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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, II
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: First Vigalante Edit Job

Here, promptly back from West Virginia is Richard Vigalante's editing of the second piece by Jackie Tillman.

I think it is a very fine job.

I hope that you can, today, submit it to Dick Darman for clearances per our arrangement in time to be published for next Wednesday's meeting.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: White House Digest Paper

Attached is another paper in our series prepared by our Outreach Working Group on Central America.

This draft has been prepared by Jacqueline Tillman of Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's office.

I would appreciate your getting it cleared so that it can be printed and distributed at our Outreach Working Group Meeting On Central America which meets at 2:30 p.m. next Wednesday afternoon.

Thank you for your assistance.

1 Attachment a/s

CENTRAL AMERICA: FACTS NOT WIDELY KNOWN

MAY AND JUNE IN NICARAGUA

The first step in figuring out what is at stake in Central America is understanding the Sandinista regime. Are the Sandinistas merely "leftwing" reformers whose tilt towards Marxism is balanced by an equally strong commitment to Catholicism?

Or, are the present rulers of Nicaragua dedicated Communists, enemies even of democratic socialism, and Soviet allies intent on subverting Central America into the Soviet bloc?

Knowing the answer is essential to understanding the threat, if any, to El Salvador and the rest of the region.

Unfortunately, it is increasingly clear that the present Sandinista government is a Communist one, ready and willing to bring the region into the Soviet orbit. The evidence has been mounting for several years, but even a brief selection of events from the past two months, which we give here, is revealing.

TRUE DEMOCRATS ABANDON SANDINISTAS

Much evidence comes from former allies and supporters of the Sandinista revolution. The case of Eden Pastora, Commander Zero, has been well known for some time. But only a month ago, on May 19, 1983 Misael Brennes, Nicaraguan counsel to Choluteca, Honduras, defected to that country, requesting political asylum. When the Sandinistas charged that Brennes had been kidnapped, he called a public press conference to refute the charge. He explained that he had abandoned the Sandinistas because he was "convinced that Communism has advanced in Nicaragua to the point where there is no other path than armed struggle to detain it." He added:

I am not the first and I won't be the last of the officials in the Nicaraguan foreign service to break with the regime of the nine Sandinista commandantes; I am just one more. I assert that presently Nicaragua is a colony of the Communist countries where the Russians and the Cubans are the owners of the Nicaraguan people.

Brennes claimed that there are 10,000 to 15,000 foreign military advisors in Nicaragua and that, counting advisors in other fields, such as education¹ and politics, the "occupying army" reaches nearly 30,000.¹

REVOLUTION FOR EXPORT

One former Sandinista ally who is not a Nicaraguan recently gave even stronger testimony. Efraim Duarte Salgado had been chief of the most active cell of a Honduran terrorist group, the Popular Revolutionary Forces (FPR). He disappeared suddenly in May, then surfaced at a May 27, press conference in Guatemala. He not only called upon his former colleagues to give up armed struggle and pursue democratic means to power, he also detailed the history of foreign influence over his group.

The Sandinistas started providing economic support to his cell soon after it was founded in 1980. But the Nicaraguan aid "was always conditional in the sense that we had to undertake different violent acts to destabilize the Honduran government and try to create a Marxist-Leninist regime."

He also explained that training in subversion was easily available from Cuba, and that while in Cuba he had established contact with the Armed People's Revolutionary Organization (ORPA), a Guatemalan terrorist group. He claimed responsibility for the armed attack against the American embassy in Tegucigalpa, Honduras in 1980, and for placing explosives in the offices of IBM and the Salvadoran airline, TACA, in 1982.²

Among Central Americans, there is little doubt about the Sandinistas' willingness to export the revolution. One recent example is a poll, taken in April by the United States Information Agency of Costa Rican citizens. In this peaceful, democratic country 70 percent of the people see Nicaragua as a military threat and 56 percent say Nicaragua is trying to weaken the Costa Rican government. Interestingly, 50 percent see Cuba as responsible for conditions that could lead to war in the region and 40 percent say the same of the Soviet Union.³

ELECTIONS?

If the Sandinists seem eager to export Communism, their treatment of their own people is far more typical of Communists than of democratic socialists.

The Sandinistas came to power in 1979 promising elections that have yet to be held. Recently, they have been promised for 1985. But just last month, according to the official Radio Sandino, Interior Minister Thomas Borge threatened to postpone them again, blaming the threatened delay on American "aggression."^{4/} It should be noted that during the first year and a half after the revolution the American government fully supported the Sandinistas with \$118 million in aid, yet there was no move to hold elections.

INTERNAL REPRESSION

Elections aside, the Nicaraguans have increasingly denied their people basic liberties, substituting Communist attitudes towards rights for Western ones.

On May 26, the Council of State extended the state of emergency for one year, until May 30, 1984, permitting the government to continue prior censorship of the media and to hold political^{5/} prisoners indefinitely without recourse to habeas corpus. The state of emergency has now been in effect for over a year.

On May 18, Nicaraguan immigration authorities refused to allow Luis Rivas Levia, president of the opposition Social Democratic Party to leave the country. They stopped him at the airport as he was about to leave for a trip to Costa Rica.^{6/}

In late May, the Sandinistas expropriated a banana plantation belonging to Ramiro Guardian, president of an agricultural private sector organization, for political reasons. Commenting, in an interview in La Presse, on American restrictions on Nicaraguan sugar, Guardian had said, "the United States and Nicaragua are both sovereign and independent countries and each has the right to buy and sell as they see fit."^{7/} The junta responded by taking his farm. Junta member Sergio Ramirez explained that "we think that this gentleman cannot be associated with the revolutionary state because we need proprietors that are clear about the dangers represented by measures from the United States."^{8/}

SOLIDARITY?

Finally, the Sandinistas have fallen into the contradiction that afflicts all Communist governments -- the workers' state has been persecuting free trade unions.

Again, there have been many examples, but the most recent involves the stevedores union of the Pacific port of

Corinto. After the 1979 revolution, the union affiliated with the Sandinista Workers Central (CST), a Sandinista-controlled union. But many dissatisfied union members wish to switch to the Confederation for Labor Unification (CUS), an independent organization that belongs to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and has strong ties to the AFL-CIO.

The Sandinistas have used arrests, mob action, threats, and other forms of intimidation to keep the union allied with the CST. Some union leaders have been forced to flee Nicaragua, and one, Zacarias Hernandez, has become a leader in the exile labor movement. Amnesty International has adopted two of the arrested stevedores as cases of special interest.

In mid-March, when the union's executive board attempted to switch from CST to CUS the Sandinistas responded by having militiamen occupy union headquarters. And the Ministry of Labor disallowed the executive board's decision, ruling that only a two-thirds vote of the membership could effect the switch.

The Ministry, however, prevented a vote by initiating an audit of the union's books, forbidding it to hold a congress until the audit was completed. Turning up nothing of substance, the Ministry allowed the union to schedule a congress for June.

But on May 21, when leading CUS officials, including Secretary General Bayardo Lopez, traveled to Corinto to meet with several hundred stevedores, they found the entrance to the meeting place blocked by a Sandinista mob. Some were armed and wearing militia uniforms. The mob attacked the CUS leaders with fists and sticks and forced them to flee.^{9/} Since then, a total of nine union leaders have been arrested.^{10/}

Even this brief selection of incidents, all taken from a period of only a few months, illustrates the character of the Sandinista junta. It is not a collection of "leftists," or democratic socialists, or "Christian Marxists," but of totalitarians, dependent on the Soviets and eager to bring Central America into the totalitarian world.

N O T E S

1. Unclassified State Department cable, Tegucipala 5746.
2. Unclassified State Department cable, Tegucipala 5570.
3. United States Information Agency poll, April 11, 1983.
4. Radio Sandino, May 16, 1983.
5. State Department cable, Managua 2320, unclassified paragraph 1.
6. Panama City radio station ACAN, May 18, 1983.
7. La Prensa, May 12, 1983.
8. Barricada, May 26, 1983.
9. State Department cable, Managua 2268, unclassified paragraphs 2, 3, and 4.
10. Press release, 13 June 1983 from the Confederation of Central American Workers, San Jose, Costa Rica.1.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: Polling Data on Central America

This morning, Dick Wirthlin briefed me on recent trends in American opinion related to Central America.

We established that there is an urgent need to know which arguments will be most effective in behalf of the President's policy in Central America.

Dick is going to go into the field this weekend with a poll and is quite willing, if you approve, to incorporate questions that will be of most use to us, particularly with U.S. groups that are our natural allies.

Dick says the sort of question that would be most useful is a "push" question. Attached is a listing of my proposed sample questions.

If you agree that this is information that we need, I would appreciate you passing your approval on to Dick Wirthlin.

1 Attachment a/s

PUSH QUESTIONS

"If you knew (insert) would that make you more likely or less likely to support President Reagan's policy in Central America?

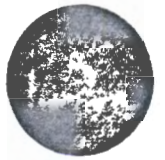
1. that Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua have said their intention is to take over every country in Central America
2. that El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City
3. that the Marxist government of Nicaragua has confiscated Jewish businesses and closed the last Jewish synagogue there and that almost all Jews there have fled to other countries
4. that the Sandinista government of Nicaragua has persecuted many Catholic priests and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country
5. that the Marxist government of Nicaragua has persecuted most Protestant missionaries and shut down dozens of Protestant churches there
6. that the Sandinista government has set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskito Indian tribe in Nicaragua
7. that the Marxist government of Nicaragua is systematically expropriating the businesses and farms of anyone who politically opposes them
8. that Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea and other communist countries have recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua
9. that Marxist government officials in Nicaragua have said they are willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country
10. that the rebels in El Salvador are closely tied to Fidel Castro
11. that the Marxist guerrillas in Central America intend to set up a communist government in Mexico
12. that 10% of the population of El Salvador has already fled to the United States as refugees

13. that 2 million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America falls to the Communists
14. that 10 million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fall to the Communists
15. that the United States would have to station troops on our Southern border if Mexico fell to the Communists
16. that United States use of the Panama Canal is endangered by Communist activity in nearby countries
17. that the Marxist government in Nicaragua has shut down free labor unions and is forcing workers to join communist-run unions
18. that more than three-fourths of the United States assistance to El Salvador has been economic aid, not military aid
19. that the Soviet Union is spending much more to support revolutionary activity in Central America than the United States is spending to oppose communism in the region
20. that communist takeover of more countries in Central America will endanger the United States economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are now shipped through the area

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1983



MEMORANDUM TO: NANCY RISQUE

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: Community Leaders in Southern Tier States

Some friends on Capitol Hill tell me that you have asked Republicans there to put together the list we discussed a couple of weeks ago. This list of key leaders and opinion makers in the Southern Tier States is now urgently needed.

Dolf Droge is now here and putting together briefings on Central America. Could you let me know when we will have the lists of community leaders to invite to high-level briefings?

MCB:jet

cc: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, II

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy Meeting

Per your request, I represented you at the meeting in the Situation Room at 3:00 p.m. today chaired by Judge Clark. It was an outstanding meeting -- particularly from the point of view of your office.

Judge Clark began with a presentation by Dick Stone, followed by Ambassador Kirkpatrick; then he paid some strong compliments to you about the excellent activities of your Outreach Working Group. He asked me to summarize our activities. In addition to describing our meetings, briefings, publications and staff, I talked about millions of issues of publications from groups such as the American Legion and the Farm Bureau Federation which contained editorials by national organization chairmen in support of the President's activities. I also mentioned that hundreds of thousands of letters are in preparation by conservative groups on the subject of the need for supporting the President in Central America.

In subsequent discussions, Otto Reich talked about how useful our Working Group meetings have been.

Dick Stone mentioned that when he was seeking support from virtually any spokesmen who might favorably respond to the President's address to the Joint Session of Congress, that every office of government failed to get spokesmen per his requests. Then he stressed that our office was able to get Veteran leaders and conservative leaders out quickly in support of the President. He said this constituted virtually the only support that made the news media immediately following the President's speech.

I will brief you on some of the specifics regarding policy which were also discussed.

MCB:jet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell

SUBJECT: The PLO in Central America

Enclosed are the materials we received from Jackie Tillman and Walt Raymond. Jackie Tillman prepared the "talking points" especially for you. In addition, she sent over the back-up materials relative to Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. She also included an article by Shoshana Bryen which appeared in Newsletter published by the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs.

Also attached is the paper prepared by Walt Raymond as a draft White House Digest paper. I have sent Walt's paper off to Richard Vigalante, with other materials, and the request that he put together a useful paper combining the best elements into an appropriate White House Digest paper.

MCB:jet

Attachments a/s

TALKING POINTS

THE PLO IN CENTRAL AMERICA

- THE PLO HAS BEEN ACTIVELY INVOLVED WITH LATIN AMERICAN TERRORIST GROUPS FOR AT LEAST A DECADE, IF NOT LONGER.
- IN THE EARLY '70s, THE SANDINISTAS, NOW IN POWER IN NICARAGUA, PARTICIPATED IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES WITH THE PLO AND "THE BLACK SEPTEMBER" MOVEMENT. THEY RECEIVED TRAINING FROM THE PLO AS WELL. THEY HAVE SAID SO PUBLICLY.
- IN 1978, THE YEAR BEFORE THE SANDINISTAS CAME TO POWER IN NICARAGUA, THEY SIGNED TWO COMMUNIQUES -- ONE WITH THE PLO, THE OTHER WITH THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (DFLP) -- ANNOUNCING THEIR SOLIDARITY AND ATTACKING ISRAEL, ANASTASIO SOMOZA, THE DICTATOR OF NICARAGUA, AND YANKEE IMPERIALISM.
- THE PLO SENT A PLANELOAD OF WEAPONS, DISGUISED AS MEDICAL SUPPLIES WHICH WAS INTERCEPTED IN TUNIS IN EARLY 1979 -- JUST LIKE THE LIBYAN PLANES RECENTLY INTERCEPTED IN BRAZIL.
- ARAFAT SAID PUBLICLY AT THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA, JULY 1980, THAT "ANYONE WHO THREATENS NICARAGUANS WILL HAVE TO FACE PALESTINIAN COMBATANTS."

- IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR, THE SANDINISTAS HOSTED THE LATIN AMERICAN PREPARATORY MEETING ON PALESTINE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW, HELD IN MANAGUA, TO OFFER SUPPORT FOR THE PLO.
- THE PLO HAS STRONG TIES TO THE GUERRILLAS FIGHTING THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR AS WELL.
- TWO MONTHS AFTER THE OCTOBER 1979 COUP WHICH OUSTED THE MILITARY REGIME IN EL SALVADOR LEADING TO THE CURRENTLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT THERE, A BOMB WAS EXPLODED IN THE ISRAELI EMBASSY. THE TERRORISTS ANNOUNCED THE ACT WAS TO SHOW "SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."
- ARAFAT PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED HIS ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR'S GUERRILLAS IN 1981 and 1982, WHEN HE SAID THAT PLO PILOTS WERE SERVING IN NICARAGUA AND PLO GUERRILLAS WERE IN EL SALVADOR.
- THE PLO HAS LONGSTANDING CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER LATIN AMERICAN TERRORIST GROUPS, SUCH AS ARGENTINA'S "MONTANEROS" AND URUGUAY'S "TUPAMAROS."
- A GOOD RULE OF STRATEGY IS TO RESPECT THE CONNECTIONS AMONG DIVERSE THINGS. APPLYING THAT RULE TO THE PLO CONNECTION TO CENTRAL AMERICAN TERRORISTS MAKES CLEAR THAT THIS CONNECTION IS OF GREAT STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE INTERNATIONALLY.

-- THE SOVIET SPONSORED "INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST FOREIGN
LEGION," SO DRAMATICALLY EVIDENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA,
HAS ENORMOUS IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE
UNITED STATES AND HER WESTERN ALLIES.

THE PLO IN CENTRAL AMERICA

CUBA

- 1966 - Tricontinental Meeting in Havana, Cuba of representatives of terrorists from three continents resulted in organization of Organization of the People's of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAL) and formulated ties.
- 1968 - Cuban intelligence and military personnel assisting PLO on training missions in North Africa and Iraq.
- 1969 - Cuban members of training camps went to Egypt where they conducted a joint raid into Israeli-occupied Siani desert.
- 1972 - Important meeting in Algeria. Castro met with PLO to discuss stepped up coordination of activities. PLO undertook to augment Cuban training of Latin American terrorists with specialized instruction in Lebanon, South Yemen and Libya.
- 1973 - Castro broke relations with Israel at the Algiers Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States in September.

Cuba training South Yemeni pilots to fly MIGs as well.
- 1974 - PLO opened its first Latin American office in Havana. Arafat received the Bay of Pigs award from Cuba.

Since then, PLO has been actively involved in Latin American revolutionary struggles. (1978 photo in Buenos Aires magazine, Gente with 12 leading Montaneros (Argentine terrorists) including Mario Fermenish.)

NICARAGUA

Nicaragua is center for PLO activities in Central America.

Longstanding ties between the PLO and Sandinistas.

Between 1968-78, at least 70 Sandinistas trained with PLO in Middle East.

Jorge Mandi: Sandinista spokesman, told a reporter for the Kuwaiti newspaper Al Watan, on June 7, 1979, six weeks before the Sandinistas came to power:

There is a longstanding blood unity between us and the Palestinian revolution. Many of the units belonging to the Sandinista movements were at Palestinian revolutionary bases in Jordan. In the early 1970's, Nicaraguan and Palestinian blood was spilled together in Amman and in other places during the Black September battles.

A number of Sandinistas took part in the operation to divert four aircraft which the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) seized and landed at a desert airfield in Jordan. One of our comrades was also wounded in another hijack operation in which Leila Khaled was involved. She was in command of the operation and our comrades helped her carry it out.

It is natural therefore, that in our war against Somoza, we received Palestinian aid for our revolution in various forms.

Aid/solidarity formalized in two publicly proclaimed joint communiques issued in 1978, over a year before the Sandinistas came to power:

February 5, 1978, Sandinistas and PLO signed communique in Mexico City which affirmed the "ties of solidarity existing between the two revolutionary organizations" and attacked the "racist state of Israel."

March 6, 1978, Sandinistas and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), declared war against "Yankee imperialism, the racist regime of Israel and the dictatorship of Anastasion Somoza."

PLO an important supplier of arms to the Sandinistas during their war against Somoza.

Early 1979 interception of planeload of weapons in Tunis from the PLO to the Sandinistas. Like recent Libyan planes intercepted in Brazil, military cargo had been disguised as medical equipment.

After Sandinistas came to power July 19, 1979, PLO maintained a discrete presence in Nicaragua. However, within two weeks of gaining power, junta member Sergio Ramirez' brother went on mission to Beirut to establish official contacts with PLO.

First anniversary of Sandinista revolution, July 19, 1980, Sandinistas formally recognized the PLO and PLO opened an embassy in Managua, the Capital of Nicaragua.

Arafat attended the celebration a few days later, and said:

The simple fact of the Nicaraguan people's victory is the victory of the Palestinians. Anyone who threatens Nicaragua will have to face Palestinian combatants.

Daniel Orgega concurred stating: "Relations between the PLO and the Sandinista Front are not new." A military cooperation agreement was reportedly signed the next month.

The PLO has assisted the Sandinistas to receive help from other radical states. For example, Borge went to Tripoli in May, 1981, praised Quadaffi, received promise of 100 million six-month deposit which has since been renewed.

Mutual solidarity exemplified by the April 12-15, 1983 Managua Latin America preparatory meeting on "Palestine and International Law."

Alejandro Bendana, deputy foreign policy director for multilateral affairs said that "the purpose of this meeting in Managua is to obtain support from international public opinion for the Palestinian people's struggle for liberty and self-determination."

Marwan Tahbub, PLO Ambassador to Managua, said: "This meeting is aimed at obtaining governmental and nongovernmental support for the Palestinian cause. It will reflect world-wide UN rejection of Israel's aggressive policy, with U.S. support, against our people."

During the meeting, junta member Sergio Ramirez observed that the United States, by "trying to promote a conflict of greater proportions in Central America by introducing thousands of Somozist guardsmen into Nicaragua," is involved "in an effort to recreate the Middle East massacres of Sabra and Shatila in this area."

We think there are currently about 50 PLO personnel in Nicaragua. Some are involved in training Sandinista military in the use of Eastern bloc weapons, some training pilots and flying helicopters, maintaining aircraft and training the communist guerrillas of El Salvador.

EL SALVADOR

PLO relations with Salvadorean guerrillas are equally long-standing. Strongest link exists between PLO and the head of the Communist Party of El Salvador, Shafik Handal, whose parents immigrated to El Salvador from Palestine in the 1920's.

December 1979, two months after the coup which ousted Romero in El Salvador, a bomb was exploded in the Israeli Embassy in El Salvador. Terrorists announced the act was to show "solidarity with the Palestinian people."

At the first anniversary of the Sandinista revolution, July, 1980, United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) leaders met with Arafat in Managua and received promises of arms and aircraft.

The next month, in August, Salvadorean guerrillas met with Fatah leaders in Beirut, and again in November 1980.

February, 1981: Salvador's guerrillas receive training and money from the PLO and Iraq.

March 1981: Handal travels to Beirut and meets with Arafat and Hawatmak of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) to receive arms.

Arafat publicly acknowledges the role of the PLO in the conflict in El Salvador:

April 14, 1981: "It was disgraceful of Reagan to call us terrorists. We are a great revolution that can never be intimidated. We have connections with all revolutionary movements throughout the world, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua -- and I reiterate El Salvador -- and elsewhere in the world."

And again, in January 1982, during an address to the General Federation of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, PLO sources confirmed that relations between the PLO and the revolutionary movements in Latin America are more than a decade old, and included various forms of military support. Arafat said that PLO pilots were serving in Nicaragua; and that other PLO guerrillas were in El Salvador.

Relationship continues: In March 1982, Salvadorean guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio, before his death, held talks with PLO leaders in South Jordan. When Cayetano

Carpio's deputy, Anna Maria Montes, was assassinated in Managua, Nicaragua in April 1983, Cayetano Carpio was in the Middle East, in Libya.

Captured documents from Beirut, Lebanon last summer indicate the presence of El Salvadorean guerrillas in PLO camps.

LETTER

OR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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June 1983

The PLO In Central America

Shoshana Bryen

The Reagan Administration and the full political spectrum of the Congress have agreed that the future of democracy in Central America is of pressing concern to this country, although often, the methods our political leaders would choose to enhance American security differ. In determining policy options, some documentation of Cuban involvement in Nicaragua, and Cuban and Nicaraguan involvement in El Salvador, has been presented. Soviet fostering of Third World revolutions of the left has long been axiomatic.

In many cases, security considerations have prevented the American government from revealing the depth of these connections and the relationship between these countries and the PLO. The PLO has been involved in arming, aiding, and training Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in Central and South America for well over a decade. By combing a wide variety of available sources, including government documents, JINSA has been able to put together a broad picture of this involvement. (A full list of sources is available from the JINSA office.) The implications for American policy in Central America and the Middle East should be self-evident.

Cuba

& Israel: Castro's Cuba had relations with Israel from 1960 to 1973. In the early days, Israeli specialists worked in

Cuba on agricultural and technical projects, and in 1963, Castro declared three days of mourning upon the death of Israel's President Yitzhak Ben Zvi. When Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella said, "Whoever respects a dead Israeli that way has no right to come to an Arab land," Castro cancelled a planned visit there. Things cooled considerably after the Six Day War, however Castro refused to break relations, saying that "the destruction of Israel was not part of the socialist program, as socialism was understood in Cuba." According to the Jerusalem Post, as late as 1970, Israel's Minister in Havana, Gabriel Doron, was told that Cuba would not break diplomatic relations with any country that had not harmed it.

In September 1973, at the Algiers Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States, Cuba announced it was breaking relations with Israel. Cuba was heavily indebted to the Soviet Union from the time of its revolution, but in late-1972, Castro incurred a major new debt under exceedingly favorable terms. According to some reports, the real payoff for the Soviet Union was to have Cuba act as a major proxy. Breaking relations with Israel was a necessary credential for leadership in the Third World.

& the PLO: The beginning of Cuba's changed stance actually came earlier, in 1966. The PLO took part in the First Conference of the Organization of

Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAL). Castro and the PLO had ideological disagreements, but by 1968, Cuban intelligence and military personnel were assisting the PLO in North Africa and Iraq. In 1969, Cuban 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 Sinai desert, as reported by Le Monde in Paris.

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

At the UN (1967-76): A short list suffices here to show the change in Cuban policy:

1967: Cuba's Ambassador to the UN said he was "shocked" by the "lack of revolutionary principles" as seen in Arab propaganda. "True revolutionaries never threaten a whole country with extinction. We have spoken out clearly against Israel's policy, but we do not deny her right to exist."

1974: Cuba was the unofficial sponsor of the PLO at the UN. When Yasser Arafat came to the UN, Cuban

(Continued on page 4)



Central America

(Continued from page 1)

diplomats showed him around, and when Arafat could not remain in New York, he flew to Havana, where he was warmly welcomed.

1975: After the Cuban Ambassador endorsed the program of the PLO, Cuba was one of only three non-Arab sponsors of the "Zionism is Racism" General Assembly resolution.

1976: The Ambassador condemned the Entebbe rescue as a "flagrant violation" of the UN Charter "consistent with the traditional aggressive and racist policy of the Government of Israel."

Post Lebanon: 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-materiel, an enemy armed and advised by the United States of America and accustomed to explosively unleashing the blitzkrieg.

"The blood that has been spilled in Lebanon must now be added to the record of the present US Administration, which supported the Zionists while making huge political efforts to achieve negotiated solutions favorable to 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.

"The Palestinian combatants are fighting in the same trench as the Central American peoples, who are today threatened by the direct intervention of US troops.

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

Fidel Castro
6 September 1982

According to Radio Monte Carlo, Arafat has scheduled a trip to Cuba for early June.

& Syria: Not only do the Arabs, primarily the PLO, come to Cuba, but the Cubans go to the Middle East as well. According to the "Foreign Report" of the London Economist, from 1973-75, there were over 2,500 Cubans in Syria, attached primarily to armor units, operating 250-300 tanks, and servicing the more than 2,000 tanks of the Syrian forces. During the 1974 Syrian-Israeli War of Attrition, the Cubans suffered 180 dead and 250 wounded, while killing 68 Israelis. Most Cuban forces were withdrawn in March 1975, although approximately 200 Cuban "advisors" remained at least until the end of the 1970s.

In 1978, following the Soviet-Syrian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, it was reported that the Soviets had established pre-positioned tank and armor units in Latakia and Damascus. Furthermore, there were reports of a Soviet promise to airlift Cuban troops to man those weapons in a crisis.

The Boston Globe reported in May 1978, that Cuban instructors and soldiers had arrived in Lebanon from Ethiopia to join PLO forces near Tyre.

Nicaragua

& Israel: The Somoza government of Nicaragua was a supporter of Israel even prior to Independence. The Jewish Agency had money to finance arms purchases for Israel, but the not-yet-independent state could not legally purchase equip-

ment of Nicaragua authorized approximately \$3 million in purchases (a large sum at that time) by its agents in Europe. Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolleck wrote:

Somoza (father of Anastasio Somoza)...had to sign the letters. It was a perfectly honorable deal, perfectly proper. They couldn't imagine anyone doing otherwise, but they cooperated because of their strong basic sympathy to our cause. Our agreement included the understanding that Nicaragua would vote for Israel in the UN whenever the occasion arose, a point to which they pledged themselves out of genuine conviction (and indeed, Nicaragua has remained a true friend of Israel over the years).

For Jerusalem: A Life

Nicaragua voted against the 1975 "Zionism is Racism" resolution at the UN.

& the PLO: Following decades of support for Israel by the Nicaraguan government, the Sandinistas turned to the PLO for support in their revolt. This inclination was strengthened by Cuban involvement with both the Sandinistas and the PLO.

Prior to the overthrow of Somoza in 1979, the Cubans provided training, weapons, money and sanctuary for the Sandinistas. Radio Havana openly supported the Sandinista Front for the Liberation of Nicaragua (FSLN).

The first direct cooperation between the PLO and the FSLN appears to have occurred in 1969. According to Bruce McCollm of Freedom House in New York, as a result of a meeting in Mexico City between Benito Escobar of the Sandinistas and three PLO officials, 52 Sandinistas were sent to Tyre for training. Sandinistas trained in PLO camps in Algeria as well.

The travels of Pedro Arauz Palacios of the FSLN helped to cement the Sandinista/Cuba/PLO triangle. Arauz hijacked a Nicaraguan airliner in November 1969 and received sanctuary in Cuba. According to testimony by other captured FSLN members, Arauz received guerrilla training in Cuba during 1970 and then travelled to the Middle East for PLO training in an Al-Fatah camp. Arauz was killed in Nicaragua in 1977.

In 1970, Sandinistas fought with the PLO against King Hussein of Jordan and joined a PFLP attempt to hijack an El Al airliner en route from Tel Aviv to London. Both facts were disclosed by Sandinista leaders only after their successful revolution.

Thomas Borge, first Interior Minister of Sandinist Nicaragua, has a long Cuban-Palestinian history. Arrested by the Nicaraguan government, Borge confirmed Al-Fatah training for himself and others. Released from prison by Nicaraguan authorities on 24 August 1970 (in response to a FSLN attack on the National Palace) he surfaced in Cuba via Panama on 25 September, where he received a hero's welcome. He spent much of the early 1970s in the Middle East as an emissary of Castro, and was often seen in Damascus and Beirut. He used Libyan money and PLO assistance to get arms from North Korea and Vietnam, and channeled them back to Central America (see below).

In 1978, there was public confirmation of the FSLN-Palestinian connection. On 5 February, Benito Escobar and Issam Sli of the DFLP issued a joint communique in Mexico City. It emphasized the "bonds of solidarity which exist between two revolutionary organizations" and condemned US support for Israel and Nicaragua.

& the Revolution: Cuba, Venezuela and Panama were the principal suppliers of the Sandinista revolution until the final weeks. However, according to *US News and World Report*, just before the last offensive against the Somoza government, large shipments arrived from Libya and Algeria. According to at least one source, Thomas Borge arranged a shipment of guns from North Korea, sent to Nicaragua on a Lebanese-registered vessel owned and operated by the PLO.

The revolution ended with a Sandinist victory in 1979, after which they signed a "government-to-government" agreement with the PLO. A PLO embassy opened in Managua, headed by Ahmed Suleiman and having a staff of approximately seventy. Muammar Khadafi quickly donated \$100 million to the new government (following a half-billion dollars he channelled to the Sandinistas through a Panamanian bank account



Yasser Arafat shakes hands with Sandinista Interior Minister and Commander Thomas Borge, after both men pronounced the PLO cause the cause of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Managua on 22 July



Yasser Arafat with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro upon Arafat's arrival in Havana. (Photo UPI)

during the revolution). The PLO made a loan to Nicaragua in the amount of nearly \$12 million (6 million British Pounds) in 1982, according to the 2 December 1981 (London) *Daily Telegraph*, and reported by the Hon. Larry McDonald of Georgia in the *Congressional Record* of 17 January 1982. 1980: On the first anniversary of the revolution, Yasser Arafat received a royal welcome in Managua. Thomas Borge told him, "We say to our brother Arafat that Nicaragua is his land and that the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas." Arafat replied, "The links between us are not new; your comrades did not come to our country just to train, but also to fight. (Ed. Note: Reference to 1970 uprising in Jordan.) Your enemies are our enemies."

In an Editorial entitled "Nicaragua: One Year of Revolution," the PLO information bulletin *Palestine* wrote:

There is no doubt that there is a common line between Nicaragua, Iran and Palestine. A common front against the common enemy, the enemy of the people, the enemy of freedom and liberation. As once nobody could imagine that Chairman Arafat would visit Iran after the success of the revolution in February 1979, Chairman Arafat's visit to Nicaragua was also unexpected. It was simultaneously a shock and a blow to US imperialism and hegemony in Central America.

The anti-Yankee front is getting bigger in Central America, and Cuba is no more alone and isolated. The storms of revolution are stepping over from Nicaragua to Salvador, which is now on the verge of being liberated. Other countries will follow the path of revolution to overthrow the Yankee hegemony over the peoples of Latin America.

The Palestinian Revolution understands the international dimensions of its struggle and its international task of supporting, within its capabilities, international liberation movements. The more peoples of the world become free and independent, the closer the Palestinians are to victory. Zionism and Israel are nothing but an offshoot of US hegemony, and they have to be defeated everywhere

1982: Yasser Arafat announced in January that the PLO had sent pilots to Nicaragua and guerrilla fighters to El Salvador. The US Department of State confirmed the former. In May, Managua Radio announced a PLO gift to the Sandinistas: a Boeing 707. A State Department document of May 1983 said the plane never left Tanzania, owing to a lack of Nicaraguan resources to transport it to Central America. The same document further reports that PLO technicians have tried, but failed, to make Nicaragua's radar system functional.

During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Managua Sistema Sandinista Television carried the following report:

The Executive Committee of the Central American and Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Tribunal (TACC), today strongly condemned the Israeli attacks on the Palestine refugees in Lebanon and the unconditional US support for Israel. In a communique, the TACC 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 US approval and unconditional support, force us to denounce these three countries as enemies of the peoples that are UN members, the TACC communique said.

10 June 1982

1983: The Nicaraguan government announced that the Latin American preparatory meeting on Palestine and International Law (held 12-15 April in Managua) was the first in a series of meetings to be held in Africa, Asia and Europe prior to an international conference scheduled for Paris in August. The purpose of the meeting, according to Alejandro Bendana, deputy foreign policy director for multilateral affairs in the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, is to "obtain support from international public opinion for the Palestinian people's struggle for liberty and self-determination."

preparatory meeting on Palestine and International Law...complies of the UN resolutions approved. This meeting is aimed at governmental and nongovernmental support for the Palestinian cause, to reflect worldwide UN rejection of Israel's aggressive policy, with support, against our people."

The government of France, deeply concerned about the possibility of terrorism directed at French citizens, has said it would prefer the meeting be held elsewhere. PLO delegates at the UN replied they cannot refuse to hold a meeting sponsored by the United Nations, and preparations proceed.

El Salvador

& Cuba: Fidel Castro assumed a leading role in the leftist opposition to the government which ousted General Carlos H. Romero in October 1979. By that year, and early into 1980, he assisted in unifying the Salvadoran guerrilla movement.

According to State Department information, as a pre-condition for large scale Cuban military aid, the guerrilla leaders joined the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the executive committee for political and military training in May 1980. In 1980, they joined the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), a coordinating body for all guerrilla organizations.

Members of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES), the National Resistance and the Popular Liberation Forces signed a letter in Havana to thank Castro for:

The help of your party comrades in signing an agreement which establishes very solid bases upon which we are building coordination and unity among all organizations.

In the summer of 1980, Yasser Arafat, general secretary of the PLO (and son of Palestinian emigres) visited Cuba, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Ethiopia to solicit arms. He received commitments from these countries for 800 tons of military equipment for the Salvadoran revolution.

Over 200 tons of weapons were delivered for use in the guerrilla struggle. In January 1981 "general offensive" was launched against the government. They received arms via Cuba and Nicaragua, and in Belgium, German and American arms. Israeli Uzi submachine guns and assault rifles; American and Soviet grenades; Chinese grenade launchers and US anti-tank weapons. The information was confirmed by the US State Department.

& the PLO: Bruce McCollm of the House has long maintained that the PLO, more than Cuba, is the main conduit of arms to Salvadoran guerrillas. In 1981 he said, "It is the PLO, with financial aid from Khadafi, that is helping to establish the anti-American network in the area," and believed that the State Department had minimized the connection to the rebels. Current frictions between Arafat and Khadafi (Arafat said recently he would leave Khadafi's tongue) may cause tensions in the supply line.

1979-80: Even in the early days of the junta, before the underground movements in El Salvador united, there were demonstrations of sympathy between the guerrillas and the PLO.

On 13 December 1979, members of the People's Revolutionary Front bombed the Israeli Embassy in Salvador "in solidarity with the



Fidel Castro upon Arafat's arrival in

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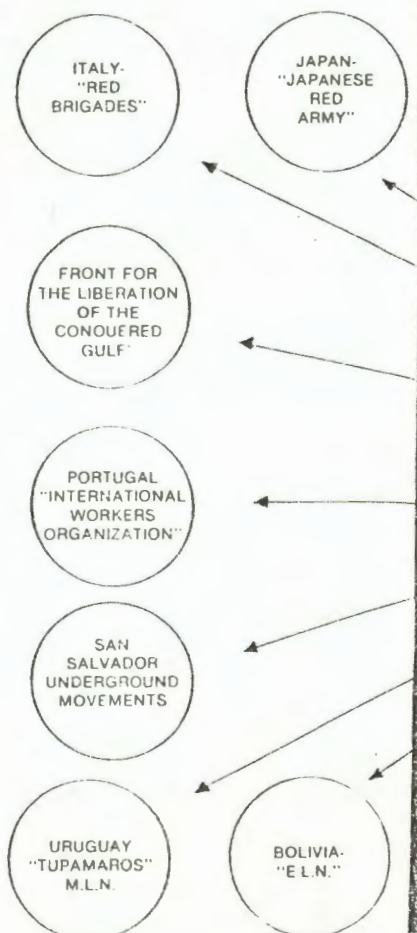
In the summer of 1980, Shafik Handel, general secretary of the PCES (and son of Palestinian emigres) traveled to Cuba, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Ethiopia to obtain arms. He received commitments from these countries for 800 tons of military equipment for the Salvadoran rebels.

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Intelligence information has linked th

matic relations with the PLO.

A statement by the Bloc of Salvadorans in Washington in Solidarity with the Popular Revolutionary Bloc of El Salvador, declared:

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

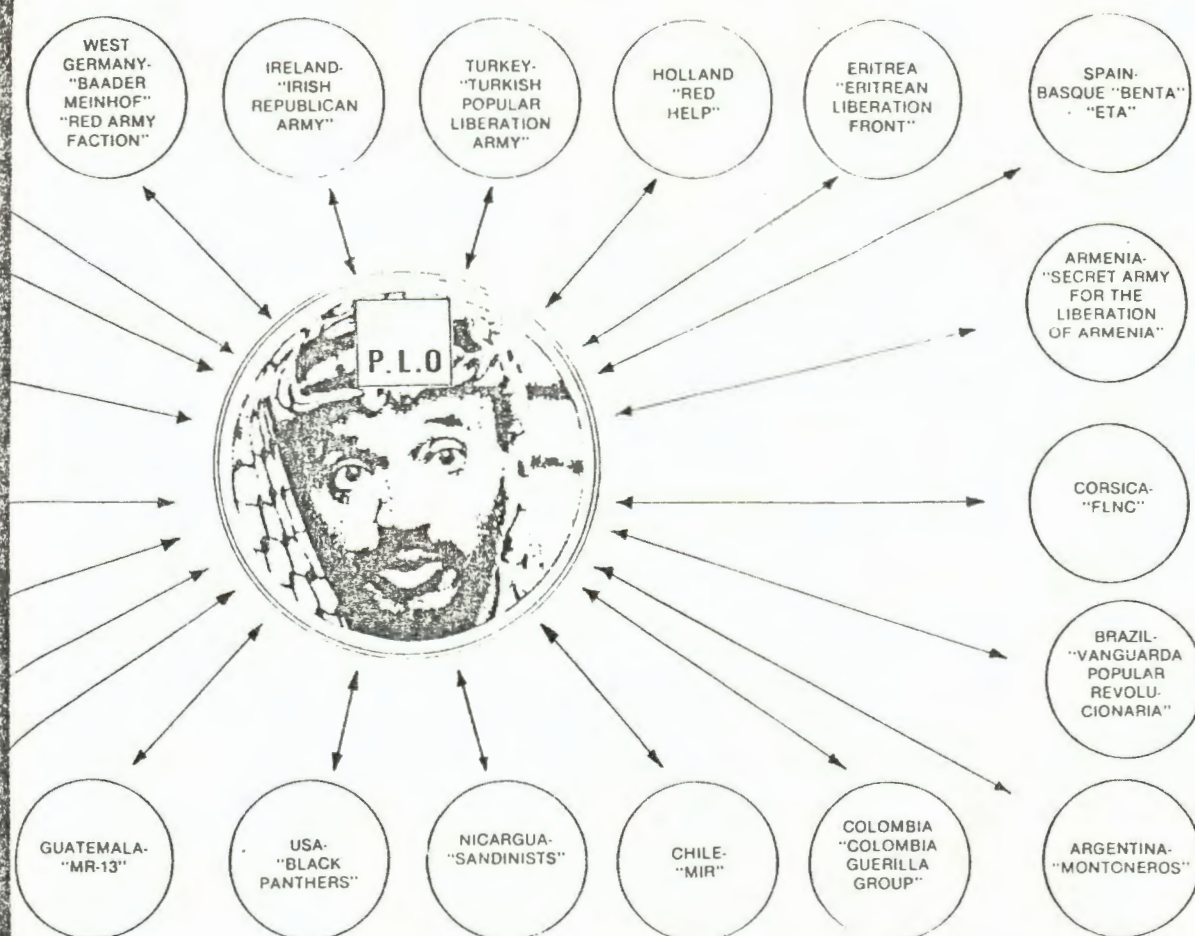
A condemnation of the Zionist state of Israel because of its participation in maintaining the deplorable conditions under which the people of Palestine, El Salvador and Southern Africa are forced to live...

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

21 September 1979

By 23 June 1980, there were reports of PLO military assistance to the Salvadoran guerrillas. On 22 July, the DRU representatives from El Salvador met with Yasser Arafat in Managua, where they received promises for arms and aircraft. Selected Salvadoran fighters were trained by the PLO in the Middle East and Nicaragua. According to *US News and World Report*, PLO fighters were sent to El Salvador in September.

1981-82: Relations between the guerrillas and the PLO strengthened in 1981. Shafik Handel visited Lebanon in March and met with Arafat, Nayif Hawatmeh (Secretary General of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and members of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. In public statements, he stressed his Palestinian heritage and the bonds between "liberation movements" of Latin America and the Palestinians. According to Handel, much of the 2000-member Palestinian community in El Salvador belong to the underground movements.



PLO with terrorist and guerrilla organizations around the world.

in El Salvador. In February testimony on Capitol Hill, 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 and the Palestine Liberation Organization and the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have furnished funds, arms and training.

Also that month, Vice President George Bush told Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir that "the PLO is aiding leftist guerrillas in El Salvador," reported by United Press International on 21 February.

A Salvadoran rebel leader known as Lt. Col Martial, visited Arafat in Beirut in March 1982, invited by Khalik al-Wazir, top commander of the Palestinian forces in Lebanon. Al-Wazir is better known by his nom-de-guerre, Abu Jihad. Abu Jihad was reported killed some months after he was to have left Beirut under the US-sponsored evacuation agreement. However, reports of his death were premature, and he has since returned to Lebanon as one of the chief PLO spokesmen.

"It was disgraceful of Reagan to call us terrorists. We are a great revolution... We have connections with all revolutionary movements throughout the world, in Salvador, in Nicaragua..."—Arafat

In mid-1982, Arafat met with guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio, during Carpio's two-week long visit to Beirut. Carpio then visited Libya, which had also provided military training for El Salvadoran and Sandinista guerrillas. He left there to attend the funeral of his second-in-command in Nicaragua, and shortly thereafter, was killed.

The connection between the PLO and Salvadoran guerrillas is now deeply rooted and high-level contacts are frequent. Arms and training continue to be supplied to insurgents and Arafat has publicly proclaimed his support

terrorists. We are a great revolution that can never be intimidated. We have connections with all revolutionary movements throughout the world, in Salvador, in Nicaragua—and I reiterate Salvador—and elsewhere in the world.

Latin America

When I spent a month in Venezuela, I was invited by my cousin to see a film about the Palestinians which was being presented at the university by one of the leftist parties. The film was supposed to be followed by an open discussion on the whole topic.

Once everyone was seated in the auditorium, a woman got up and began talking about the crisis in El Salvador and the importance of displaying one's solidarity with the leftist guerrillas. After about ten minutes, and without saying one word about the Middle East, she ended her speech with the cry "Viva El Salvador," which was followed by tumultuous applause. Suddenly, as the applause was dying down, she screamed, "Viva Los Palestinos," also followed by tumultuous applause.

At this point, Vanessa Redgrave's film "The Palestinians" began. The only way I can describe this film is as a "tear

jerker," aimed exclusively at eliciting a completely emotional response. The oversimplification of the film was extraordinary. The crowd loved it. After the film, everybody went straight home. Apparently, no one felt a need to discuss anything.

personal letter

24 September 1982

The PLO has used propaganda and its own brand of diplomacy to pursue its aims of diplomatic recognition and furtherance of revolution in Latin America. It is not a new phenomenon.

PLO has also used the PLO to

Washington, D.C.-based group), in 1977 a member of Panama's Legislative Commission signed a secret official document certifying that a Yugoslavian firm that built a dam in Panama "never had any ties of any kind with Jewish or Zionist firms nor persons, nor has it transactions in which there were any of those Zionist financial agencies." The signatory, Carlos Perez Herrera, wrote an open letter to a Panamanian newspaper saying that the document was necessary because Arab security concerns prevented participation in contracts by firms with Zionist participation. Two years later, Herrera's name appeared as Secretary General of the "Panamanian-Arab League of Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the PLO."

In September 1979, Panama's President met with Yasser Arafat in Havana and, according to Mutating, a Panamanian newspaper, pledged mutual support and planned for Arafat's visit to Panama. Later that month, leaflets with Arafat's photo, expressing Panamanian solidarity with the PLO were dropped on Panama synagogues by a light plane (only possible with official sanction). The following month an "unofficial" PLO office opened in Panama, and there were reports of PLO officials trying to bribe radio outlets and the press.

Costa Rica: *Sommaire*, a French magazine, reported on the attempted kidnapping of the French Ambassador to Costa Rica in 1980. The plot failed, but *Sommaire* wrote:

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 in Latin America, had entrusted their new friends with a mission.

This mission, undertaken on behalf of the Palestinian resistance, yet without

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Central America

(Continued from page 5)

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.

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 discreetly informed of this scheme of the PLO, for what failed at San Jose, might be successful elsewhere...

25 September-1 October 1980

Terrorist International: In 1977, the "Foreign Report" of The Economist Newspaper Limited in London, published a report on the coordination of Latin American revolutionary organizations. The Junta de Coordinacion Revolucionaria (JCR), set up in February 1974

Israeli and Argentinian targets. The ideological base for this kind of tactical alliance is readily comprehensible, not least because many of the Montoneros' key political leaders...are revolutionary Peronists who began their political careers in ultra-nationalist and violently anti-semitic organizations.

19 July 1978

And in 1979:

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 neighbors, since the PLO has established close relations with the Latin American guerrilla movements that are represented under the umbrella of the (JCR), and in particular, with Argentina's Montoneros.

Like the Palestinians, the Montoneros have experienced considerable difficulty in staging effective strikes on their home ground...and are now in search of "soft targets" abroad.

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

In 1982, the Israel Defense Forces published the following list of guerrilla organizations maintaining ties with the PLO. The list is based on documents captured by the IDF in Lebanon, coupled with other Israeli intelligence information.

The Turkish Popular Liberation Army
The Eritrean Liberation Front
The Japanese Red Army
The Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
The Argentinian Montoneros
The Brazilian Vanguarda Popular Revolucionaria
The Chilean MIR
The Colombian Guerrilla Group
Various movements in San Salvador
The Uruguayan MLN, Tupamaros
The Venezuelan Carlos Network
The Italian Red Brigades
The Spanish Basque BENTA
The Spanish ETA
The West German Baader-Meinhof
The West German Red Army Faction
The Irish Republican Army
The Guatemalan MR-13

 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

to coordinate movements in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia, had its main headquarters in Paris by 1977. "Foreign Reports" wrote:

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 Ahmed—the Fatah representative) and Taisser Shalabi from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, both of whom have been based in Rio.

23 March 1977

The following year, "Foreign Reports" continued:

Links between the Palestinian guerrilla groups and Latin American revolutionaries are being strengthened.

Argentina's Montoneros, a waning force in their own country...have forged a tactical alliance with the Palestine Liberation Organization...According to PLO broadcasts, the Argentinians had talked with Khalil al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, Fatah's chief of military operations, and with "specialized 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 communique from the Montoneros and the PLO that...

recruitment—to the South American continent.

30 May 1979

Conclusion

Cuba and the PLO (backed by the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Libya and others) stand at the center of a web of guerrilla organizations determined to undermine or overthrow governments spanning Central and South America and operating in many other countries as well. More than a decade of cross-fertilization between the various leftist states and organizations has been documented above. By their own pronouncements and by their activities they are hostile to American and other democratic interests, and their operations to this point have been widespread and well-organized.

In concert, the depth and breadth of damage they can do to our friends and allies, and consequently to us, is enormous.

American experience with "popular revolution" and "peoples' armies" in Iran, Libya, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, South Yemen and other places, should lead us to accept as authentic their proclaimed hostility to American principles and institutions. The treatment their citizens receive from these governments stands in marked contrast to their vaunted claims of "liberation" and "democracy," and accession to power

counter to American interests (as well as counter to the interest of large segments of the local populations).

Exposing the external control exercised over many guerrilla organizations by the Soviet Union and its proxies is but one step in developing policies to prevent their accession to power, and help to ensure the development and survival of democratic institutions.

Additional Information has been coming to JINSA as we go to press. We plan to publish Part II next month.

The Editors

Egypt rule

(Continued from page 3)

Sadat's regime, the government's extreme repressive measures polarized Egyptian society so that alternatives to policies (and to his presidency) were seriously discussed in intellectual and opposition circles—heightening politicization in the society as a whole. Mubarak, by decreasing the society's divisiveness, has reduced the opposition's incentive to challenge the government.

Yet, he still faces the problem of consolidating his legitimacy and power base. He has increased militarization of the society...

NEWSLETTER

JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

1100 Seventeenth St. N.W., Suite 401, Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) 659-3800

Vol. III, No. 21

June 1983

News Briefs

US STUDYING ISRAELI MILITARY DATA: A delegation of American military personnel is in Israel studying the data gained from the IDF's performance in the Lebanese war. The Air Force and Army officers arrived after Israel and the US came to an agreement on the sharing of the war information. The high priorities for the Americans are how Israel took out the Syrian missile sites and how the Syrian Soviet-supplied equipment performed.

ASSASSINATION PLOT AGAINST ARAFAT FAILED: According to the Voice of Lebanon, Yasser Arafat's security guards apprehended four armed Palestinians who were in Tunis last month to attempt to assassinate him. The men were from a rejectionist Palestinian faction who worked in cooperation with Arab intelligence services.

to 3000 miles. According to these officials, the Soviets have 351 operational SS20s, 243 of which are aimed at Western Europe from the European parts of the USSR west of the Ural Mountains; and the remaining 108 are aimed at China, Japan and South Korea.

(RELATED) US TO STRENGTHEN ASIAN DEFENSES: The US has begun to strengthen its military strength in the Far East to counter the increasing Soviet buildup of missiles in Central Asia. Plans reportedly include increasing visits of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers to Japan and deployment of short-range antiballistic missiles on B-52 bombers stationed in Guam.

SOMALIA ATTACKS US PLANES BY MISTAKE: Pentagon officials stated that Somali air defense units in the Red Sea area of Somalia fired and

The PLO In Central America

Shoshana Bryen

The Reagan Administration and the full political spectrum of the Congress have agreed that the future of democracy in Central America is of pressing concern to this country, although often, the methods our political leaders would choose to enhance American security differ. In determining policy options, some documentation of Cuban involvement in Nicaragua, and Cuban and Nicaraguan involvement in El Salvador, has been presented. Soviet fostering of Third World revolutions of the left has long been axiomatic.

In many cases, security considerations have prevented the American government from revealing the depth of these connections and the relationship between these countries and the PLO. The PLO has been involved in arming,

Cuba on agricultural and technical projects, and in 1963, Castro declared three days of mourning upon the death of Israel's President Yitzhak Ben Zvi. When Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella said, "Whoever respects a dead Israeli that way has no right to come to an Arab land," Castro cancelled a planned visit there. Things cooled considerably after the Six Day War, however Castro refused to break relations, saying that "the destruction of Israel was not part of the socialist program, as socialism was understood in Cuba." According to the Jerusalem Post, as late as 1970, Israel's Minister in Havana, Gabriel Doron, was told that Cuba would not break diplomatic relations with any country that had not harmed it.

In September 1973, at the Algiers

Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAL). Castro and the PLO had ideological disagreements, but by 1968, Cuban intelligence and military personnel were assisting the PLO in North Africa and Iraq. In 1969, Cuban 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 Sinai desert, as reported by Le Monde in Paris.

Castro met with PLO leaders in Algeria in May 1972, to discuss stepped-up coordination of activities. As a result, the PLO undertook to augment Cuban training of Latin American guerrillas with specialized instruction in Lebanon, South Yemen and Libya. The PLO opened its first Latin American of-

1871

THE PLO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

"Palestinian combatants are fighting in the
same trench as the Central American people."

Fidel Castro, 6 September 1982

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has maintained contact with various revolutionary groups, mainly leftist in political orientation, for many years. Among other objectives, the PLO has sought thereby to reinforce its own revolutionary credentials, to strike at Western governments sympathetic to Israel, and to guarantee continued political and military support from radical states such as the USSR and Cuba by occasionally acting as their proxy. All three objectives have been served through PLO involvement with Central American revolutionaries, particularly the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran guerrilla groups.

Nicaragua

PLO collaboration with the Sandinistas stemmed from Palestinian antipathy to the Nicaraguan government under the Somozas, which had been a firm ally of Israel. It was also a natural outgrowth of Cuban military training and intelligence support for the PLO which began shortly after the 1966 Tricontinental Conference in Havana. Inasmuch as the Cubans were also assisting the Sandinistas it was only logical that these two beneficiaries would aid each other on occasion.

The Sandinistas have admitted their association with the PLO. In early June 1979, six weeks before Somoza was overthrown, Sandinista spokesman Jorge Mandi described the association in these terms:

"There is a longstanding blood unity between us and the Palestinian revolution. Many of the cadres belonging to the Sandinista movements were at Palestinian revolutionary bases in Jordan. In the early 1970s, Nicaraguan and Palestinian blood was spilled together in Amman and in other places during the Black September battles."

"A number of Sandinistas took part in the operation to divert four aircraft which the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) seized and landed at a desert airfield in Jordan. One of our comrades was also wounded in another hijack operation in which Leila Khaled was involved. She was in command of the operation and our comrades helped her carry it out. It is natural, therefore, that in our war against Somoza, we received Palestinian aid for our revolution in various forms."

Various sources indicate that perhaps several dozen Sandinistas received PLO training during the 1970s, often in addition to Cuban training. A case in point was that of Pedro Arauz Palacios, who hijacked a Nicaraguan airliner in November 1969 and received sanctuary in Cuba. Sandinistas later captured by Somoza's security forces testified that Arauz received guerrilla training in Cuba during 1970 and then travelled to the Middle East for training at a camp run by the largest PLO group, Fatah. Arauz later became a principal Sandinista leader and was killed in combat in 1977. The present Nicaraguan Interior Minister, Tomas Borge, apparently also received training from Fatah as well as the Cubans.

In early 1978 the PLO, along with the Cubans and Soviets, began to sense that the Sandinistas were nearing victory and accordingly became more bold in acknowledging mutual interests and mutual enemies. Thus, in March 1978 representatives of the Sandinistas met in Havana with counterparts from the most pro-Soviet element of the PLO, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and signed a declaration denouncing "Yankee imperialism, the racist regime of Israel and the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza."

Later the PLO began to supply arms to the Sandinistas. This became public knowledge in early 1979 when a PLO air shipment--disguised as medical supplies like the cargo of the Libyan aircraft stopped in Brazil in April 1983--was intercepted by Tunisian authorities and never arrived in Nicaragua.

Shortly after the Sandinistas took power in July 1979, official Sandinista contacts with the PLO were established through a mission to Beirut led by the brother of Junta member Sergio Ramirez. In mid-May 1980, representatives of the PLO mission to the United Nations and the Sandinistas signed a protocol on relations. This paved the way for Yasir Arafat's visit to Managua in July 1980 to celebrate the first anniversary of the Sandinista victory and to open a PLO "Embassy." Nicaragua is the only country in the world where the PLO mission is officially designated as an Embassy and the ranking PLO official is referred to as Ambassador--a testimony to the importance the Sandinistas attach to their PLO connections.

In August 1980 a bilateral military cooperation agreement was reportedly signed, and since then the military dimension to the relationship has become more evident. In addition to the Embassy staff, the PLO has maintained an average of about three dozen advisers in Nicaragua, although the number has fluctuated considerably from time to time. Their primary roles have been in the field of aviation: training Sandinista pilots; maintaining aircraft; attempting to make Nicaragua's Somoza-vintage radar system operational; and sometimes piloting the aircraft. A few PLO advisers have been active with Nicaragua's national airline and the PLO has even donated a Boeing 707 commercial aircraft.

El Salvador

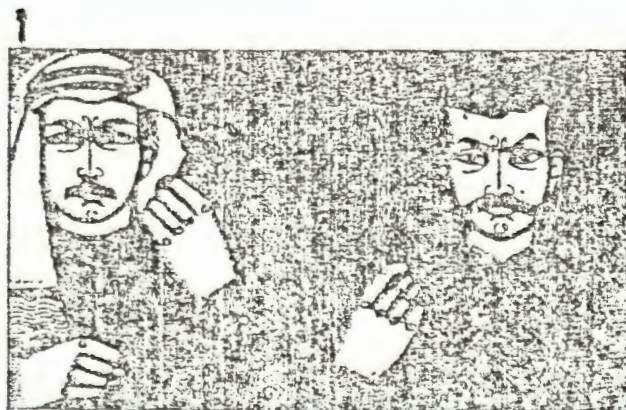
PLO contacts with Salvadoran guerrillas are of more recent vintage than those with the Sandinistas. Evidence of mutual sympathy emerged with the November 1979 kidnapping and subsequent murder of the South African Ambassador in El Salvador by the largest of the leftist guerrilla groups, the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL). Among the FPL's demands in the kidnapping was that El Salvador break relations with Israel and officially recognize the PLO. Moreover, those responsible for planting a bomb at the Israeli Embassy in El Salvador in December 1979 announced that the act was to show "solidarity with the Palestinian people."

Yasir Arafat and other PLO leaders have furnished some arms and training to the Salvadoran guerrillas largely as a result of Salvadoran Communist Party leader Shafik Handal's mid-1980 trip abroad to seek aid for the guerrillas. Handal made a special visit to Beirut in March 1981 to meet Arafat and DFLP leader Nayif Hawatmah to seek additional aid. Such aid has been forthcoming, and evidently is not confined to the provision of materiel: in January 1982 Arafat himself publicly announced to a group of journalists in Beirut that not only were there PLO pilots in Nicaragua, but also PLO combatants in El Salvador. In March 1982, the late FPL leader and overall commander of the Salvadoran guerrillas, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, held talks with PLO leaders in Lebanon.

PLO leaders may have found it easy to cooperate with Salvadoran revolutionaries for particular reasons--notably the Palestinian background of Shafik Handal--but they also understand the Salvadoran struggle in regional terms. This was made clear in an interview with a Salvadoran guerrilla leader published in the March 1981 bulletin of the second largest PLO group, the Marxist-led Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The interviewer stated the issue concisely for his Palestinian readers:

"We have the brilliant revolutionary example of Nicaragua. . . The struggle in El Salvador is very advanced; the same in Guatemala, and Honduras is developing quickly. . . .Very soon Central America will be one revolutionary entity."

And indeed the PLO apparently has extended at least political and in some cases material support to other revolutionaries in the region, not only in Central America but elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean including, among others near our borders, Puerto Rican separatists. Nicaragua and El Salvador do not delimit the PLO's interests in aiding leftist groups in this hemisphere.



PFLP Bulletin, March 1981

Upper left: Castro and Arafat affirm "one goal" according to 1978 issue of Information Bulletin.

Above: Another issue of the same journal, covering Arafat's trip to Managua in July 1980, shows Arafat and Daniel Ortega proclaiming that Nicaragua and Palestine follow "one strategy".

Lower left: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) journal containing an interview with a Salvadoran guerrilla leader depicts a Palestinian fighter side by side with a Salvadoran guerrilla.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, II

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: Briefing by Constantine Menges

Monday afternoon I had an exceptionally rewarding conversation with Dr. Constantine Menges of the CIA. He demonstrated to me that we are at a very crucial point with respect to Central America. If certain steps are not taken now, we will be faced with the unpleasant alternatives of sending in U.S. combat units or acquiescing to a Marxist-Leninist takeover of most of the countries of the region.

I strongly suggest that you schedule a 20 minute briefing by Constantine as soon as possible. His number is: 351-5972.

MCB:jet

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1983

MEMO TO: MORTON BLACKWELL

FROM: KEN STRIBLING 

RE: BREAKFAST MEETING TODAY

As you know, I attended this mornings breakfast in your stead. I have a few points to relay to you.

RAV is soliciting names for a list of influential people that can and will help on Central America. This list is expected to be massive, and and he solicits our help.

Also, RAV and some of the other members discussed the possibility of setting up briefings with the religious leaders and media. This, I think, would fall under us.

One person suggested that the message that ought to be being stressed to the public and to the government is that this is all right next door. They cited the need to film some guerillas saying some inflammatory things.

Howard is setting up some fund-raising functions with the oil business people in Texas.

One person noted that we need to watch the certification process, because there is potential for heavy defeat there. Without the right data, we can lose lose the battle there.

The Ad Hoc Committee has put together a conference on 7-19-83 called "Nicaragua: The Revolution Betrayed". They have put together a tentative program, a guiding committee, and they plan to make it a media event.

There was no major news at the meeting. I handed out the packets that I took, and announced the time and place of the Wednesday group meeting.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: Notes from Meeting on Central America,
Tuesday, June 14, 1983

At the opening of the meeting, the lack of movement on the Central American issue was noted. This was attributed to the fact that outside groups found it extremely difficult to "get a handle" on the Administration policies with regard to Central America thereby diminishing the ability to get definitive information out to the grass roots. It was noted that there was more good will at the grass roots level regarding support of enunciated Administration policies on Central America than has been seen on many issues in recent years. The importance of coming up with something in concrete terms which the grass roots can work on was stressed.

An inquiry was made as to what, precisely, the Administration wants to happen in "concrete terms."

It was suggested that it would be helpful if, for example, there were five specific items which the Administration would want from the Congress, along with a time-table or expected Congressional action completion on those items.

It was stressed that an effort should be made to reframe the entire Central American dialogue. Participants said the Administration should ask for more resources than necessary to save Central America.

It was noted that there should be a closer monitoring of the issues/actions/potential actions effecting the entire Central American region and in particular when (date) those issues would come to the forefront. It was suggested that a "calendar" be developed which would assist in this type of monitoring.

It was suggested that a request be made through the J-5 (Joint Chiefs of Staff) for a National Information Strategy Planning Assessment on Central America.

It was suggested that Dick Wirthlin be contacted for the purpose of detailing the polling data which had been elicited regarding public reaction to the Administration policies vis-a-vis the situation in Central America.

Mr. Wirthlin will discuss this matter at a meeting on Wednesday, June 22 (11:00 a.m.). Mr. Wirthlin will be asked to bring a copy of the questions which had been used in connection with the recent Central American poll survey.

Seventy Republican House Members have formed a group for the purpose of framing various issues in much the same manner as Margaret Thatcher has done. Leaders of the House Members (Gingrich/Weber) may request to meet with Ken Duberstein to discuss framing the dialogue on the Central American question.

Members recently returned from trips to Central America (Phil Crane, Tom Corcoran, James Sensenbrenner, William Dannemeyer, Bill Lowery, and Mark Siljander) will send a written request to meet with the President and Judge Clark for the purpose of debriefing.

Christian Groups engaged in humanitarian efforts in Central America may request a meeting with the President and Judge Clark for the purpose of discussing their efforts and detailing their findings with regard to the situation in the area.

Mrs. Whittlesey agreed to attempt to set up a meeting with Judge Clark and Mr. Duberstein and the group present at the meeting of Tuesday, June 14, 1983.

:jet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: John Lenczowski

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MCB*

SUBJECT: White House Working Group Paper

Attached is the draft of a paper prepared by Nestor Sanchez at Mrs. Whittlesey's request. We want to issue a paper on this topic as a "White House Digest" paper through our White House Outreach Working Group on Central America.

Mrs. Whittlesey is concerned that this paper is not written in such a way as to have the maximum impact on laymen. The notes on the draft are hers. She specifically wants more comparisons of the United States' versus the Soviets' efforts in the Caribbean area.

She asked me to ask you to try to handle a quick re-write of this paper so that it would be a more useful and persuasive version.

Can you help?

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

Soviet/Cuban Threat and Buildup in the Caribbean

Since 1978 we have seen an ever increasing Soviet presence in the Caribbean Region. The USSR through its surrogate--Cuba--has been able to establish a permanent presence in the Western Hemisphere.

The Characteristics of the Soviet/Cuban Build-up: Men, Money, Materiel

- The Soviet Union maintains and reinforces its presence by:
 - Deploying its long range Bear Bombers to the region on an almost back-to-back basis. *no body understands this!*
 - Deploying its naval combatants for joint training exercises with Cuba.
 - Providing a palace guard of approximately 3,000 men of its Soviet Brigade near Havana and an additional presence of 2,500 military advisors.
 - Providing Cuba with 8,000 civilian advisors.

- In 1982, the Soviets and Cubans had 50 times as many military advisors in Latin America as did the US. Last year the Soviets increased their military advisors in Cuba by 500. *what is that?*

- The USSR has also provided a steady stream of military equipment to Cuba. In 1981 alone, Moscow provided 66,000 metric tons in military assistance valued at \$600 million. Deliveries in 1982 exceeded 1981 by 2,000 metric tons and amounted to over \$1 billion in military assistance in the last two years.

U.S. assistance comparison?

- Cuban armed forces have grown to a size disproportionate for defensive needs:

- Cuba possesses an Army of over 225,000; a Navy of 11,000 and air and air defense forces of 16,000 not including hundreds of thousands of paramilitary.
- Cubans have well over 200 MIG fighter aircraft.
- Castro has about 65,000 Cubans serving overseas, 40,000 military (25,000 troops in Angola, about 12,000 in Ethiopia) and 25,000 civilian technicians.
- Cuba has 2.3% of its population in the regular armed forces, one of every 20 Cubans participates in some security mission.

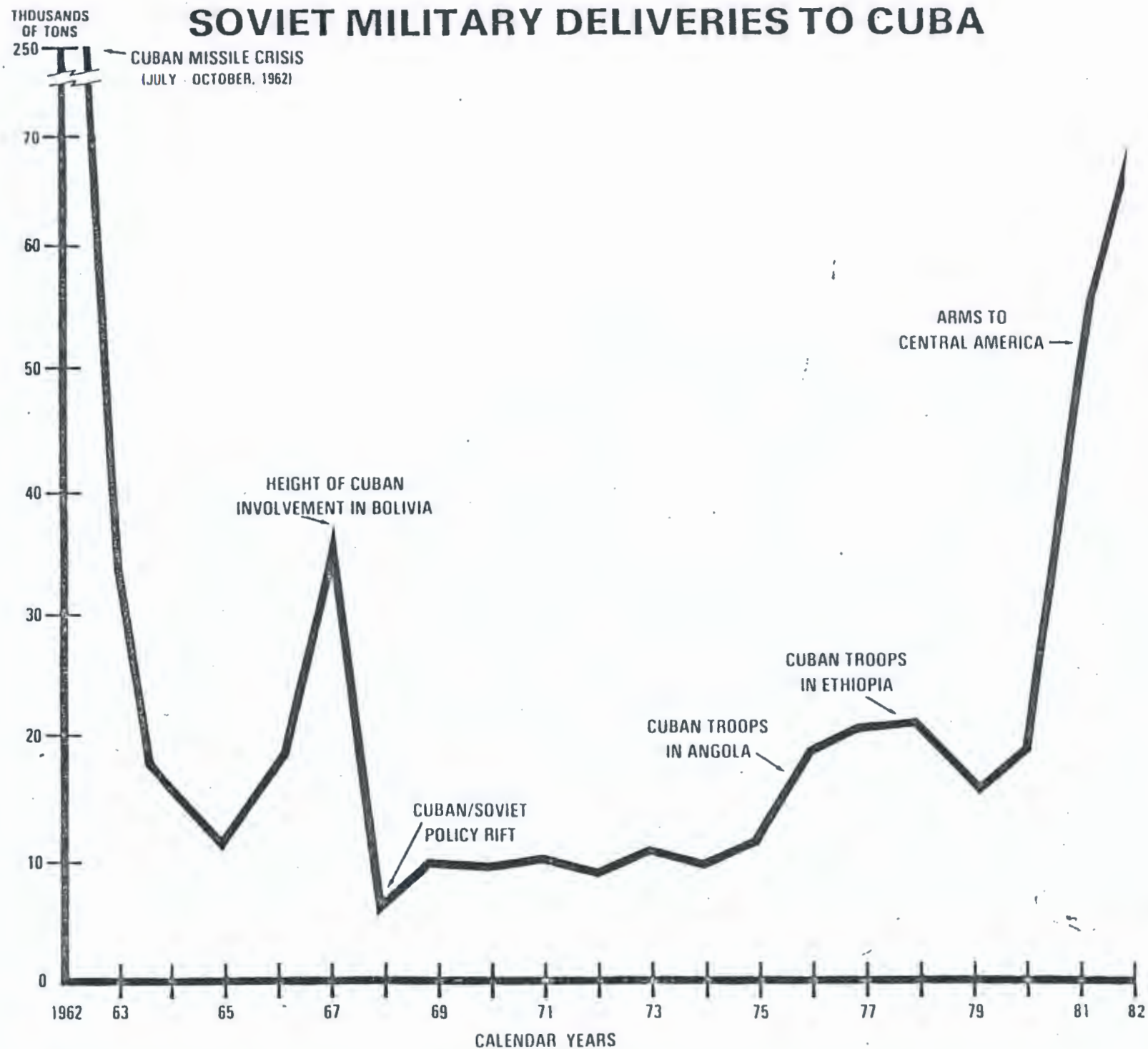
not clear

- Moscow underwrites the activities of its Cuban surrogate at a cost exceeding \$4 billion annually (1/4 of Cuba's GNP) and supports efforts to collect funds, arms, and supplies from the communist bloc for guerrilla activities in Central America and the Caribbean.

- The number of Soviet Bloc academic grants offered annually to Latin American students jumped from 400 in the 1960's to about 7,000 now. In 1979 Moscow admitted to sponsoring 7,000 Cubans for studies in the Soviet Union. Last year 700 Nicaraguans were reported studying there and an additional 300 scholarships were being provided. Scholarships include free room, board, tuition, transportation, medical care and a small stipend.

- About 3,000 Latin American students, including 1,600 Nicaraguans are studying in Cuba. Cuba has constructed 17 schools for foreigners each costing about \$2 million to build and \$600,000 to operate annually.

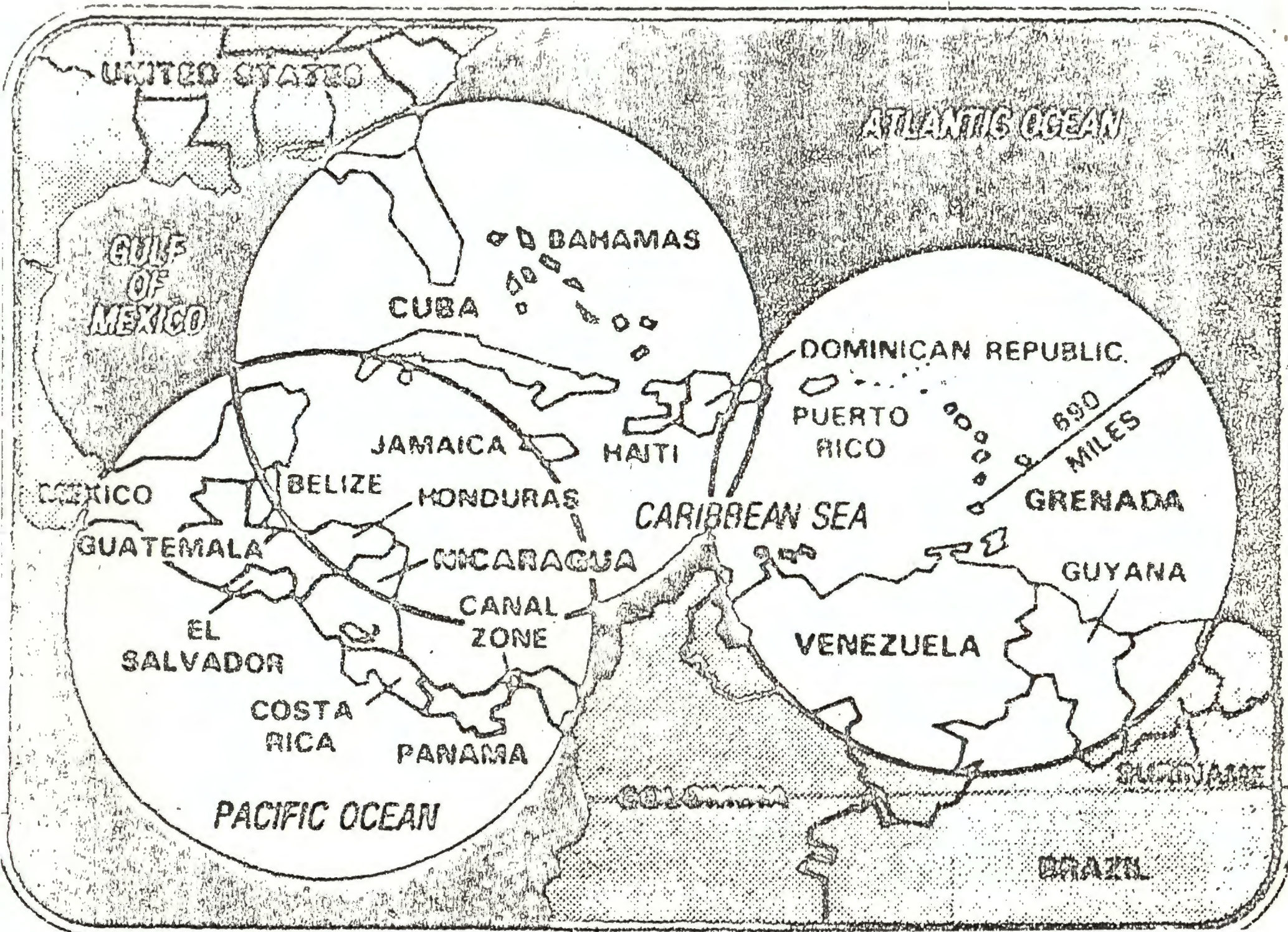
SOVIET MILITARY DELIVERIES TO CUBA



Spreading Soviet/Cuban Intervention Throughout The Region

- The implication of the Soviet/Cuban buildup is that it provides a platform for spreading subversion and supporting guerrillas throughout the region.
- It was Cuba that acted as the catalyst to organize and unify the far-left groups in El Salvador, assisted in developing the military strategy and encouraged the guerrillas to launch the ill-fated "final" offensive in January 1981. Cuba continues to be vital in training and supporting continuing offensives in El Salvador by funneling weapons and supplies via Nicaragua to rebel forces in El Salvador.
- Castro is actively engaged in converting Nicaragua into another Cuba. There are approximately 5,500 Cuban civilian advisors and more than 2,000 Cuban military and security advisors in Nicaragua.
- The Sandinistas themselves have boasted they have 138,000 men under arms in their active armed forces, reserves, militia, police and security forces. At its present strength the Sandinista Army represents the largest military force in the history of Central America. The Sandinistas have built 36 new military garrisons since Somoza's downfall.
- Approximately 70 Nicaraguans were sent to Bulgaria for training as pilots and mechanics. Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate the most sophisticated Soviet jet aircraft. MIGs could be flown in quickly from Cuba.
- In Grenada, the Cubans are constructing air facilities that exceed the requirements of that tiny island. The Grenadian Minister of Mobilization, Selwyn Strachan, has boasted publicly that Cuba will eventually use the new airport to supply troops in Angola, and because of its strategic location it will also be used by the Soviet Union. Over the past 2 years, Cuba's presence has been aimed at ensuring the viability of the Bishop government. Cuba has constructed a battalion size military base, including barracks and training areas; and it is building additional training facilities at Calivigny Point and Point Egmont.
- In Suriname, the Cuban Ambassador is a senior intelligence officer who was formerly Chief of the Caribbean Section of the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party. The Americas department is responsible for Cuban covert activities. The Cuban Ambassador maintains a very close relationship with LTC Desire Bouterse, Suriname's military leader, and has continuous access to key leaders.

RADIUS OF ACTION FOR MIG AIRCRAFT STATIONED IN CUBA, NICARAGUA AND GRENADA



*This is
too bland
& general!*

The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

*needs more
comparison of
U.S. & Soviet
effort*

- Such communist expansion could lead to an extensive and permanent Soviet presence, and an increased Soviet strategic capability in the region which would create significant military consequences for the US.

- It could place hostile forces and weapons systems within striking distance of targets in the US. - *This should be stronger*
- It could provide air and naval bases, such as those in Nicaragua and Grenada, for recovery of Soviet aircraft after strategic missions.
- It would furnish missile sites for launching attacks against the US with short and intermediate range missiles.
- It could provide bases for use in covert operations against the US and our neighbors.
- It could provide for prepositioning of Soviet equipment, supplies and ammunition in our hemisphere.
- It could allow the Soviet Pacific and Atlantic fleets to operate near our shores without having to return to the USSR for maintenance.
- It could threaten our Caribbean Sea Lines of Communication through which a large volume of our goods pass; thus endangering the economic well-being of our nation. *how much - The Pres. said 3%*
- And finally, it could cause the US to divert scarce resources in manpower and materiel from other areas of the world to protect an area previously considered militarily secure. *Such as Europe & the Pacific basin?*

*We must respond to the
question: Haven't we had
this with us (i.e. w/ Cuba)
for 20 yrs.?? & lived
w/ it?*

SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA (\$ IN MILLIONS)

MILLIONS OF
U.S. DOLLARS

1000
(1B)

600

500

400

300

200

100

0

USSR

U.S.

1962

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

YEAR

