

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 184-75
1 DECEMBER 1975

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 184-75.4

1. //CHILE: A BREAKDOWN IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHILE, WHICH HAD APPEARED IMMINENT, HAS BEEN AVERTED, ALTHOUGH DEEP DIFFERENCES REMAIN.//4

//BY BOWING TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S RECENT REQUEST TO DISSOLVE ITS COMMITTEE FOR PEACE, THE CHURCH INDIRECTLY ADMITTED THAT SOME OF THE COMMITTEE'S MEMBERS HAD ASSISTED FUGITIVES FROM THE TERRORIST MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR). SOME OF THOSE ARRESTED FOR SHELTERING LEADERS OF THE TERRORIST GROUP WERE CHURCH PERSONS HOLDING US CITIZENSHIP.//4

//EARLIER THIS MONTH, CARDINAL SILVA, THE CHILEAN PRELATE, PUBLICLY THREATENED TO EXCOMMUNICATE AN INFLUENTIAL AND ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE ADVISER TO PINOCHET WHO HAD ATTACKED THE CHURCH FOR COMPLICITY IN THE MIR AFFAIR. THE CHURCH BECAME ON THE VERGE OF AN OPEN CLASH WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THIS, AS WELL AS THE CHURCH'S ACUTE EMBARRASSMENT OVER THE MIR MATTER, PROBABLY IMPELLED CHURCH AUTHORITIES TO BACK OFF FROM THEIR PREVIOUS TOUGH STANCE.//4

//THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO KEEP CHURCH-STATE

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DIFFERENCES WITHIN MANAGEABLE LIMITS AND TO LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN FOR COOPERATION. PINOCHET HAS MET PRIVATELY WITH CARDINAL SILVA, PRESUMABLY TO WORK OUT AN UNDERSTANDING, AND BOTH HAVE APPEARED DISPOSED TO TAKE AN EVEN-HANDED APPROACH IN DEALING WITH THEIR QUARRELS.//4

//PINOCHET'S HANDLING OF THE ARREST AND SUBSEQUENT EXPULSION OF THE US CITIZENS CAN ALSO BE ATTRIBUTED TO A DESIRE TO AVOID FURTHER COMPLICATING RELATIONS WITH THE US.//4

//CARDINAL SILVA IS CURRENTLY IN ROME WHERE HE IS EXPECTED TO HOLD TALKS WITH THE POPE ON THE CHURCH'S POSITION IN CHILE. THE CHURCH WILL REMAIN CAUTIOUS IN DEALING WITH THE MILITARY REGIME; FURTHER STRIFE OVER SENSITIVE ISSUES IS LIKELY, BUT IT IS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF BOTH SIDES TO SEEK COMPROMISES. THE JUNTA WOULD STAND TO LOSE THE MOST IF IT USED AN IRON HAND AGAINST THE CHURCH BECAUSE OF THE INEVITABLE INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CHURCH COULD LOSE THE SUPPORT OF CONSERVATIVES, WHO HAVE ALREADY CRITICIZED ITS INVOLVEMENT WITH THE TERRORISTS, IF IT CONTINUES TO CONFRONT THE GOVERNMENT. {CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN}//4

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2. //LATIN AMERICA-US: LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WILL BE CLOSELY EXAMINING THE NEWLY AUTHORIZED GENERAL SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES PRODUCT LIST, WHICH THEY REGARD AS AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF US APPROACHES TOWARD THEIR DEVELOPMENT ASPIRATIONS. WHETHER THE EXCLUSION OF THE AREA'S TWO OPEC MEMBERS, VENEZUELA AND ECUADOR, WILL STIMULATE BROAD REGIONAL CRITICISM OF US TRADE POLICY WILL PROBABLY TURN ON HOW BENEFICIAL OR DISAPPOINTING THE REST OF THE GOVERNMENTS FIND THE LIST FOR THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.//4

//SEVERAL GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING BRAZIL AND COLOMBIA, HAVE REACTED FAVORABLY TO US ASSURANCES THAT THE NEW LIST WILL GRANT BETTER ACCESS FOR THEIR EXPORTS TO THE US MARKET. THEY INTEND, HOWEVER, TO SCRUTINIZE CAREFULLY THE ACTUAL LIST IN ORDER TO MAKE THEIR OWN ANALYSIS OF ITS IMPACT ON THEIR COMMERCE. ONE REFERENCE POINT WILL PROBABLY BE WASHINGTON'S ORIGINAL PROPOSAL OF PRODUCTS ON THE GENERAL PREFERENCE LIST--SOME OF WHICH HAVE SINCE BEEN DELETED.//4

//ECUADOR'S OFFICIALS AND MEDIA HAVE BEEN VENTING THEIR ANGER OVER QUITO'S EXCLUSION FROM THE PREFERENCE SCHEME, BUT HAVE ALSO CRITICIZED ITS APPLICABILITY TO "TOO FEW PRODUCTS." SIMILAR REACTION

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IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO COME FROM VENEZUELA. NO MOVE HAS BEEN MADE YET TO CALL A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE OAS TO REVIEW THE SITUATION, AS WAS DONE LAST SPRING FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF THE TRADE REFORM ACT. THIS ACTION COULD BE REPEATED IN THE EVENT QUITO AND CARACAS FIND SYMPATHETIC EARS IN NEIGHBORING CAPITALS. {CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN}
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EAST ASIA BRIEF 184-75.4

1. LAOS: A SENIOR LAO GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL SAID ON SUNDAY THAT PRIME MINISTER SOUVANNA PHOUMA AND THE KING HAD DECIDED TO STEP DOWN, AND THAT AN ANNOUNCEMENT MIGHT BE MADE ON MONDAY. THE HOLDING OF A MEETING AT SOUVANNA PHOUMA'S HOUSE IN VIENTIANE ON SUNDAY ADDED TO SPECULATION.4

ON FRIDAY THE COMMUNISTS LAUNCHED A WELL-REHEARSED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COALITION IN VIENTIANE. IN THE MORNING, THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER FEATURED A SPEECH BY PATHET LAO CABINET MEMBER KHAMOUANE BOUPHA CALLING FOR THE REPLACEMENT OF THE COALITION WITH A "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT." LATER THE SAME DAY, WELL-ORCHESTRATED DEMONSTRATIONS BEGAN IN SEVERAL AREAS OF VIENTIANE CALLING FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE COALITION. A GROUP OF ABOUT 1,000 MARCHED TO THE RESIDENCE OF PRIME MINISTER SOUVANNA DEMANDING HIS REMOVAL.4

FOUR DAYS EARLIER, MOST OF THE REMAINING NON-COMMUNIST POLITICIANS IN VIENTIANE WERE FLOWN TO THE COMMUNIST HEADQUARTERS NEAR SAM NEUA, DEEP IN NORTHEASTERN LAOS, OSTENSIBLY TO ATTEND A

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MEETING OF THE COALITION JOINT NATIONAL POLITICAL COUNCIL. IT IS LIKELY THAT THEY WILL BE DETAINED THERE INDEFINITELY, JOINING OTHER FORMER RANKING POLITICIANS AND MILITARY OFFICERS IN LENGTHY RE-INDOCTRINATION SESSIONS.

THE COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR SOUVANNA'S RETIREMENT SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER, BUT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD EXPECTED TO REMAIN UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN APRIL. NOW, HOWEVER, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE APPARENTLY DECIDED THAT THEY HAVE NEUTRALIZED ALL OPPOSITION AND CAN EFFECTIVELY OPERATE THE GOVERNMENT. THEY HAVE THE ELECTION PROCESS WELL UNDER WAY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND SEE NO REASON TO MAINTAIN THE OCCASIONALLY CUMBERSOME COALITION STRUCTURE. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 184-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO AND ANTI-COMMUNIST MILITARY OFFICERS ARE CARRYING OUT A FULL-SCALE PURGE OF PRO-COMMUNISTS AND OTHER EXTREME LEFTISTS IN THE MILITARY AND THE GOVERNMENT.4

ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO AND NAVY CHIEF OF STAFF FILGUEIRA SOARES ARE THE LATEST HIGH-LEVEL OFFICERS TO BE FORCED OUT IN THE WAKE OF LAST WEEK'S ABORTIVE PARATROOPER REBELLION. THEIR DEPARTURE LEAVES ONLY TWO COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL--BOTH NAVY OFFICERS--AND THEY ALSO ARE LIKELY TO GO AS THE PURGE OF THE MILITARY CONTINUES. GENERALS CARVALHO AND FABIAO, WHO WERE FORCED OUT LAST WEEK, MAY HAVE HAD SOME CONNECTION WITH THE REBELLION, BUT ROSA COUTINHO AND FILGUEIRAS SOARES, BOTH LEFTISTS, HAVE CLEARLY BEEN PURGED ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS, INDICATING THAT THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FACTION IS MOVING ACROSS THE BOARD TO SOLIDIFY ITS CONTROL OF THE MILITARY.4

THE PRIME MINISTER INITIATED THE MOVE BY CLEANING OUT HIS OWN PERSONAL STAFF, WHICH CONTAINED MANY PRO-COMMUNIST NAVY OFFICERS. PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES HIMSELF HAS COME IN FOR SOME SHARP CRITICISM,

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BUT SO FAR, HE HAS OFFERED LITTLE RESISTANCE.4

THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH HAD EARLIER SUSPENDED ITS ACTIVITIES, IS NOW BACK AT WORK, BUT THE PURGE OF LEFTISTS SEEMS UNLIKELY TO END PARTISAN SQUABBLING. THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS INSISTING THAT THE COMMUNISTS PUBLICLY REPUDIATE THE PARATROOPER REBELLION AND SWEAR ALLEGIANCE TO THE AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT IF THEY ARE TO CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CABINET. A SOCIALIST PARTY SOURCE REPORTS THAT IF THE COMMUNISTS DO NOT MEET THESE CONDITIONS, THE SOCIALISTS WILL DEMAND THAT A NEW GOVERNMENT, WITH NEITHER COMMUNISTS NOR POPULAR DEMOCRATS, BE FORMED.4

THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS ARE ALSO SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON THE RETREAT OF THE LEFT, AND HAVE CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE CALLING FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM ITS ONE CABINET POST/ WORKERS IN THE NORTHERN CITY OF PORTO HAVE SIGNED A PETITION CALLING FOR THE REMOVAL OF FOREIGN MINISTER ANTUNES, WHO SAID LAST WEEK THAT THE COMMUNISTS STILL HAD AN ESSENTIAL ROLE TO PLAY.4

THE COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES HAVE CLAIMED THAT THEY HAD NOTHING TO

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DO WITH THE REBELLION; THE PARTY NEWSPAPER ON SUNDAY POINTED TO THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL, RATHER THAN MILITARY, SOLUTION TO THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. A RECENT PARTY COMMUNIQUE DOES NOT CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT'S PURGE OF THE LEFT, BUT CONFINES ITSELF TO WARNING THE SOCIALISTS AND THE ANTUNES MILITARY FACTION THAT THE EXTREME RIGHT WILL SEEK TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION. [SECRET]

2. SPAIN: PRIME MINISTER ARIAS' TWO-HOUR MEETING WITH KING JUAN CARLOS LAST FRIDAY HAS GIVEN RISE TO WIDESPREAD RUMORS THAT A GOVERNMENT SHAKE-UP IS IMMINENT.

IT HAD LONG BEEN EXPECTED THAT WHEN JUAN CARLOS TOOK OVER HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO PUT A NEW FACE ON THE GOVERNMENT BY NAMING A NEW PRIME MINISTER AND THAT THE SELECTION WOULD BE A GOOD INDICATION OF WHETHER THE KING COULD AVOID TOTAL DOMINATION BY THE RIGHT. ARIAS STILL HAS THREE YEARS REMAINING IN HIS TERM OF OFFICE, HOWEVER, AND THE KING IS NOT REQUIRED TO REPLACE HIM AT PRESENT.

SOME OF THE SPECULATION ON GOVERNMENT CHANGES CENTERS ON THE KING'S RETAINING ARIAS FOR NOW BUT AT THE SAME TIME SHUFFLING THE CABINET TO BRING IN POLITICIANS MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE OPPOSITION.

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SUCH A MOVE COULD INDICATE THAT JUAN CARLOS BELIEVED THAT FRANCO'S OLD RIGHTIST SUPPORTERS COULD BLOCK THE NOMINATION OF A NEW PRIME MINISTER WHO FAVORED SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION.4

THE KING WILL NOT BE ABLE TO AVOID NAMING A NEW LEADER OF PARLIAMENT, HOWEVER, AS THE TERM OF THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE CORTES EXPIRED ON NOVEMBER 26. THE MEETING BETWEEN ARIAS AND THE KING MAY HAVE BEEN TO DISCUSS THIS APPOINTMENT, A POST FOR WHICH ARIAS HIMSELF IS IN THE RUNNING. THE PRESIDENT OF THE CORTES ALSO DOUBLES AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM AND WILL HAVE A MAJOR VOICE IN THE COUNCIL'S PRESENTATION TO THE KING OF THE LIST OF THREE CANDIDATES FOR PRIME MINISTER, FROM WHICH JUAN CARLOS MUST CHOOSE.4

THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROMISED, MEANWHILE, TO CLARIFY ITS RECENT PARDON DECREE, WHICH HAS BEEN CRITICIZED AS GOING NO FURTHER THAN SIMILAR ACTIONS BY FRANCO. TO SHOW GOOD FAITH, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY RELEASED MANY PRISONERS, SOME OF WHOM WERE JAILED FOR POLITICAL OFFENSES. MARCELINO CAMACHO, A TOP LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WORKERS' COMMISSIONS, WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO BE RELEASED.4

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO MAY SOON PROVIDE A TEST

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OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL TOLERANCE. HE ANNOUNCED ON SUNDAY HIS INTENTION TO RETURN TO SPAIN SOON FROM EXILE IN PARIS. HIS STATEMENTS, PUBLISHED IN THE FRENCH MAGAZINE L'EXPRESS, WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO PERMIT HIS RETURN, HOWEVER. HE CRITICIZED JUAN CARLOS AS "FRANCO'S KING," AND SAID THAT HIS PARTY WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED THE KING'S FATHER, DON JUAN. HE ALSO RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF CALLING FOR DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE LIMITED NATURE OF THE PARDON ISSUED BY THE KING. {CONFIDENTIAL}

3. SPAIN: THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN SPAIN HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY NEARLY FOUR DECADES OF PROSCRIPTION AND TODAY CONSISTS, FOR THE MOST PART, OF POORLY ORGANIZED SURVIVORS OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

MANY OF THE GROUPS HAVE "EXILE" AS WELL AS "INTERIOR" PARTY STRUCTURES. PERSONALITIES ARE OFTEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE GROUPS THEY LEAD, AND RIVAL FACTIONS ARE DIVIDED AS MUCH BY THEIR DEVOTION TO DIFFERENT LEADERS AS BY IDEOLOGY. OPPOSITION LEADERS LAST YEAR ATTEMPTED TO OVERCOME DIFFERENCES BY MOVING TO COMBINE THEIR PARTIES INTO A COALITION. THEY MADE SOME PROGRESS, BUT THE EMERGENCE OF TWO

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RIVAL COALITIONS DESTROYED ANY VISIONS OF A UNIFIED FRONT.4

THE INITIATIVE FOR A MERGER CAME FROM THE COMMUNISTS, WHO PUSHED THE FORMATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA IN THE SUMMER OF 1974. THE JUNTA FELL FAR SHORT OF COMMUNIST HOPES, MAINLY BECAUSE OF A LEGACY OF DISTRUST AMONG SPANISH LEFTISTS, WHO REMEMBER THE RUTHLESS COMMUNIST PURGES OF ANARCHISTS, SOCIALISTS, AND OTHER DURING THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. MOST SOCIALISTS AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS REFUSED TO JOIN. THE MOST IMPORTANT NON-COMMUNIST PARTY TO JOIN WAS TIERNO GALVAN'S POPULAR SOCIALISTS. TIERNO HAS CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL PRESTIGE AND SOME INFLUENCE IN LEFTIST CIRCLES, BUT HIS GROUP IS VERY SMALL AND LACKS POPULAR SUPPORT.4

THE COMMUNISTS ARE EASILY THE STRONGEST AND BEST-ORGANIZED FORCE IN THE OPPOSITION. THEY NUMBER ABOUT 5,000 ACTIVE MEMBERS IN SPAIN AND AT LEAST TWICE THAT MANY ABROAD, MOSTLY IN FRANCE. THE PARTY, OUTLAWED SINCE THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR, WAS HARSHLY REPPRESSED BY THE FRANCO GOVERNMENT- IN CONTRAST TO FRANCO'S TOLERATION OF MANY OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES-AND COMMUNIST LEADERS HAVE RARELY VENTURED INTO SPAIN, SANTIAGO CARRILLO, NOW 60 AND LIVING IN PARIS, HAS BEEN

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SECRETARY GENERAL SINCE DOLORES IBARRURI ACCEPTED THE HONORIFIC TITLE OF PARTY PRESIDENT IN 1960.4

THE MAIN SOURCE OF THE COMMUNISTS' STRENGTH IS THEIR DOMINANCE OVER MOST OF THE WORKERS' COMMISSIONS FORMED IN THE 1960S. COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION, DISCIPLINE, AND FINANCIAL BACKING HAVE HELPED MAKE THE COMMISSIONS THE MOST DYNAMIC POLITICAL MECHANISM AVAILABLE TO THE SPANISH WORKER. THE COMMISSIONS WILL BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO THE COMMUNISTS IF KING JUAN CARLOS DOES NOT OPEN OTHER AVENUES BY WHICH THE WORKERS CAN TAKE THEIR GRIEVANCES TO MANAGEMENT.4

THE COMMUNISTS ALSO HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL AN INSTRUMENT FOR POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN RADIO ESPANA INDEPENDIENTE, WHICH BROADCASTS FROM ROMANIA. THE COMMUNISTS FIND SOME SUPPORT IN THE SPANISH UNIVERSITIES AND HAVE GAINED CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA. THEIR ATTEMPTS OVER MANY YEARS TO INFILTRATE THE MILITARY HAVE PRODUCED NO APPARENT RESULTS. THE BASIC COMMUNIST AIM, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN TO ENCOURAGE THE NEUTRALITY OF THE MILITARY DURING THE POST-FRANCO EVOLUTION OF SPAIN'S POLITICAL SYSTEM.4

ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, THE ATTITUDES AND POSITIONS OF THE

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SPANISH COMMUNISTS ARE CLOSE TO THOSE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS. CARRILLO'S RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY STRAINED SINCE HE DENOUNCED THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968. LIKE BERLINGUER, CARRILLO STRESSES HIS INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW AND HAS CRITICIZED THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS FOR THEIR HARD-LINE TACTICS. CARRILLO PROFESSES TO FAVOR A MORE GRADUAL APPROACH TO CHANGE.

A SECOND OPPOSITION COALITION, THE PLATFORM OF DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE, WAS FORMED LAST SUMMER AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED JUNTA. THE PLATFORM HAS SOME 15 OPPOSITION PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS, AND TRADE UNIONS, BUT IS DOMINATED BY SOCIALISTS AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. ITS PROGRAM CALLS FOR A NEW DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION TO CREATE A FEDERAL STATE AND A NUMBER OF AUTONOMOUS REGIONS.

MOST OF THE GROUPS ADHERING TO THE PLATFORM WOULD ACCEPT GRADUAL EVOLUTION TOWARD A DEMOCRACY LIKE OTHERS IN WESTERN EUROPE-ALTHOUGH THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SQUABBLING OVER HOW GRADUAL THE EVOLUTION CAN BE. THE PLATFORM PROBABLY HAS TRIED TO ACCOMMODATE TOO MANY VIEWPOINTS. ONE EXTREMIST GROUP RECENTLY WITHDREW TO PROTEST THE

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PLATFORM'S MODERATION REGARDING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AND ANOTHER IS EXPECTED TO FOLLOW SUIT.4

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-THE MAJOR SOCIALIST FACTION IN SPAIN-IS THE DOMINANT FORCE IN THE PLATFORM AND THE COMMUNISTS' MAIN RIVAL ON THE LEFT. THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY AND ITS AFFILIATED TRADE UNION WERE REVITALIZED IN 1972 AFTER PARTY "YOUNG TURKS" IN SPAIN WRESTED CONTROL FROM "OLD GUARD" EXILES IN FRANCE. THE PARTY IS NOW LED BY FELIPE GONZALEZ, A YOUNG, ARTICULATE LAWYER FROM SEVILLE.4

FOUR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC FACTIONS-RUIZ GIMENEZ' CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEFT AND THREE REGIONAL GROUPS-HAVE JOINED THE PLATFORM, AND A FIFTH, GIL ROBLES' POPULAR DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, IS EXPECTED TO JOIN SOON. GIL ROBLES AND RUIZ GIMENEZ SAY THAT THE VARIOUS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC FACTIONS ARE ALREADY COLLABORATING CLOSELY, AND THAT SOME FORM OF UNION IS INEVITABLE, BUT THE DIVERSITY AND BITTER PERSONAL RIVALRIES AMONG THESE FACTIONS MAKES EFFECTIVE UNITY UNLIKELY.4

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE JUNTA AND THE PLATFORM COALITION HAS

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BEEN LIMITED. IN EARLY SEPTEMBER THEY DID JOIN IN CONDEMNING THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW LAW ON TERRORISM AND ITS EXECUTION OF FIVE TERRORISTS. A FEW DAYS LATER, CARRILLO MISREPRESENTED THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AS AN AGREEMENT ON A COMMON PROGRAM, LEADING SEVERAL PLATFORM GROUPS TO ISSUE IMMEDIATE DENIALS. IN SPITE OF THE FRICTION, THE TWO AGAIN ISSUED A JOINT COMMUNIQUE AT THE END OF OCTOBER, THIS TIME SETTING OUT OBJECTIVES FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

ALL OPPOSITION GROUPS ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE TWO MOST PRESSING ISSUES IN POST-FRANCO SPAIN WILL BE AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND LEGALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES. THE PARTIAL AMNESTY ISSUED BY JUAN CARLOS ON NOVEMBER 26 HAS DONE LITTLE TO REDUCE TENSIONS ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE. THE ROYAL PARDON, WHICH COMMUTES DEATH SENTENCES FOR CRIMES PRIOR TO JUAN CARLOS' INVESTITURE ON NOVEMBER 22 AND REDUCES SOME PRISON SENTENCES, FALLS SHORT OF THE OPPOSITION DEMANDS FOR A GENERAL AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE DECREE EXCLUDES COMMUNISTS AS WELL AS TERRORISTS, ANARCHISTS, AND SEPARATISTS FROM THE REDUCED SENTENCES.

THERE ARE DEEP DISAGREEMENTS AMONG SPAIN'S ESTABLISHED LEADERS

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OVER WHETHER ACTIONS SUCH AS AMNESTY AND LEGALIZATION OF PARTIES SHOULD BE TAKEN AND, IF THEY ARE, WHETHER THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD BE INCLUDED. AT THIS POINT, JUAN CARLOS SEEMS LIKELY TO EXCLUDE THE COMMUNISTS. SOME MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION BELIEVE THAT EXCLUSION WILL ONLY BENEFIT THE COMMUNISTS AND THAT THE COMMUNISTS COULD BE CHALLENGED MORE EFFECTIVELY IN OPEN COMPETITION. THE COMMUNISTS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY REACT TO EXCLUSION BY STEPPING UP THEIR OPPOSITION TO JUAN CARLOS.

THE KING PROBABLY BELIEVES THAT EXCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS WOULD BE AN ACCEPTABLE RISK, IN VIEW OF THE PRESSURE HE WILL COME UNDER FROM CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT. JOSE ANTONIO GIRON-A POWERFUL FALANGIST POLITICIAN-AND OTHER PROMINENT FIGURES OF THE FAR RIGHT HAVE PUBLICLY CONDEMNED THE IDEA OF ACTIVE POLITICAL PARTIES IN SPAIN. JUAN CARLOS KNOWS THAT GIRON AND HIS FOLLOWERS HAVE PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE OVER THE PAST YEAR IN SCUTTLING PRIME MINISTER ARIAS' LIMITED MOVES TOWARD POLITICAL PLURALISM. {SECRET}

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 184-75.4

1. LEBANON: IN SEPARATE SPEECHES ON SATURDAY NIGHT, LEBANESE PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH AND PRIME MINISTER KARAMI BOTH APPEALED FOR AN END TO FACTIONAL FIGHTING AND ANNOUNCED THE OUTLINES OF A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM TO INITIATE POLITICAL REFORM.4

ALTHOUGH KARAMI AVOIDED SPECIFICS, HE ANNOUNCED THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED TO EXPAND THE CABINET AND TO START A DIALOGUE AIMED AT MAKING "NECESSARY ADAPTATIONS" IN LEBANON'S POLITICAL BALANCE. DECLARING THAT THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF LEBANON WAS AT STAKE, FRANJIYAH ENDORSED THE PROGRAM IN A SPEECH PRECEDING KARAMI'S. NOTING THAT ALL LEBANESE FACTIONS ARE MINORITIES, KARAMI SAID THAT THE "TRIUMPH OF ONE PARTY OVER ANOTHER" WOULD NOT PROVIDE A LASTING RESOLUTION OF LEBANON'S PROBLEMS. THE SOLUTION LIES, HE SAID, IN PROVIDING THE NECESSARY GUARANTEES FOR THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF ALL "COMMUNITIES."

IN MARKED CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS SPEECHES, WHICH CONSTITUTED A FRANK ADMISSION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO RESOLVE LEBANON'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS, KARAMI'S ADDRESS ON SATURDAY WAS

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MORE FORCEFUL AND SEEMED TO BE BACKED BY AGREEMENT WITHIN THE CABINET, FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST. FRANJIYAH'S OPEN ENDORSEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM, WHICH HE SAID REFLECTS "OUR COMMON WILL," GIVES IT AN ELEMENT OF SUPPORT THAT HAS BEEN MISSING FROM PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION. FRANJIYAH, A CHRISTIAN, HAD BEEN WORKING AT CROSS PURPOSES WITH THE MUSLIM KARAMI THROUGHOUT THE FIGHTING AND, BY A COMBINATION OF INACTION AND BEHIND-THE-SCENES ENCOURAGEMENT TO CHRISTIAN FACTIONS, HAD THWARTED EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT POLITICAL REFORM. {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. **BANGLADESH-INDIA:** THE BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT, ALREADY UNEASY ABOUT POSSIBLE INDIAN MILITARY INTENTIONS, ALSO APPEARS TO BE CONCERNED THAT NEW DELHI MAY BE GIVING COVERT SUPPORT TO BANGLADESH DISSIDENTS.

X6

[REDACTED] A GROUP OF

GUERRILLAS LED BY A SUPPORTER OF FORMER PRESIDENT MUJIB. BANGLADESH SECURITY FORCES REPORTEDLY CLASHED WITH THE GROUP NEAR THE INDIAN BORDER RECENTLY. IN ADDITION, THE INDIAN PRESS CONTINUES TO GIVE PROMINENT COVERAGE TO PESSIMISTIC COMMENTS ON THE BANGLADESH

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SITUATION BY INDIAN OFFICIALS. NEW DELHI PAPERS ON SATURDAY CARRIED DEFENSE MINISTER SINGH'S EXPRESSIONS OF "GREAT CONCERN" OVER EVENTS IN BANGLADESH. Y

OBSERVERS IN DACCA SEE THE INABILITY OF THE INDIAN MEDIA TO LET THE SITUATION COOL AS THE MOST TROUBLING ELEMENT IN THE INDIA-BANGLADESH EQUATION. THEY POINT OUT THAT THE WOUNDING OF THE INDIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER IN DACCA LAST WEEK FORCED THE BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT TO FACE UP TO ITS WEAK POSITION AND THAT SINCE THEN IT HAS GENERALLY TRIED TO AVOID ANTAGONIZING INDIA. DACCA HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, KEPT THE BANGLADESH PRESS GENERALLY FREE OF STORIES THAT WOULD AGGRAVATE RELATIONS WITH INDIA. IT ALSO HAS ATTEMPTED TO EASE THE CONCERN OF THE HINDU MINORITY BY INCREASING POLICE PROTECTION FOR THAT COMMUNITY.

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