

buro member Konstantin Chernenko, an associate of Brezhnev since their postwar jobs in rebuilding a Soviet industrial district, and Vladimir Dolgikh, the Central Committee secretary for heavy industry.

In his speech to the Cuban congress, Chernenko stressed the strengthening of Cuba through industrial development, the importance of science and technology exemplified by a joint Soviet-Cuba space flight last summer, and the need for détente. Chernenko even delivered a slap to Havana by saying Soviet support for the international nonaligned movement was exemplified by Brezhnev's trip to India—the country which has confronted Cuba's efforts to harness the nonaligned movement to its policies!

### **Soviet forces implicated**

The Moscow collaborators in the destabilization of Central America are centered mainly in two places: the Communist Party Central Committee apparat and the Academy think tanks. Implicated institutions and personnel include:

**Sergo Anastasovich Mikoyan.** Editor: *America Latina*, monthly of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute for Latin America.

The Institute of Latin America, whose director is Viktor V. Volskii, is one of several spun off during the 1960s from IMEMO, the chief Soviet foreign policy think tank. IMEMO is where British intelligence agent Donald Maclean, colleague of the famous Anglo-Russian triple agent, KGB General Kim Philby, works on shaping Soviet perceptions of Europe. It is the leading Soviet source of the thesis that unless it becomes socialist, the developing sector would be better off without foreign capital inputs at all—even if countries relying on their own resources collapse economically.

IMEMO was founded after a 1956 directive from Mikoyan's father, the Armenian Bolshevik and later Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan. Drawing on the cadre trained by the Hungarian communist Eugen Varga, an adherent of the British school in communist economics, Anastas Mikoyan commissioned IMEMO to be headed first by his brother-in-law, A. A. Arzumanyan.

The October 1980 issue of Mikoyan's *America Latina* contained six articles on "The Church and the Political Struggle," which provided theoretical justification for communist collaboration with the armed priests of the Jesuit order in Latin America. The keynote article was a tribute to 18th-century rabble-rouser Tupac Amaru for his conclusion that the way to a radical transformation of the world passes through armed struggle. Tupac Amaru was an Incan (Peruvian Indian) noble who organized a vast Indian rebellion in the 1780s and who has been claimed by Jesuit historians as a

product of Jesuit training and direction.

**Boris Ponomarev.** Secretary: International Department of Central Committee, Soviet Communist Party.

In the liberation theology issue of *America Latina*, Nikolai Kovalskii quoted Boris Ponomarev as the authority on the need for cooperation of antiwar forces including communists, socialists, social democrats and other parties and social movements, especially Christian ones.

For over three decades, Ponomarev has worked in the Central Committee International Department, handling Moscow ties not only to foreign communist parties, but to socialist parties and Third World groups like the Palestine Liberation Organization. Before that, Ponomarev worked since the 1930s on the staff of the Communist International organization.

This "communist party" track of Soviet foreign policy often runs counter to Soviet state initiatives, as in the case of Ponomarev's December 1980 trip to Paris. At a point when Brezhnev was signaling, through

## **A Jesuit controller on Cuba and Central America**

*The following is a summary of an interview conducted Dec. 30 with Father Zweifelhofer, head of Third World Policy coordination for the Society of Jesus. He is based in Munich, West Germany at the Societas Jesu Philosophical Academy. The interview was conducted by a European specialist on Latin America.*

Father Zweifelhofer gave what he described as a "very cautious" assessment of the situation in the Caribbean and El Salvador. I asked him whether he thinks that the recent call by Fidel Castro for the unity of opposition movements means anything concrete. In reply, Father Zweifelhofer said that there is little Cuban influence in Latin America, either in Nicaragua or in El Salvador.

"Castro first has to work out a model of cooperation with the Church in Cuba," he stated, "in order to sound convincing to others in the region.

"The reason for Cuba's minuscule influence on affairs in El Salvador reflects the fact that the guerrilla

several channels, recognition of France's independent international role, Ponomarev publicly attacked the French government for having a cold war military policy and reportedly threatened to throw French Communist support behind the Socialist Party opponent of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in the 1981 French elections.

**Lazar Velikovich.** Researcher: Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee, Soviet Communist Party.

In the KGB-connected international weekly, *New Times*, in October 1980, Velikovich wrote under the headline "The Jesuit Order Today" that an important tendency at work within the principal order of the Catholic Church was the politicization of priests. Citing a justification for revolutionary action in Latin America given by Jesuit chief Pedro Arrupe, Velikovich resurrected the idea of dialogue and specific cooperation between Marxists and Jesuits.

The Central Committee's Academy of Social Sci-

ences is closely linked to the party ideologists, like Ponomarev and Politburo member Mikhail Suslov, who control Soviet assets in the international communist parties.

**Georgi Arbatov.** Director: U.S.A./Canada Institute.

Moscow's top Americanologist, director of IMEMO's largest spinoff, Arbatov met in Washington, D.C. in early December with attendees of the Socialist International conference—people directly involved in carrying out the socialists' plans for Central America. Among them were Willy Brandt of West Germany and Olof Palme of Sweden, both of whom are also working with Arbatov on a newly founded international disarmament lobbying group.

Arbatov also reportedly conferred with Henry Kissinger while in Washington, and then went on to the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia for talks with associates of Kissinger who are among the foreign policy advisers for the Reagan administration transition team.

movement there is Salvadorean in origin. Naturally, the Catholics have a better reading on what is going on there than anyone else."

When I inquired about the Central American socialists, Father Zweifelhofer would only comment that they have better access to the Salvadorean people than the Cubans.

I was struck by Father Zweifelhofer's pinpoint reading of the military and political situation at the moment in El Salvador—a much more informed reading than the ones I had received from people in and around El Salvador itself.

I asked him about the apparent failure of the December FMLN offensive in El Salvador from the movement's Honduras base. He replied that the offensive was "dilettantish" and had indeed collapsed. But that, he thinks, is not so important. What is important is that the seven opposition groups in El Salvador united under the umbrella of the FMLN. "The popular resistance will continue on a lower level, and it will probably be a bloody war of attrition."

There is little likelihood, he said, that the new Junta, which consists of "militarists," will be open to any impulse for moderation. Until some months ago, most of the moderate Christian Democrats stayed with the Junta and the Establishment in San Salvador.

He added that the Church has great influence over the majority of the country's leaders, "since most of them come from our own universities." Seventy-five percent of them withdrew their support from the

Junta, he emphasized, and the election of Ronald Reagan in the United States also accelerated the process of militarization in El Salvador. When Colonel Majano (the liberal member of the Junta who has reportedly joined the underground) had to leave, "that was a sign of a turn in the situation. It is arguable that the United States had a hand in bringing Duarte to power, and the incoming administration will side with the right-wingers in all of Latin America.

"For the Church, this means that since the Junta is against the Church, all six bishops in El Salvador will at least sympathize with the FMLN if not join their movement or support it more actively.

"The Reagan administration cannot be expected to openly move into the region, for example, with an action against the Cubans, because the Cubans do not play a major role anyway—although the press writes that they do—but the United States will provide weapons, other material support, and operate with economic aid weapons as in the past."

Zweifelhofer preferred not to comment on the upcoming meeting between Reagan and Mexican President López Portillo, but said that the El Salvador question will be brought up there.

Munich, it should be noted, is a center for the Society of Jesus in Western Europe. As home base for the Hapsburg-Wittelsbach aristocracy, Munich and Bavaria have been a launching zone for both enforced backwardness and anti-capitalist radicalism throughout the 20th century.