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P 091550Z NOV 82
FM AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9202
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/09/88
TAGS: PINT, PINS, NS
SUBJ: ANDRE HAAKMAT UNDER ATTACK

REFS: A) PARAMARIBO 2030; B) PARAMARIBO 2268

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ANDRE HAAKMAT, WHO HAS RECENTLY BEEN SERVING CONCURRENTLY AS POLITICAL ADVISOR TO BOTH MOEDERBOND LABOR FEDERATION CHAIRMAN, CYRILL DAAL, AND POLICY CENTER VICE CHAIRMAN MAJOR ROY HORB, HAS BEEN TARGET OF SIGNIFICANT PHYSICAL AND VERBAL ATTACKS IN PAST SEVERAL DAYS. IN EARLY MORNING OF NOVEMBER 5 SEVERAL SHOTS WERE FIRED AT HIS RESIDENCE BY STILL UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS IN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE OR POSSIBLY ASSASSINATE HIM. HAAKMAT WAS
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NOT INJURED. MAJOR HORB, IN NOVEMBER 6 TELEVISION INTERVIEW IN WHICH HE APPEARED JOINTLY WITH ARMY COMMANDER AND POLICY CENTER CHAIRMAN DESI BOUTERSE, SHARPLY CRITICIZED HAAKMAT, ACCUSING HIM OF DEVIIOUSNESS AND LYING AND LABELING HIM "A DANGER TO THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE." MOTIVES FOR HORB'S EMOTIONAL ATTACK ARE NOT CLEAR BUT IT MAY HAVE BEEN DELIBERATELY PROVOKED BY THE INTERVIEWER, A MEMBER OF THE LEFTISH ASSOCIATION OF PROGRESSIVE MEDIAWORKERS. END SUMMARY.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Adolph Eisner, Senior Reviewer

3. ANDRE HAAKMAT, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER AND WIDELY KNOWN POLITICAL FIGURE WHO HAS RECENTLY BEEN SERVING IN DUAL CAPACITY AS CHIEF POLITICAL ADVISOR TO MOEDERBOND LABOR FEDERATION HEAD CYRILL DAAL AND AS MEMBER OF POLICY CENTER VICE CHAIRMAN MAJOR ROY HORB'S INFORMAL CABINET, WAS OBJECT OF EARLY MORNING SHOOTING INCIDENT AT HIS RESIDENCE ON NOVEMBER 5. ATTACKERS APPARENTLY BLEW CAR HORN IN EFFORT TO BRING HAAKMAT OUT OF HIS HOUSE OR AT LEAST INTO VIEW, THEN FIRED SHOTS AT UPSTAIRS WINDOW. HAAKMAT WAS NOT INJURED AND ATTACKERS DROVE OFF. THE ATTACK, WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED, WAS PRESUMABLY INTENDED TO INTIMIDATE HAAKMAT. IT MAY HAVE BEEN AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE HIM. HAAKMAT HAS SPECULATED THAT MEMBERS OF RECENTLY FORMED PEOPLE'S MILITIA MAY HAVE TAKEN PART. PRIME MINISTER NEIJHORST PUBLICLY DEPLORED THE INCIDENT AND BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN POLICE ARE AT WORK IN THE INVESTIGATION.

4. HAAKMAT WAS ATTACKED AGAIN ON FOLLOWING DAY, THIS TIME WITH WORDS. MAJOR HORB, APPEARING JOINTLY WITH ARMY COMMANDER BOUTERSE IN TELEVISION INTERVIEW, REACTED SHARPLY TO QUESTION PUT TO HIM BY THE INTERVIEWER. HORB WAS ASKED TO COMMENT ON ALLEGED REPORT ON DUTCH CONFIDENTIAL

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RADIO THAT HAAKMAT HAD TOLD JOURNALIST THAT SERIOUS TENSION HAD DEVELOPED BETWEEN HORB AND BOUTERSE. HORB REPLIED THAT HAAKMAT HAD WELL-DESERVED REPUTATION AS POLITICAL MANIPULATOR AND LIAR. ALTHOUGH HAAKMAT HAD DONE SOME GOOD WORK FOR HORB IN HIS POLITICAL ADVISOR'S ROLE, HORB HAD REPEATEDLY DISCOVERED THAT HAAKMAT HAD TRIED TO HAVE HIM SIGN PAPERS WHOSE CONTENTS HORB HAD NOT APPROVED. HAAKMAT WAS DEVIOS AND LIAR AND COULD NOT BE TRUSTED. HE WAS, ACCORDING TO HORB, "DANGER TO THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE."

5. IT IS NOT ALTOGETHER CLEAR WHAT INSPIRED HORB'S ATTACK ON HAAKMAT, BUT AN EDITORIAL IN CONSERVATIVE DAILY, VRIJE STEM, FOR NOVEMBER 8 SUGGESTED THAT HORB'S EMOTIONAL ATTACK ON CAMERA MAY HAVE BEEN ELICITED DELIBERATELY BY TELEVISION INTERVIEWER, A MEMBER OF NATIONAL INFORMATION SERVICE AND LEFTIST ASSOCIATION OF PROGRESSIVE MEDIACWORKERS. ACCORDING TO VRIJE STEM, THE DUTCH NEWS BROADCAST REFERRED TO BY THE INTERVIEWER HAD CONTAINED TWO SEPARATE ITEMS ON SURINAME, ONE IN WHICH HAAKMAT MADE COMMENT ABOUT SHOOTING INCIDENT AND ANOTHER IN WHICH REPORTER IN PARAMARIBO HAD SPECULATED OVER DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ARMY WHICH REFLECTED TENSIONS BETWEEN HORB AND BOUTERSE. VRIJE STEM ARTICLE STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT INTERVIEWER WAS WILFULLY COMBINING THE TWO REPORTS TO PROVOKE HORB AND DAMAGE HAAKMAT.

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6. COMMENT: HAAKMAT, WHO RETURNED TO SURINAME JUST AFTER 1980 COUP FROM LONG PERIOD OF RESIDENCE IN HOLLAND, HAS INDEED HAD REPUTATION AS HIGHLY AMBITIOUS AND MACHIAVELLIAN INTRIGUER WITH FEW SCRUPLES. HIS CONNECTION WITH HEAD OF LARGE LABOR FEDERATION GIVES HIM AT LEAST POTENTIAL POWER BASE FROM WHICH TO ADVANCE TO HIGH POLITICAL OFFICE. DURING RECENT WEEKS, WHEN STRIKE BY ONE OF MOEDERBOND'S UNIONS (AIR CONTROLLERS) LED IN SERIES OF STEPS TO POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION BETWEEN LABOR AND THE MILITARY (REF B), HAAKMAT WAS

ACCUSED BY LEFTIST CRITICS OF BEING "MASTERMIND" BEHIND WHAT THESE SAME CRITICS PERCEIVED TO BE CONSPIRACY TO BRING MILITARY RULERS DOWN. HAAKMAT WAS PORTRAYED AS GRAY EMINENCE BEHIND DAAL, WHO ACTED OUT PUBLIC ROLE OF CRITIC OF MILITARY AND CHAMPION OF TRADITIONAL DEMOCRACY. HAAKMAT'S COMBINATION OF POLITICAL SKILL AND HIGH INTELLIGENCE, PLUS HIS ALIGNMENT WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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DAAL, MAKE HIM DANGEROUS NATURAL OPPONENT OF POLITICAL LEFT, WHICH WOULD PREFER TO SEE HIM NEUTRALIZED.

7. HORB'S SUDDEN PUBLIC ATTACK ON HAAKMAT, IF IT DID NOT STEM FROM FALSE INFORMATION AND/OR DELIBERATE PROVOCATION, IS LESS EASY TO UNDERSTAND. HAAKMAT'S REPUTATION AS POLITICAL SCHEMER IS WIDELY KNOWN AND COULD NOT HAVE COME AS SURPRISE TO HORB. MOREOVER, HORB HIMSELF TASKED HAAKMAT IN MID-SEPTEMBER WITH DRAFTING PLAN TO RETURN COUNTRY TO SOME FORM OF DEMOCRATIC RULE. HORB HAS TOLERATED HAAKMAT'S PRESENCE IN HIS INNER CIRCLE FOR SOME TIME AND HAS ACKNOWLEDGED HIS LEGAL AND POLITICAL SKILLS. THEREFORE, HORB'S DRAMATIC TELEVISION "EXPOSURE" SEEMS CURIOUS DEVELOPMENT. ONE POSSIBLE EXPLANATION, OF COURSE, IS THAT HORB'S ACTIONS WERE FORCED BY BOUTERSE. DUEMLING

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