'ambassadeur français et un autre diplomate.

Michel Dondenne survit. Car il a déjà été victime d'un enlèvement poli- que, le 4 mai 1979, alors qu'il se trouvait en poste au Salvador, un Etat voisin du Costa Rica. Détenu pendant plus de trois semaines, l'ambassadeur, avait été relâché par ses geôliers contre une forte rançon. début juin.

A la suite de ce coup dur, le Quai d'Orsay avait décidé d'affecter Michel Dondenne, très éprouvé par son incarcération, dans une capitale plus pacifique. On avait choisi San José, au Costa Rica, parce qu'il ne s'y passait jamais rien de grave.

Bien que dirigé par un grand bourgeois milliardaire, le président Rodrigo Carazo, le Costa Rica bénéficie, de la part des révolutionnaires du Nicaragua, du Salvador, du Guatemala, d'une sorte de trêve. Parce que les Costaricains acceptent de recevoir sur leur sol les terroristes en fuite, parce qu'ils alimentent en armes les mouvements de libération dans les autres pays.

Mais voici qui change tout : des guérilleros envisagent d'enlever l'ambassadeur français, soit dans le stade national de San José, pendant le défilé du 15 septembre, soit sur la route menant au stade, soit encore, plus tard, lors de la réception qui doit se dérouler dans les salons du ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Echaudé par son premier rapt, l'ambassadeur Dondenne se précipite chez le ministre de l'Intérieur, Juan José Echeverría, un collectionneur d'armes passionné. Eche-

verría ne prend pas cette menace très au sérieux. Le Costa Rica est, d'après lui, un paradis qui sera épargné jusqu'au bout. Il ne juge pas utile de mobiliser les sept mille hommes de sa police.

Michel Dondenne va frapper à la porte du ministre des Affaires étrangères. Là encore, on tente de le reconforter avec quelques bonnes paroles.

Le Quai d'Orsay, qui prend l'affaire, d'avantage au sérieux, recommande à son ambassadeur de quitter sur-le-champ le Costa Rica et d'aller se réfugier à l'ambassade de France du Nicaragua, en attendant d'autres consignes.

Alertés à leur tour, d'autres ambassadeurs occidentaux et latino-américains s'inquiètent. L'ambassadeur belge demande des instructions à Bruxelles : doit-il assister au défilé ou rester chez lui ? Son gouvernement lui laisse le soin d'en décider lui-même. Il s'abstient de prendre part aux cérémonies.

Finalement, le malaise s'étend et, le lundi 15 septembre, à l'heure du défilé, les sièges de la plupart des représentants diplomatiques restent vides. France, Belgique, Italie, Allemagne de l'Ouest, Grande-Bretagne, Pays-Bas, Pérou,

Venezuela sont absents. Seuls viennent les ambassadeurs des États-Unis et d'Espagne, sans leurs épouses, contrairement à la tradition.

Au stade national, ils sont accueillis par le chef du protocole qui les avertit que le programme de la journée a été modifié in extremis : la réception est annulée, le président Carazo et son gouvernement recevront les félicitations du corps diplomatique dans un coin du stade, à l'issue d'un défilé écourté d'une demi-heure.

Mais l'ambassadeur américain et ses collègues d'Amérique latine quitteront le stade avant la fin du défilé. Ils constateront que toute l'armée et la police sont sur pied de guerre et qu'il a failli effectivement se passer quelque chose de grave au « paradis des Caraïbes ».

Dans une note à son gouvernement, basée sur des informations sûres, l'ambassadeur du Brésil explique pourquoi son collègue français a failli être enlevé pour la seconde fois. Ce sont les Palestiniens de l'OLP qui sont venus troubler la tranquillité costaricaine. Des envoyés d'Arafat, établissant depuis des mois des relations avec les mouvements révolutionnaires d'Amérique

latine, ont confié à leurs nouveaux amis une mission.

Il s'agissait, pour le compte de la résistance palestinienne, mais sans mettre en cause Arafat, de capturer l'ambassadeur Dondenne, afin de l'échanger contre quatre terroristes palestiniens actuellement détenus en France. Le premier, Walid Husni El Hadj, attaqua en juillet 1978 l'ambassade d'Irak à Paris, provoquant une fusillade sanglante au cours de laquelle périt l'inspecteur français Capella.

Les trois autres formaient le commando de tueurs palestiniens chargés d'abattre l'ancien Premier ministre iranien Chapour Bakhtiar, en juillet dernier, à Neuilly. Ils échouèrent dans leur tentative, mais assassinèrent une voisine de palier de Bakhtiar et un policier chargé de sa protection.

Paris a été discrètement informé de ce nouveau stratagème de l'OLP. Car ce qui a raté à San José peut réussir ailleurs...

Ph. B.

□ Les dirigeants palestiniens ont reçu une arme secrète : un appareil électronique, de fabrication américaine, capable de déclencher une charge explosive à une distance de 100 mètres. Le contre-espionnage américain ignore par quel moyen les Palestiniens se sont fournis cet appareil, catalogué ultra-secret, dont la commercialisation et l'exportation ont été rigoureusement interdites.

Confidential

Foreign Report

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Latin America's terrorist international

The spectacular operations of the young Latin American terrorist, Carlos (real name: Ilich Ramirez Sánchez), drew the world's attention to the fact that the web of transnational terrorism has brought Latin Americans into alliance with Palestinians, Japanese, West Germans, IRA gunmen, and the governments that support them.

Palestinian and left-wing Arab representatives in Latin America have been working to draw the web together. Key figures include Salah Zawawi (also known as Abu Imad and Aladin Ben Ahned - the Fatah representative) and Taisser Shalabi from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, both of whom have been based in Rio. The Iraqi ambassador to Brazil, Jibad Koram, is reported to have arranged for the training in Iraq of members of the Chilean guerrilla group, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (Mir).

But the main centre for contacts of this kind is Paris, where a complex Latin American revolutionary network has been set up with the aid of the Cuban embassy. The large Latin American community in Paris (about 25,000 people, including 2,000 students) helps to make it an ideal base for the potential successors to Carlos. It is the headquarters of the *aparato exterior* of the Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria (JCR), which was set up in February, 1974, to concert the activities of guerrilla movements in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia.

The meeting at which the JCR was formed took place in Mendoza in Argentina, and the groups represented included the Mir from Chile, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) from Argentina, the National Liberation Army (ELN) from Bolivia, and the Tupamaros from Uruguay. A French connection was apparent even at this stage. Alain Krivine, the leader of the Ligue Communiste (the French section of the Trotskyist Fourth International), turned up at the Mendoza meeting. Subsequently, the JCR set up its Latin American headquarters in Buenos Aires and formed a 'general command' whose founder-members were Mario Roberto Santucho (ERP), Patricio

Antonio Biedma (Mir), Ruben Sánchez Valdivia (ELN) and Andres Felix Cultelli Chiribao (Tupamaros). (Cultelli is currently in a detention camp in Argentina.)

The reverses that the revolutionary left has suffered throughout the 'southern cone' of Latin America - culminating in the military coup in Argentina in March, 1976 - have forced many of the leaders of the JCR into exile. The guerrilla school (complete with an underground rifle range), the secret arms factory (equipped to produce a simple machine-pistol code-named JCR-1) and the documentation centre (where false passports and identity papers were mass-produced) which the JCR had established in Buenos Aires in 1975 have all been closed down by the security forces. But the ERP's elaborately organised system of safe houses (*equipo de berretines*) still seems to be functioning.

JCR leaders have been forced to rely more heavily on supporters and cover organisations farther north, such as the Casa del Pueblo Argentino and the Comité Mejicano de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Argentino in Mexico, the Latin American Press Agency (Apal) in Caracas - which helps to produce the JCR's bulletin, *Che Guevara* - and the verbosely-named Movement against Imperialism and for Socialism in Argentina (Masa) which has offices in Miami, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Masa describes itself as 'an independent political organisation founded and directed in the United States by Argentinians'. It publishes a magazine, *Denuncia*, which has claimed that the guerrilla groups in Argentina constitute a 'regular army' in the sense in which the term is used in the Geneva convention.

The Argentine ERP has long been the driving force in the JCR - largely for the obvious reason that Buenos Aires provided a safe haven for guerrillas from neighbouring countries for more than two years and that the ERP, as a result of its lucrative kidnappings, had plenty of money to put into the kitty. It was on the direct initiative of the ERP (which was founded as the military wing of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers' party, or PRT) that its Bolivian sister-group set up a political support group, also entitled the PRT, and organised along identical lines. It works in close co-ordination with Colombian guerrilla groups, and has broadened its membership to embrace a Paraguayan guerrilla group, Frepalina.

Guerrilla training courses for the JCR are provided by Cuba and a number of Middle Eastern countries, including Iraq and Libya. There are reports that, after recent visits by JCR envoys to Luanda (reportedly including Roberto Guevara, brother of the famous guerrilla leader killed in Bolivia), the Angolan government will also offer training facilities in that country. Negotiations between the JCR and Colonel Qaddafi's government in Libya have been conducted on the initiative of the Chilean Mir leader, Manuel Cabieses, by Eder Simão Sader. Although a Brazilian, Sader sits on the 'external directorate' of the Mir. He visited Tripoli late last year.

The Cubans train JCR recruits on a 1,800 hectare estate near Guanabo which comes under the authority of the interior ministry. The minimum length of training is three months. Courses on urban terrorism in 1976 made use of translations of American Special Forces manuals and included lectures on the composition and deployment of the Chilean armed forces. Cuban officers are known by their nicknames: one of the tactics instructors at this camp, for example, is a lieutenant known as 'Bolchevique' or 'Bolche'.

The day begins at 5.30, with an hour and a half of physical exercises, followed by breakfast and cleaning duties. Lectures are held between 8 and 12 a.m., followed by

lunch and three hours of practical training in explosives, weaponry and tactics. The lights are turned off at 9 p.m.

Training courses in rural guerrilla warfare are conducted in the province of Piñar del Rio, in the Sierra de los Organos, in an army school about 12 km from the town of Bahia Onda. The emphasis here is on survival under austere conditions in rugged mountainous terrain and on operations against regular forces - whose role in manoeuvres is played by Cuban army conscripts, who simultaneously gain experience in counter-guerrilla tactics. The tactics instructor on these courses is a first lieutenant known as 'Abigail' who formerly belonged to the personal bodyguard of Raul Castro, the minister of defence. Guerrilla trainees at this camp are also given rudimentary instruction in tank warfare, and allowed to practise driving Soviet-built T-34 tanks and American-made M-43s and M-41s.

But the Cuban training courses go far beyond routine military instruction; they cover the manufacture and use of false passports and identity papers, secret communications, and other basic tools of the modern terrorist trade.

The movements of one of the Argentine leaders of the JCR, Espinoza Barahona, offer some insight into the way the network operates. The Cubans equipped him with a false Costa Rican passport in the name of Guillermo Arce Roldán, together with books, maps and tape recordings to familiarise him with the accent, history and geography of Costa Rica. After a fortnight's study, his Cuban controller subjected him to an oral examination to establish whether he was sufficiently plausible in his newly-acquired identity. He was then sent on a mission to Argentina, following the circuitous route Havana-Moscow-Prague-Zurich-Paris-Buenos Aires. Supplied with clothing of American, Mexican and Peruvian manufacture, Barahona used a Cuban passport for his trip to Moscow, where he was met at the airport on 16 December, 1975, by two officials from the Cuban embassy. The following day - again assisted through controls by the two Cubans - he boarded a Cubana de Aviación flight to Prague, where he was met by another Cuban official.

From Prague, he took a Czech airways flight to Zurich, where he used his Costa Rican passport. At the airport, he paid cash for a ticket to Paris on a flight leaving two hours later. The reason for using Zurich as a transit point was simple: he had been assured that immigration officials would not stamp his passport and that he would thus be able to disguise his movement out of the Soviet block. He completed his journey on an Air France flight to Buenos Aires, where he eluded arrest - although his Costa Rican passport was picked up by the police in an abandoned 'safe house' last June.

The JCR operates an impressive network of front organisations and support groups in western Europe, and maintains contact with bodies like the Chile Solidarity Committee, the Bertrand Russell Tribunal and human rights organisations. In *West Germany* (where the JCR has set up its own centre) its organisers maintain close links with the Latin American Student Association (AELA) which has offices in Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Aachen, Cologne and Frankfurt. *Portugal* became a major centre of activity after March, 1975, when the JCR set up an office in Lisbon. A second office was subsequently established in the northern town of Oporto.

The JCR is also represented in *Belgium*, *Holland* and *Italy*, but *France* is by far the most important centre of operations. The JCR is said to maintain a secret documentation centre in Paris which produces fake passports and identity papers. The JCR's most important front organisation in Paris - now active in conducting an international propaganda campaign against General Videla's regime - is the Argentina Solidarity

and Information Centre (CAIS). It was set up with the backing of both of Argentina's major guerrilla movements, the (Trotskyist) ERP and the (revolutionary Peronist) Montoneros.

CAIS is controlled by a general secretariat and six committees, responsible for liaison with other groups, finance, culture, aid for refugees, propaganda, and foreign relations. Its chiefs are Rodolfo Mattarolo, an ERP leader who is also the senior JCR representative in Paris, and Luis Benito Berrutti Costa, a Montonero leader who has the title of secretary-general of CAIS. Other key figures include Alejandro Teitelbaum, Hector Yankelevitch, and Carlos Alberto Gonzalez Garland.

A sample of CAIS's propaganda activities is provided by a report sent by Rodolfo Mattarolo to the PRT last December on efforts to influence film producers and to produce a propaganda film for the guerrillas of the JCR. 'In the field of distribution,' he noted, 'we can now count on a number of instruments to ensure that material will be distributed throughout Europe and Latin America. As a first step, we will bring together all our comrades scattered throughout Italy in order to reorganise the equipment. . . . We will make the JCR film on the basis of the four reports that were filmed more than a year ago. This task was in the hands of our Mir comrades, but they told us recently that they are unable to complete it. We can count on the support of collaborators and friends in the media who will solve our technical problems and will do laboratory work for us for nothing.'

It is interesting that Mattarolo expressed his hope that the Italian government might be persuaded to put up some of the cash for this and similar projects, and that further aid might come from African countries 'that are extremely interested in the distribution of their own films in Europe and with which we have already discussed possible collaboration.' He singled out Angola as the African country most likely to help.

Castro's vanishing act

It's unusual for two heads of state to drop out of sight for 24 hours, but the mysterious disappearance of Cuba's Fidel Castro and Somalia's Siad Barre on Wednesday, 16 March, passed almost unnoticed in the western press.

Castro arrived in Addis Ababa the previous Tuesday, without warning, flying in from Mogadishu. He spent Tuesday afternoon and evening closeted with Ethiopian leaders. He then took off from Addis Ababa in so much of a hurry that there was barely time to round up the crew for his Soviet plane. The standard ceremonial farewell was omitted. Asked where Castro had gone, the Ethiopian spokesman merely commented, 'Direction unknown'.

As Castro was leaving Addis Ababa, Siad Barre dashed into Mogadishu airport, commandeered a jet and also took off. On Thursday, Castro surfaced in Dar es Salaam and Barre was back in his own capital.

FOREIGN REPORT can reveal where they went. They had a secret rendezvous in Libya with Colonel Qaddafi. Castro's aim was to mediate between the rival forces in the Horn of Africa - and, specifically, to avert a Somali-Ethiopian clash over Djibouti and regions of Ethiopia that are claimed by Somalia. There has been a growing danger that Soviet, Cuban and Libyan backing for Ethiopia (together with Saudi money) would tip Somalia back towards the western camp - although this would require the ousting of key pro-Soviet figures such as General Samantar, the intelligence chief, and possibly of Siad Barre himself.

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Radical Arabs Take Aim at Latin America

In a bid to scuttle Mideast peace talks, Washington's foes are out to make friends and influence governments on the doorstep of the U.S.

A determined drive is under way by radical Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization to spread their influence in Latin America.

From Brazil to Central America to Caribbean nations, Iraq, Libya and Algeria—plus the PLO—are wielding their oil-based power as a weapon against the United States and Israel.

American analysts view the growing penetration of Latin America by Arab radicals as a dangerous catalyst for increased instability in the region and eventual emergence there of national policies hostile to U.S. interests.

U.S. intelligence experts first spotted the Mideast intrusion into Latin America in mid-1979, during the final weeks of the Sandinista drive to overthrow Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Until then, Cuba, Venezuela and Panama had been the principal arms suppliers for the Marxist-led guerrilla forces. But just before the Sandinistas launched their final offensive, large shipments of weapons arrived from Libya and Algeria.

Only after they seized power did Sandinista officials disclose that many of their guerrillas had been trained at PLO bases in Jordan. They also admitted that Sandinistas had fought with the PLO against the Army of King Hussein in Jordan in September, 1970, and had participated in hijacking airliners in Europe and the Middle East.

"Warmongering" charge. PLO leader Yassir Arafat got a hero's welcome when he arrived in Nicaragua in late July for the first anniversary celebration of the Sandinista victory. Formal diplomatic relations were established between the PLO and Nicaragua. A joint statement denounced Washington's Mideast policy, Egyptian-Israeli talks and U.S. "warmongering."

Now the PLO has offered weapons and training to leftist forces in civil-war-torn El Salvador, where a U.S.-backed reform junta is battling guerrillas of both the left and right.

U.S. analysts say two major reasons lie behind the decision by radical Arabs to step up activity in Latin America:

1. To recruit fresh support for the PLO's campaign to achieve an independent Palestinian homeland on Arab land now occupied by Israel.

2. To become more closely identified with demands by Third World nations for economic and social changes.

Brazil is a prime Arab target. Not only must it import 85 percent of the oil needed to run its economy, but it is anxious to increase export markets in the Middle East.

Iraq, which supplies Brazil with more than 40 percent of its oil imports, is particularly insistent that the PLO be permitted to open an office in the country. But the Brazilian government, aware of the PLO's contacts with local leftist groups and reluctant to alarm the nation's large Jewish community, so far has resisted pressure.

Nevertheless, Brazil has moved clos-

Argentina and Peru joined the U.S. in basing their embassies in Israel in Tel Aviv instead of in disputed Jerusalem.

But much of the rest of Latin America now is expected to shift quarters to Tel Aviv after the United Nations Security Council voted 14 to 0 on August 20—the U.S. abstained—to censure Israel for officially declaring Jerusalem, including the Arab sector, its capital.

Radical Arab activity is especially intense in the Caribbean. Arab missions crisscross the former British island colonies, with side trips down to Guyana and Suriname on the South American continent. The Prime Ministers of Jamaica, Grenada and Guyana have visited the Mideast seeking Arab money.

Libyan aid. Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, trying to cope with a bankrupt economy and mounting political woes, keeps his country going with a

50-million-dollar loan from Libya. An additional 50 million is said to be on the way. Kuwait, Iraq and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries have promised Manley another 20 million dollars.

Impoverished Grenada has signed cooperative agreements with Algeria. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, a disciple of Cuba's Fidel Castro, also has been promised 10 million dollars in loans from Libya and 4 million from Iraq.

Guyana's Forbes Burnham is looking to the Mideast as well as to the World Bank for money to ease his country's serious economic problems. Iraq already has given Burn-

ham a 30-million-dollar development loan. Libya is helping with a 10-million-dollar balance-of-payments loan and participation in a project to build an oil refinery.

Burnham, however, still refuses to permit the Palestinians to open an office in Georgetown, Guyana's capital.

Solid indication of the growing success of the campaign by radical Arab nations for influence in Latin America came in another U.N. vote on July 29, when the General Assembly approved a resolution calling for an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab land and for establishment of a Palestinian state.

The U.S., arguing that the resolution would undercut Mideast peace talks, appealed for its rejection. In Latin America, only Guatemala and the Dominican Republic voted with Washington. □



PLO's Arafat receives hero's welcome from Nicaraguan leaders on anniversary of the Sandinista victory.

er to Iraqi policies. It has declared the PLO the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" and allows an Arafat aide to function as if he were an accredited diplomat.

Other Latin American countries also are under Arab pressure. But they, too, are wary of allowing the PLO to operate freely for fear that the Palestinians could become a threat to their own internal security. Until now, PLO offices have been set up only in Cuba, Nicaragua, Mexico and Peru.

Mexico limits PLO representation to one person who has not been granted diplomatic status. Peru authorized the PLO office in 1979. Latin experts believe permission was granted in return for an Arab agreement to make Lima the headquarters of Arabank, an investment bank financed by Arab and Latin American capital.

Until recently, only Mexico, Brazil,

By CARL J. MIGDAL

LEON HADAR explores the Palestine Liberation Organization's increasing activity among Latin American revolutionary groups.

"THE WAY to Jerusalem leads through Managua" appears to be more than just a slogan uttered by PLO chief Yasser Arafat at the July 27 anniversary of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua.

Recent information reaching the New York-based research organization Freedom House indicates that the PLO has made substantial inroads in Latin America, where it has established itself as an organizational centre for anti-U.S. activity.

Standing next to Arafat on the Managua platform was Moises Hassan, a pro-Soviet member of the Sandinista National Directorate. The son of Palestinian refugees, Hassan pledged his government's near-unconditional support for the PLO.

COOPERATION between the PLO and revolutionary movements in South and Central America is nothing new. According to Bruce Maclon, head of the Central America Desk at Freedom House, a prestigious conservative think-tank which monitors human rights violations and communist infiltration around the world, first contacts were made in Havana in 1966.

It was then, at the Non-Aligned Tricontinental Congress, that Palestinian leaders met for the first time with representatives of pro-Soviet guerrilla movements in Central America. An alliance was quickly formed on a common ideological base — the mutual struggle against "U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism."

Active cooperation between the PLO and the Sandinistas became a reality in 1969, according to Maclon. At a meeting in Mexico City, Benito Escobar of the Sandinistas met with three high-ranking PLO men in Mexico City. As a result, 52 Sandinista "freedom fighters" were sent for training to PLO camps in Tyre, Lebanon. In the years that followed, more training bases for the Sandinista and other Central American rebels were established, under PLO supervision, in Algeria and Libya, and an agreement for logistical aid was signed between the two "revolutionary"

groups.

The Sandinistas not only accepted training from the PLO, they also fought side-by-side with them. In 1970, for instance, Patrick Arguello Ryan, a Sandinista trained in the Middle East, was Leila Khaled's partner in an abortive attack on an El Al plane just outside Amsterdam. (Ryan was killed in the attack.)

Numerous press reports described Moises Hassan as the "major contact man" in the Nicaraguan-Palestinian alliance. But Maclon believes that that role was played by Tomas Borge, currently interior minister in the Sandinista government.

A STAUNCH follower of Fidel Castro, Borge was the Cuban president's major emissary in the Middle East during the early '70s, and was a familiar figure in both Beirut and Damascus. He used Libyan money and PLO technical assistance to get arms from North Korea and Vietnam, and channel them to anti-government guerrillas in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras.

Without these deliveries, Maclon asserts, the Sandinistas would not have been able to defeat the Managua regime of President Anastasio Somoza. A massive Borge-arranged shipment of weapons, Maclon says, arrived two months before the Sandinistas, final victory. It consisted of guns sent from North Korea to Nicaragua, carried in a Lebanon-registered vessel which was owned and operated by the PLO.

Maclon also points to the part played by Julian Rizzo, a former member of Havana's UN delegation. According to the U.S. researcher, Rizzo was a high-ranking official in DJI, the Cuban secret service, and the liaison man with the Black Panthers in the U.S. and pre-independence Puerto Rican groups. In New York, Rizzo was constantly seen with Zehdi Terzi and Hassan Abdel Rahman, the two top men at the PLO's UN mission. (Incidentally, both Terzi and Rahman have Latin links. The former was once his organization's

representative in Chile, the latter studied in Puerto Rico.)

Today, Rizzo is serving as the Cuban ambassador to pro-Soviet Grenada and is cooperating with a large group of PLO activists, with the full blessing of Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of Grenada, to help establish anti-government guerrilla networks in the eastern part of the Caribbean, which the American regard as a very important strategic zone.

HOWEVER, post-Somoza Nicaragua remains the major centre of PLO activity in the area.

Maclon rejects the official State Department theory that Cuba is the main source of Soviet arms to guerrillas in El Salvador who are fighting the pro-American government there.

"It is the PLO with financial aid from Gaddafi that is helping to establish the anti-American network in the area," he argues, criticizing the State Department for downplaying the "Arab connection."

The first major step Gaddafi took in order to strengthen his ties with the anti-American, PLO-trained guerrilla forces in the area was in 1978 when he opened a bank account in Panama through which he channelled about half-a-billion dollars to the Sandinistas and other guerrilla groups. In 1979 he invited to Bengazi the members of a group called "the Junta for the Coordination of the Revolution," made up of heads of guerrilla forces in Central and South America, and promised to help them financially and politically.

After their victory in August 1980, the Sandinistas — represented by the Minister of Planning Henri Ruize — signed a government-to-government agreement with the PLO.

The PLO has an "embassy" in Managua, headed by Ahmed Suleiman, with a staff of about 70. The opening of the embassy was followed by a secret trip by Borge to Libya where he met with Gaddafi. The latter, according to Maclon, donated \$100 million for "agricultural projects" in Nicaragua

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Friday, August 14, 1981

UNHOLY ALLIANCE



South Africa's Mr Vorster earlier this year. Swapo's partial acceptance of the proposals last week (but Swapo still refuses, for example, to agree that Walvis Bay with its superb natural harbour should remain a South African enclave) was hailed as a victory for the talkative Mr Andrew Young and, in particular, his deputy, Mr Don McHenry.

Thus baldly stated, the deal might appear to amount to saying: we won't meddle in your territory (Angola) if you don't meddle in ours (Zaire), with Namibia left as a contested area to be fought over at the polls. So why are many officials privately sceptical?

The primary reasons are that (a) no understanding appears to have been reached about the withdrawal of significant numbers of Cuban troops from Angola, where some 20,000 are currently based and have recently been reinforced – according to one account – by East German paratroops; while (b) the choking-off of support to Unita and the FNLA could allow the Russians and the Cubans to develop Angola as a fully secure base for military intervention in neighbouring countries. This is why one well-placed French official characterised the suspension of aid to the anti-Soviet resistance in Angola to FOREIGN REPORT with a well-known phrase: '*C'est beaucoup plus grave qu'un crime; c'est une faute*'.

As far as Swapo's change of line on the western proposals is concerned, it was always difficult to see why the movement's leaders refused to accept them at the outset. They must have realised that, whether or not they were ready to work within the five-power formula (or test their popularity in free and fair elections) acceptance would provide some leverage to engineer the withdrawal of South African troops from the territory. The future of the territory is likely to hinge on the balance of military force and on the relative capacities of the opposing sides to protect – or intimidate (depending on the observer's perspective) – the local population.

Ironically, before his recent retirement as chief of South Africa's Bureau of State Security, General Hendrik Van Den Bergh had suggested to Mr Vorster a possible arrangement with Neto not entirely dissimilar to what the major western powers now seem resigned to accept. He thought South Africa should offer Neto a deal under which South Africa would cut off support for Unita in return for a similar withdrawal of support from Swapo (and the arrest of its leaders) by the Angolan regime. According to informed sources, Neto was disposed to accept.

But the suggestion was vetoed at the highest political level in Pretoria, in the belief that, whereas the Angolan government and its Soviet-block backers could renew support for Namibian guerrillas whenever they saw fit, it might prove impossible to rebuild an anti-Soviet resistance movement in Angola once it had been allowed to be destroyed. The same consideration is weighing on the minds of people like Zbigniew Brzezinski today.

For Report 19 July 73

Link-up between Montoneros and the PLO

Links between the Palestinian guerrilla groups and Latin American revolutionaries are being strengthened. West European security services have long been concerned that the thousands of Latin American extremists – many of them loyal to the Revolutionary Co-ordinating Junta (JCR), founded in 1974 to pool the resources of Argentinian, Chilean, Bolivian and Uruguayan terrorist groups – who have found refuge in European capitals would provide a source of fresh recruits for the terrorist

international. The dramatic career of the Venezuelan 'Carlos' (who now lives in a luxurious villa on the outskirts of Tripoli, guarded by Colonel Qaddafi's security men) gave an inkling of what might be in store.

Argentina's Montoneros, a waning force in their own country as a result of a determined anti-terrorist drive and the flight of most of their leaders into exile, have forged a tactical alliance with the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The PLO's clandestine radio station, 'Voice of Palestine' - which transmits from southern Lebanon - recently publicised the visit of a Montonero delegation headed by 'Major' Marjón and 'Captain' Alcides. (The names are probably *noms de guerre*.) According to the PLO broadcast, the Argentinians had talked with Khalil al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, Fatah's chief of military operations, and with 'specialised groups of the Palestinian revolution'.

Montonero leaders have visited PLO bases in Lebanon in the past, and are said to maintain close contacts with Palestinian representatives in Paris and Rome. Earlier this year, the Israeli paper *Yediot Aharonot* carried a report of a joint communiqué from the Montoneros and the PLO that supposedly pledged combined action against both Israeli and Argentinian targets. The ideological base for this kind of tactical alliance is readily comprehensible, not least because many of the Montoneros' key leaders (like Rodolfo Galimberti) are revolutionary Peronists who began their political careers in ultra-nationalist and violently anti-semitic organisations such as Tacuara.

Turkey's new intelligence chief

The appointment of a retired army general, Adnan Ersoz, as chief of Turkey's intelligence service, the MIT, marks a new phase in Bulent Ecevit's efforts to contain the rising wave of political violence that threatens to swamp his left-wing government.

In the six months since Ecevit took office, more people have been killed by political violence than in the whole of last year, when Suliman Demirel's conservative coalition was in power. After an interlude of comparative restraint, right-wing extremists have swung into action again in recent weeks, and have carried out a series of assassinations that have provoked a storm of protest from the Turkish left. Students invaded the prime minister's office last week after the killing of a left-wing university professor.

Ecevit would like to have appointed a man with political views like his own as chief of the MIT, but could not find anyone with plausible qualifications to fill the job. So he turned to General Ersoz, who is regarded as less hostile to Ecevit's way of thinking than most senior Turkish officers.

A year ago, Ersoz fell foul of Demirel and was eventually obliged to retire from the army, although he had been widely tipped to rise to the rank of commander of land forces. Estranged from Demirel and deeply opposed to the excesses of the extreme right, he is expected to play on the rôle of a loyal professional. But, Ersoz is no left-winger, and does not subscribe to Ecevit's own left-of-centre views. His appointment has not aroused concern among western officials in Ankara, who hope and believe that he will carry out his duties impartially.

Trouble could arise if Ecevit or his more extreme supporters try to meddle in the internal organisation of the MIT, which has close ties with the army. Some of the men around Ecevit want MIT to be 'purged' of alleged right-wingers. More important

So, after the mass executions, the Communist party's secretary-general, Aziz Mohammed, went to Moscow to consult the Soviet politburo on how to handle the crisis. No solution can have emerged, since Aziz Mohammed and his group have not yet returned to Baghdad. After the arrest or disappearance of a number of leading Iraqi Communists on 21 November, there was a mass exodus of party members from Baghdad.

Naim Haddad, a member of the Baath national leadership and secretary-general of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front, declared on 14 April that the Communist leaders 'had left the country and abandoned the struggle'. He also charged that 'the Communist party had begun to undertake secret activity'. Haddad did not specify the nature of this secret work, but claimed that some of the Communists who had been arrested that month had failed to heed government warnings against efforts to spread subversion in the armed forces.

Haddad also denounced the Communists for trying to set up a 'centre of political and intelligence activity' in rivalry to the Baath party. West European Communist newspapers recently listed some names of the Communists arrested in April. They included Abdul Salam al-Nassari, a member of the party's central committee, who was also on the editorial board of its theoretical journal, and Muhammad Karim Fathalla, a member of the editorial board of the party's weekly paper.

The Soviet dilemma is whether to try to help the Iraqi Communist party at the risk of straining relations with the regime in Baghdad. In many other situations, the Soviet leadership has not hesitated to treat local pro-Moscow parties as expandable for the sake of promoting good relations with an existing government. Last month, however, the Russians hinted at their displeasure over the official treatment of the Iraqi Communists: Before this year, Soviet messages on the occasion of the anniversary of the April, 1972, friendship treaty with Iraq had been sent in the names of the top Russian leaders, identified by their titles. This year, both the leaders' names and any mention of the Soviet Communist party were omitted. The message was signed merely by the Supreme Soviet praesidium and the council of ministers - throwaway phraseology used by the Russians for routine government-to-government formalities. The message, which had been reproduced on the front page of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* since 1975, was relegated to page two of both papers this time.

With the Communist party so badly battered in Iraq, it would seem that the Russians will now try to work through the new Iraqi Communist Vanguard Organisation, as well as through direct contacts with the regime.

This two-track (or perhaps three-track) approach has been developed by the Russians before. Another current example could be Iran, where a new Marxist-Leninist movement, calling itself the Iranian Communist party, was formed in February in rivalry to the pro-Soviet Tudeh party. While the Tudeh leadership has strongly protested against the emergence of a rival body, there are suspicions that the new group - which does not suffer the Tudeh's handicap of being wholly committed with Moscow - could be manipulated as a Soviet front.

PLO office in Brazil

The PLO is expected to open an office in Brasilia in the near future. The Brazilian government's readiness to grant approval is causing concern, not merely among the local Jewish community, but among Brazil's southern neighbours, since the PLO has

established close relations with the Arab world, and, in particular,

Last year, after the Marzen and 'Cay' issued a joint call for an alliance to attack the Arab states, the groups are currently recruiting. Monteneros were among the groups that was listed in the report of this year, and it

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May 30, 79

Established close relations with the Latin American guerrilla movements that are represented under the umbrella of the Revolutionary Co-ordinating Junta (JCR) - and, in particular, with Argentina's Montoneros.

Last year, after a visit to PLO bases by a Montonero delegation headed by 'Major' **Marion** and 'Captain' **Aleides** (see FOREIGN REPORT No. 1543), the two organisations issued a joint communiqué in which they declared that they had formed a tactical alliance to attack Israeli and Argentinian targets. Argentinian revolutionaries in exile are currently receiving guerrilla training in bases in Libya and South Yemen. The Montoneros were also the key delegation at the conference for Latin American terrorist groups that was held, under Colonel **Qaddafi's** auspices, in Benghazi at the beginning of this year, and which was also attended by PLO leaders.

Like the Palestinians, the Montoneros have experienced considerable difficulty in staging effective strikes on their home ground (although there has been a recent resurgence in terrorist attacks on isolated police stations in Argentina) and are now in search of 'soft targets' abroad. Over the past few months, there has been a notable concentration of Montonero exiles in Spain, where some Argentinian extremists are believed by the local security services to have taken part in the latest wave of terrorist attacks by the Basque organisation, ETA-Militar. The Montoneros' leader, **Mario Firmenich**, visited Puerto Hierro, just outside Madrid (and formerly the home-in-exile of **Juan Perón**), last month to attend a clandestine planning session with Spanish and Palestinian terrorist leaders.

The Brazilians' decision to allow the PLO to establish an office is no doubt motivated by their need for imported oil. But it is viewed, in Buenos Aires in particular, as a dangerous precedent that could augur an extension of Palestinian terrorist operations - and terrorist recruitment - to the South American continent.

Soviet manoeuvres in Hungary

Big Warsaw pact manoeuvres, involving the armies and air forces of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary as well as Russia, took place in Hungary on 16-20 May. Rumania, significantly, was represented only by a contingent of staff officers.

The manoeuvres were held in the hilly parts of western Hungary known as Transdanubia. The man in charge was **General Lajos Czinege**, the Hungarian defence minister. The other Warsaw pact defence ministers were in attendance: **Marshal Ustinov** from Russia, **General Dzhurov** from Bulgaria, **General Jaruzelski** from Poland, **General Hoffman** from East Germany (fresh from another African tour), **General Dzur** from Czechoslovakia and **Colonel-General Coman** from Rumania. **Marshal Kulikov**, the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw pact armies, which are always referred to in the Soviet-block press as 'the united armed forces', attended the manoeuvres. Western military attachés were also invited.

The objectives of the manoeuvres, according to the Hungarian paper, *Nepszabadszag*, were 'the countering of an aggressive military act by the enemy crossing the borders of the Hungarian People's Republic through the combined military efforts of the forces of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Soviet Union; the testing of the battle or combat co-ordination of the various branches of military services; the co-ordination and co-operation of multi-lingual forces; crossing into enemy territory - including by means of rapid river crossing - to pursue the retreating forces of the enemy and to destroy

tactic is no longer working. Abu Jihad has his own ambitions to replace Arafat, and western intelligence sources report that he has established close relations with Baghdad on his own account.

Arafat's position is further weakened by his loss of government backing in the Arab world. Specifically:

1. The Saudis are angry with him because of his support for Ayatollah Khomeini and his criticisms of the Saudi regime.
2. The Egyptians are equally upset by his attacks on President Sadat's peace diplomacy and his expressions of support for 'an Egyptian Khomeini'.
3. The Iraqis and the Syrians, as explained above, are backing other horses.

If the Saudis could have their way, they would like to see Ahmad Shukri emerge as the dominant figure in the PLO. But any bid to use their money to try to bring about some such change can probably be ruled out, for the time being. Realists about the emergence of Iraq as the foremost military power in the Gulf - after the collapse of Iran - and also about the reliability of the Carter administration, the Saudis are trying to build an entente with Baghdad. The fighting at their back door between the two Yemens (in which some of the South Yemens' Soviet-block advisers are reported to have been involved) will be a further inducement to Saudi caution.

Qaddafi backs Latin America's terrorists

Between 25 January and 1 February, Colonel Qaddafi played host in Benghazi to what was grandiloquently described as 'the first conference of the revolutionary progressive organisations and movements of Latin America'. Before the conference, the Libyans announced that 'more than 100' groups were expected to be represented in Benghazi.

The Libyans have not released a full list of who actually turned up, but FOREIGN REPORT has learned that the Latin American groups represented included:

- Argentina's *Montoneros*, one of the most active (and best-financed) Latin American revolutionary movements operating abroad, with support groups and front organisations established in Paris, Rome, Stockholm and Madrid, as well as Mexico City, and an 'advisory mission' in Maputo;
- The *Sandinista National Liberation Front* (FSLN) of Nicaragua, which has been the armed vanguard of the rebellion against President Somoza, and is closely identified with the Cubans;
- Several other central American groups, including Costa Rican revolutionaries who have been providing a support base for Sandinista operations across the border and members of the terrorist organisation in El Salvador that is currently holding two British bankers to ransom;
- Chilean exiles belonging to the *United Popular Action Movement* (Mapu), a radical Marxist party that was formerly a member of Allende's Popular Unity coalition;
- Delegates from Chile's *Movement of the Revolutionary Left* (Mir) and its sister-groups from Bolivia, Argentina and Uruguay that together compose the Revolutionary Co-ordinating Junta (JCR), which was founded in 1974 as the first example of formalised regional co-ordination between Latin American guerrilla groups, and has now established a secretariat in Havana.

According to Radio Tripoli, the purpose of the Benghazi conference was 'to draw up a unified plan of struggle against all types of fascism and imperialism in America'.

In fact, western analysts believe that the immediate outcome of the conference is likely to be the increased participation of Latin American exiles in international terrorist operations in western Europe and the Middle East.

A 'Eurocommunist' candidate from Réunion

One of the items on the agenda for the current meeting of ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Nairobi is the question of independence for Réunion, the strategic Indian Ocean island which is a department – in other words an integral part – of France. Last month, the OAU's Liberation Committee, meeting in Dar es Salaam, allowed a delegation from Réunion to put its case. The countries represented at that session of the committee were Libya, Tanzania, Madagascar, Mozambique and the Seychelles. Their decision to give the Réunion spokesman a hearing was surprising for two reasons:

1. Last June, the OAU's Liberation Committee, while confirming that Réunion formed part of Africa 'in the same way as Mauritius or the Seychelles', found it difficult to decide whether an effective 'liberation movement' existed on the island. Last July, the OAU summit meeting in Khartoum resolved that the needs of the southern African guerrilla groups were the top priority, and the question of Réunion would have to wait.

2. The delegation received by the Liberation Committee last month was not headed by Paul Vergès, the secretary-general of the Réunion Communist party. Vergès is well-known among African radicals: for example, he attended an Afro-Arab conference in Addis Ababa last September at which Fidel Castro was also present. But the Réunion delegation was headed by a little-known figure, Serge Sinamale, leader of the Communist Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Réunion (OCMLR), a minor Maoist group founded in 1975 as a splinter from the Communist party.

OCMLR spokesmen claim there is only one party in the island that stands for complete independence. The Communists, they say, want merely autonomy for Réunion. The Réunion Communists are inhibited by the cautionary advice of their big brother, the French Communist party – and by personal ambitions to play a part in French politics. While the OCMLR's rhetoric about independence may strike a chord with the OAU radicals, their following is derisory. Their congress last August attracted only 200 followers from all parts of the island.

What may have decided the issue of who would be received in Dar es Salaam was the announcement by Vergès last month that he will stand as a candidate of the French Communist party in the elections for the European parliament in June. Although he referred to his candidature as 'a key to our liberation', it is widely regarded as a signal of total self-identification with the French political set-up. Vergès himself described his decision to run for the European parliament as an answer to those who accuse the Réunion Communist party of being 'separatist or of favouring independence'.

A decade ago, Vergès talked rather differently. In 1969, for example, he declared at a meeting in Moscow that his party was leading 'the struggle for both national and social liberation'. The same year, spokesmen for his party insisted that it would be 'a mistake to think that the objectives of the French and Réunion Communist parties are the same'.

JP
1/7/82

PLO serenade

The PLO is doing its best to woo Latin America.
LEON HADAR reports on its varying degrees of success.

THE ELECTION of a Latin American diplomat, the Peruvian Javier Perez de Cuellar as UN secretary-general symbolizes the growing political power of the Latin American bloc which has for many years been a source of political support for the Jewish State at the UN and in other international forums. The Latin American vote at the UN in March 1947 made the partition of Palestine possible, and for the first 25 years of Israel's existence the Latin America nations provided more than half of the votes supporting her.

Although in the decade of the 1970s Latin American support weakened as the Arab bloc split into various factions, the Latin American nations are still seen by both Israel and Arabs as an important political resource for the state of Israel. It is the only Third World bloc whose majority of members — 21 — maintain diplomatic relations with Israel, not to mention various degrees of economic and military cooperation.

Since the Yom Kippur War, only three Latin American nations have broken diplomatic relations with Israel: Cuba in September 1973, Guyana in March 1974, and Nicaragua following the Sandinista Revolution there.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Latin American continent has become an important target of an international Arab campaign aimed both at eroding support for Israel there, and at winning international recognition for the PLO.

Since 1973, when quadrupled oil prices threw the economics of many of Latin America's developing countries into a tailspin, the Arab bloc has been exerting increasing pressure upon the Latin American states to move decisively into the Arab camp, the pressure being applied through oil and dollars. "The Arabs, encouraged by the 'tilt' toward the Arabs by various Latin American governments in 1973, are now pressing even harder their ongoing campaign to isolate Israel and to win political support for the PLO," says Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, director of the Latin American Department in the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who returned recently from a fact-finding trip to several Latin American countries.

"However, while the PLO has been enjoying increasing support among revolutionary groups and regimes — mainly Cuba and the new Sandinista regime in Nicaragua — the pro-PLO campaign in several of the conservative states has reached a stalemate," noted Rosenthal. "One notices a growing resentment and concern among the public and the leadership over the terrorist and radical nature of the PLO and the danger it poses to the governments.

Thus, the goal of the Arab bloc, announced at the Arab League

meeting in Tunis in 1979, of ousting Israel from the region as they succeeded, diplomatically, in doing in Africa, and replacing it with PLO embassies has not been fulfilled.

Three radical Central American states did become centres of PLO political and military activity in the continent — Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada.

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However, as Rosenthal notes, the PLO has only four offices in the region which are officially recognized by the host countries — in Cuba, Mexico, Peru and Nicaragua — although neither Mexico nor Peru accords diplomatic status to the PLO representatives. Expectations that other states, especially Uruguay and Brazil, would recognize the PLO officially, or that the liberal Catholic churches and trade unions would support the Palestinian cause, were clearly not fulfilled, according to Rosenthal who each year publishes a report dealing with the PLO position in the region.

There are indications, argues Rosenthal, that one of the countries — Peru — on June 11, 1979 authorized an official PLO office, a move that was explained as a *quid pro quo* for the establishment of the headquarters of an Arab-controlled bank, Arabank, is having second thoughts. "Peru in which more than 1,000 terrorist acts were counted last year, like other countries in the region, is concerned that the PLO office is a trojan horse which exposes the country to terrorism and subversion," said Rosenthal.

Thus an editorial in a leading Peruvian newspaper *Expresso* on December 5, linked the PLO with "terrorism, violence and death" and commented on PLO representative Issam Beseisso's offer of Arab loans and petrodollar grants to Peru if the country would "assume a favourable position vis-à-vis the Palestinian cause... as in the case of Brazil."

The paper asserted that the "recent declaration of Mr. Beseisso constitutes an offense to the Peruvian people. This type of blackmail is unacceptable." It also called for the expulsion of the PLO representative from Lima, noting that it was "incredible" that Peru's previous military government had granted the PLO official the status of a "diplomatic agent."

Beseisso said in reply to the editorial that according to an Arab League summit decision in November 1979, "all economic cooperation with any country is conditional upon that country's recognition and diplomatic support of the Palestinian people."

The Peruvian Foreign Minister Arian Stella stressed in a reaction to the editorial that the PLO representative does not have diplomatic status and that there are no plans to give it to him. He also noted that the

PLO office had not been authorized by the present government, but by the former military regime.

SIMILAR CONCERNS over PLO pressures were observed by Rosenthal in other Latin American countries as a result of the increasing terrorist activity in several states in the continent. Thus, a concentrated Arab effort to gain public sympathy from, and recognition by, the Colombian regime, which was carried out through a major propaganda campaign in the media had very little effect on the government which traditionally supports Israel. Colombia has even promised to provide an infantry battalion to the international peacekeeping force in Sinai, more troops than any other Latin American country.

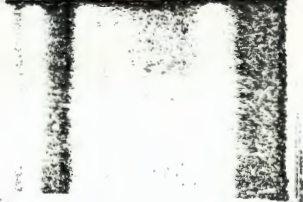
El Tiempo, a major Bogota daily ran a series of lengthy articles on the PLO, as part of the PLO campaign in Colombia, stressing the suffering of Palestinian children. The articles were written by a reporter who went to Lebanon at the invitation of the PLO which also invite television reporters. An interview with PLO chief Yasser Arafat was shown along with scenes of various peaceful PLO activities in Bogota. The UN-sponsored Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people was marked by a full-page ad in *El Tiempo* and a screening of a U film on Palestinians.

"But all this media blitz conducted by the PLO representatives did not change the Colombian position and its refusal to grant diplomatic recognition to the PLO," notes Rosenthal. He adds that another important factor determining the regime's position on the issue is the anti-terrorist campaign is currently waging against the M- and other local guerrilla organizations. Seven guerrillas were killed in clashes with the government just few weeks ago.

Beseisso was also at the centre of a pro-PLO campaign in another Andean Pact nation, Ecuador, when he requested authorization from the Ecuadorean House of Representatives to open a PLO office in Quito as the first step toward recognition of a "Palestinian state."

Beseisso met with the legislative commission on international affairs in Quito a few weeks ago. The commission's president, Alejandro Corderon, declared in reference to commonly accepted international principles of co-existence "shared by the Ecuadorean and Palestinian peoples," that "there will be a concrete response to each one of the petitions presented."

The groundwork for the PLO approach to the Ecuadorean government was laid last May, according to Rosenthal. Gil Barragan, the vice-president of the Ecuadorean House of Representatives a leader of a congressional delegation that toured the Middle East in



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that toured the Middle East follow-

ing the Ecuadorean-Peruvian
border flareup of January, was
reported to have stated in an inter-
view with the Kuwaiti news agency
that Ecuador supported the Palesti-
nian cause.

When questioned whether
Ecuador would permit the PLO to
open an office to represent its in-
terests in Quito, the legislator ex-
plained that "the parliament will
support that question if it's ap-
proved by the minister of foreign
relations."

However, Rosenthal and other
Latin American observers believe
that despite the fact that Ecuador,
the smallest member of OPEC,
made a strong overture to support
the Arab cause in 1981 — a move
motivated by need to expand
markets for its goods, to get credit
with which to finance its burgeoning
internal development and to get
diplomatic backing in its unresolved
dispute with Peru — the Quito
government would refrain from of-
ficially recognizing the PLO.

Israel, it should be noted, has
aided Ecuador in a number of fields
including irrigation, transportation,
agricultural and rural development
and military training. Ecuatoriana,
the Ecuadorean national airline,
flies Boeing 727 jets bought from
Israel and still serviced by Israelis.

ANOTHER Andean Pact nation
and a major OPEC member,
Venezuela, has also been indicating
its reluctance to authorize a PLO
office in its capital, and Rosenthal
stressed that such requests were re-
jected by the last three Venezuelan
administrations.

The PLO renewed its efforts to
secure such permission when short-
ly after the inauguration of Presi-
dent Luis Herrera Campins in 1979,
a PLO delegation called upon
Foreign Minister Jose Zambrano
Velez who had additional con-
versations on the issue with PLO

representatives at the recent non-
aligned movement conference in
Havana. The Foreign minister re-
jected the idea on both occasions.
The prospects for a PLO office in
Caracas seemed very bright in
February 1980 when President Her-
rera embarked on a 10-day tour of
several OPEC countries aimed,
among other things, at strengthen-
ing relations with the Arab
countries.

At his first stop in Algeria, the
PLO office was discussed and the
Venezuelan president issued a state-
ment supporting the Palestinian
people's "legitimate national
rights." However, as a result of
pressures from conservative ele-
ments in the regime and a public
campaign conducted by the Jewish
community, the president turned
down the request to open the PLO
office.

Latin American observers believe
that Mexico's leadership will con-
tinue to preach solidarity with the
PLO and other radical Third World
movements in order to appease the
radical left-wing elements in the
Mexican ruling party, but that this
attitude will not lead to any expan-
sion of PLO activity in Mexico or
cause problems in the good rela-
tions with Israel.

Even in Mexico, where President
Jose Lopez Portillo honoured in
1976 a commitment made by his
predecessor Luis Echeverria
Alvarez to Arafat in 1975, and per-
mitted the PLO to open an office,
members of the regime, including
the president himself have expres-
sed wariness over the PLO's ac-
tivity. "The office has been limited
to only one staff member, Marwan
Tahboub, a graduate of a Spanish
university, who has not been
granted diplomatic status," notes
Rosenthal.

This is the first of two articles by the New
York correspondent of The Jerusalem
Post.