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Note: Pgs. 9-12 were originally a part of "Central Am. Little Known Facts." Eliminated due to length of paper.

-- PRIVATE SECTOR LEADER'S FARM EXPROPRIATED: The

banana plantation belonging to Ramiro Gurdian, president of the UPANIC, an agricultural private sector organization, was expropriated by the Sandinistas in late May. The justification for the expropriation was explained by Sergio Rameriz, member of the Sandinista junta: "The problem is that there are some who call themselves Nicaraguans and think like yanquis. . . .We think that this gentleman cannot be associated with the revolutionary State because we need proprietors that are clear about the danger represented by measures from the United States." Dr. Gurdian has stated publicly in an interview of May 12 in La Prensa that while Nicaragua would probably lose approximately \$12 million because of the reduction in their sugar quota, he went on to explain that, ". . .the United States and Nicaragua, are both sovereign and independent nations and each has the right to buy and sell to countries as they see fit."

SOURCE: La Prensa, May 12, 1983; Barricada, May 26, 1983.

CUBA:

-- ICFTU COMPLAINT AGAINST CUBA: From the Brussels

Daily Le Soir of May 7-8, 1983 article by Jean-Paul Marthoz.

Cuba: Emulators of the Solidarity Trade Union?

Has there been an attempt to create an independent trade union in Cuba? For several weeks, a controversy punctuated by the dispatch of telegrams, letters and communiques has

pitted the Castro authorities against the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and Amnesty International.

The International Trade Union Organization, which is based in Brussels and represents among others, the most powerful trade unions in the Western world like the West German DGB, the American AFL-CIO and the British TUC, affirms as fact that 50 workers were arrested in October 1982 at Havana for having attempted to organize with their colleagues an independent trade union. It concerns a group of workers, employed by the state construction enterprise headquartered at Havana, who were working at the "Lenin Park" recreation center located in Havana.

On January 25, five of them were sentenced to death and twelve others received sentences of imprisonment up to 80 years. After an appeal lodged with the Council of State, the five death penalties were commuted to 30 year terms of imprisonment. ICFTU sources in Cuba nonetheless indicate that, for the Cuban authorities, the file remains open and the danger of application of the death sentences is not totally excluded.

On Friday, the ICFTU moreover, announced that it had received confirmation from reliable sources within Cuba of the arrest of the four lawyers who defended the five workers condemned to death as well as the arrest of a judge of the Peoples' Court at Havana, Nicasio Hernandez, who objected to the death sentences.

Moreover, the ICFTU continues to investigate information concerning the arrest of 200 persons who protested against the confiscation of their crops at Sancti Spiritus. Eleven of them are supposed to have been condemned to death. Trade union militants of the Pedro Moriero brewery, the Havana Bus Company and an electricity distributing company are also supposed to be under prosecution. Thirty workers are supposed to have been arrested at the sugar plant at Chaparra, where they tried to organize the truck drivers. These reports, however, have not been confirmed.

On Wednesday, at a press conference organized in Cuba for French journalists, Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez acknowledged that five persons had been condemned "for acts of sabotage having nothing in common with any trade union organization. Among the five persons mentioned by the international press," the number two Cuban said, "one was a small peasant, the other four had no occupation. They were engaged in speculation on the black market."

In an interview given to the correspondent of the French Communist newspaper L'Humanite, Rodriguez accused them "of having set fire to fishing plants, sabotaging means of transportation, and attempting unsuccessfully to destroy important enterprises in Havana." "They were even preparing to assassinate certain leaders," the Communist leader specified, in emphasizing "their ties with counter-revolutionary organizations installed abroad and with official agencies of the United States."

Even if, as Rodriguez affirmed, the five "saboteurs" have not been shot, this affair has raised uneasy feelings even within the trade union organizations affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (based in Prague). The French CGT, which sent a delegation for May 1 to Cuba, is supposed to receive a report from the Cuban Workers' Central.

The complaint filed officially by the ICFTU with the international labor office at Geneva also poses certain diplomatic problems, since for the first time since his accession to power at Havana, Fidel Castro will make an official visit to Western Europe at the end of this year. He is supposed to visit Madrid, Paris, and Stockholm, three capitals that are politically very close to the Social Democratic circles of the ICFTU.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, III
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: White House Digest Paper

Attached is our fifth White House Digest paper.

As per instructions from Darman, Richard Vigilante has already circulated the paper to Walt Raymond for the beginning of the informal NSC clearance process. This should materially speed up the formal clearance.

The draft on which the paper was based was prepared in Secretary Elliott Abrams Office and has received total clearance from that Office. The only changes from the original draft are stylistic -- not substantive.

I have again put a discussion of Digest papers on the Agenda for the Monday Working Group meeting. Richard and I are working hard to get at least 10 days lead time on the clearance process.

Richard is also working on the OP-ED pieces for you, per your instructions.

MCB:jet

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: Fifth White House Digest Paper


Attached is the fifth in our series of White House Digest papers for the Central America Outreach Group.

We would like to have it cleared for distribution at next Wednesday's (July 27th) Outreach meeting. As per your office's request this paper is already being circulated informally by Walter Raymond of NSC for interagency clearance. He will respond promptly to your formal tasking.

1 Attachment a/s

7/21/83

Memo To: Walt Raymond

From: Richard Vigilante 

Subject: Next paper

Here are four copies of draft of Human Rights In Cuba for you to begin informally seeking interagency clearance. Formal tasking from Darman will come later.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA

For at least the past five years, Soviet supported Cuba has been violating her neighbors' right to self determination by attempting to "'spread the revolution'" throughout Central America -- recruiting Communist rebels and providing them arms, advisors, and organization. Should the Cubans and their Soviet allies succeed, the entire Carribean basin could become an American version of Eastern Europe.

Already, Cuban intervention has helped establish a new Soviet client state in Nicaragua and is threatening the fledgling democracy of El Salvador. To fully understand what Cuban aggression means to the people of the region it is important to look at the Castro government's appalling record on human rights.

CLASSIC TOTALITARIANS

In over two decades that record has shown no sign of improvement. Like other Communist countries, Cuba is a tightly controlled, highly centralized, repressive state. The government freely discriminates against those it identifies as being "'in opposition to the state,'" and, of course, the consequences of such discrimination are much greater in a totalitarian state than a free one.

What's worse, over the years Castro has jailed thousands who opposed or were suspected of opposing or

criticizing Communist rule. Most sources place the current number of political prisoners at around 1000, some of whom have been in jail since 1959, making them some of the longest-held political prisoners in the world.

Prisoners are treated brutally. Several hundred prisoners, known as "'Plantados,'" have refused "'reeducation'" and refuse to wear uniforms that would identify them as common criminals. As punishment they have been denied food, medicine, and clothing.

TORTURE

Beatings are common. Prisoners are sometimes punished by being held, naked, in cold, dark isolation cells for long periods. According to Freedom House, the non-partisan human rights organization, the Cubans, like the Soviets, are using psychiatric hospitals as prisons.

Recently a long-time political prisoner, poet Armando Valladares, gave the world a chilling first hand account of Cuban treatment of political prisoners. In December 1982, Valladares, only lately released, testified in Congress that repression of Cuban political prisoners is "'ferocious.'" According to Valladares, the Cuban police forced his mother to write a letter denouncing him. The letter was dictated by a Cuban secret policeman holding a court order that would have sent Valladares' sister to jail had her mother refused to cooperate.

Valladares testified that the imprisoned include children and that physical and psychological torture is common.

While in prison, he was brutally beaten and at one point was denied food for more than 40 days, loosing the use of his legs as a result.

"MISSING"

American citizenship has been no protection. Several dual-national Cuban Americans have "'disappeared'" while visiting relatives in Cuba. Amnesty International reports that last year 29 prisoners were executed for political offenses. Recent sources indicate that some prisoners who have been in jail for as long as 22 years have just been given new long sentences.

As in the Soviet Union, in Cuba opposition political parties, like all forms of dissent, are outlawed. There is no freedom of the press or of speech. All print and electronic media are owned and censored by the Ministry of Culture.

"ARTISTIC" STANDARDS

Artists have been jailed for not conforming with the government's artistic guidelines. In 1977, for instance, journalist Amaro Gomez was arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison for possessing his own unpublished and uncirculated poems and plays. Freedom House states that "'writing or speaking against the system, even in private, is severely repressed.'" Though literacy is growing in Cuba, less and less can be written or read.

Those who practice religion are excluded from the

Communist Party and thus from responsible positions in the government or the army. The religious also face discrimination in employment, housing, and schooling. Some believers have been prosecuted for their differences with the government. Other have lost their jobs or have been excluded from universities.

JAILING WORKERS

Free trade unions, collective bargaining, and strikes are all forbidden. In the last year, over 200 workers have been prosecuted for trying to organize strikes in the sugar and construction industries. Five trade unionists were condemned to death. But, according to reports, their sentences were reduced to 30 years after their cases became public knowledge. The Cuban government, after at first denying the facts, has said the "terrorists" received severe sentences.

At the recent conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, the Cubans defended the sentences, explaining they were necessary to block any attempt to set up a "Solidarity-style organization."

Rather than permit citizens to join independent groups, the government enrolls people in mass organizations such as the five million member Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. These non-democratic groups are used to channel the people's energies toward party-approved goals and to isolate people from more fruitful, but to the Party, dangerous associations.

As a result of 24 years of Communist control, more than

one million Cubans, more than 10 percent of the island's inhabitants, have fled their homeland. An estimated 200,000 more have applied to emigrate, even though those who apply are usually stripped of their jobs, their ration cards and their housing, and their children are forbidden to attend school.

THE "'CUBAN EXPERIMENT''

All-in-all the great "'Cuban experiment'' has developed into nothing more original than a little Soviet Union bobbing in the Carriibbean. And that is precisely what those who are trying to spread revolution to other Central American countries have in mind for the entire region. It is no wonder then that the people of Nicaragua are rising up against their masters, nor that the people of El Salvador, 80 percent of whom voted in recent elections, are resisting the attempts of Communists terrorists to destroy democracy in that country.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey *FRW*

SUBJECT: White House Digest Paper

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

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 next Wednesday.

Thank you for your assistance.

1 Attachment a/s

*We would like to
have this ready
for distribution
Wed. A.M.
Sorry for the
short notice. Will
appreciate
anything you can
do to expedite!
- Faith*

The Palestine Liberation Organization is an active ally of Communist revolutionaries throughout Central America. The PLO supplied troops as well as materiel to the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, and is still supplying military aid and advisors to the Communist Sandinista government. For their part, Sandinista revolutionaries were fighting beside their PLO comrades in the Middle East as early as 1970, are brutally anti-Semitic, have persecuted the Jews in Nicaragua, and are dedicated to the destruction of Israel.

Right now, the PLO is giving the Salvadoran Communists the same sort of help. Since the late 1960s, the PLO has been working with Fidel Castro and his network of Latin American revolutionaries and has developed ties to revolutionary organizations in at least nine Latin American countries.

"BLOOD UNITY"

Though this alliance has received little attention in the press, neither the PLO nor its Latin Communist allies trouble to deny it. On June 7, 1979, six weeks before the Sandinistas came to power, Sandinista press spokesman Jorge Mandi delivered a particularly strong testimonial to the alliance:

There is a longstanding blood unity between us and the Palestinians. Many of the units 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.

.

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

Mandi also made it clear that the Sandinistas had participated in PLO terrorist acts such as hijacking.¹

START WITH CUBA

Cuba has been the great organizing center and supply depot for Communist revolution in Central America. Fidel Castro introduced the PLO into the region and has vigorously promoted and supported the PLO's activities there.

Until the mid-1960s, Castro was a firm supporter of Israel. But, in 1966, Castro sponsored the First Conference of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, bringing together terrorists from three continents in order to get them to work together.

PLO representatives attended, and Castro began efforts to make the PLO a part of international revolutionary activities, especially in Latin America.

By 1968, Cuban intelligence and military personnel were assisting the PLO in North Africa and Iraq. By 1969, Cuban officers were in joint training with PLO officers in the U.S.S.R. In June 1969, Cubans from that training class participated in a joint raid with the PLO in the Sinai desert.²

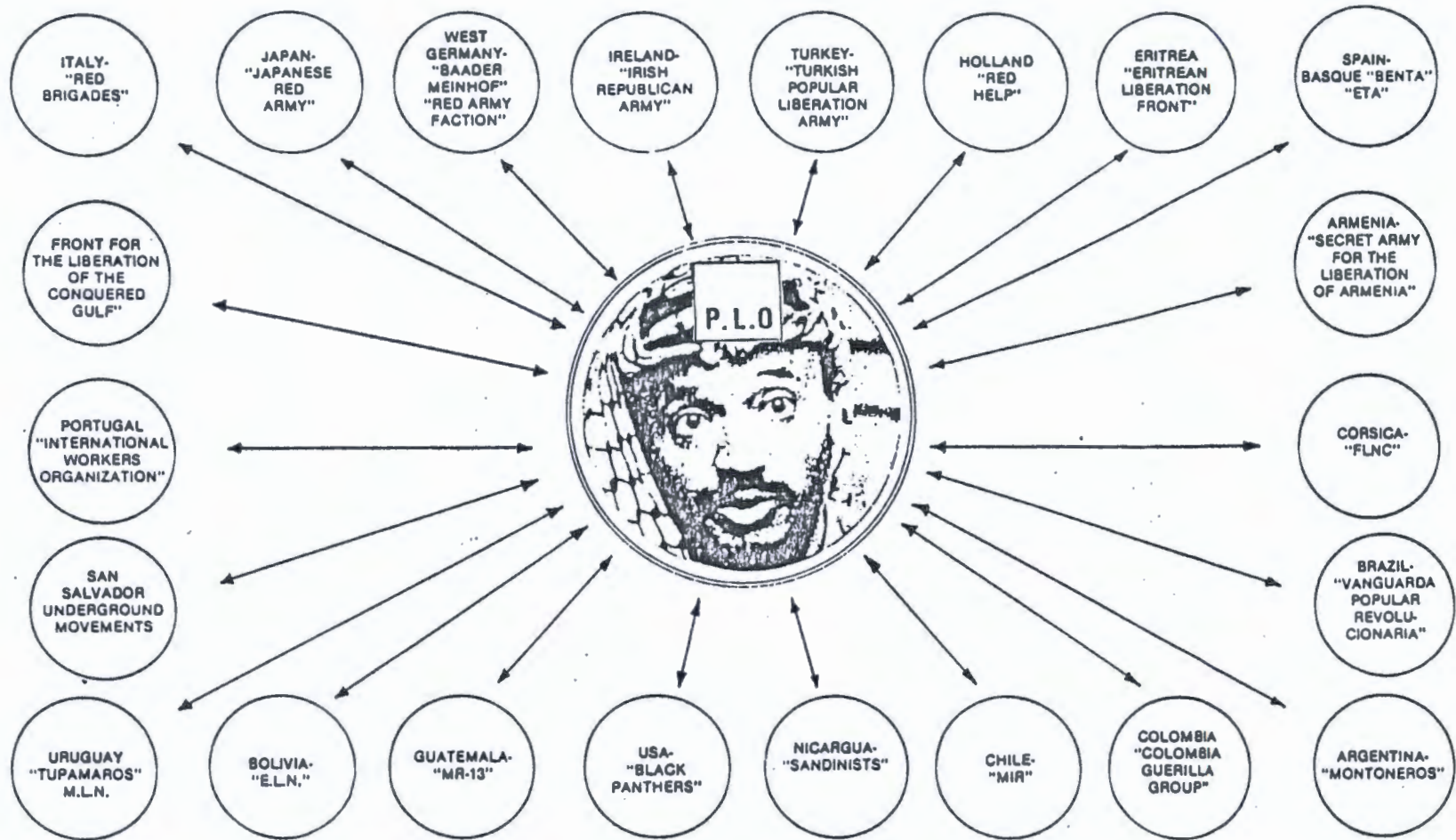
In 1972, Castro met with PLO leaders in Algeria and the two sides agreed to step up their joint activities.³ The PLO undertook to augment Cuban training of Latin American terrorists with specialized training in Lebanon, South Yemen, and Libya. In 1973, Castro broke relations with Israel. Cuba had become one of Israel's most vicious enemies. In 1974, the PLO opened its first Latin American office in Havana.⁴

Since being introduced to the region by Castro, the PLO has developed ties with revolutionary groups in nearly half the countries in the region.

(ILLUSTRATION OF ARAFAT FACE SHOWING RELATIONS TO TERROR GROUPS)

THE NICARAGUA CONNECTION

Cooperation between the Sandinistas and the PLO goes back at least to 1969, seven or eight years before most



Intelligence Information has linked the PLO with terrorist and guerrilla organizations around the world.

Americans had heard of the Sandinistas. That year, 52 Sandinista guerrillas went to Tyre for training under the PLO.⁵ Other Sandinistas went to train in terror at PLO camps in Algeria.⁶

The Sandinista terrorists fit right in with their PLO counterparts. Pedro Arauz, a Sandinista who had hijacked a Nicaraguan airliner in 1969, trained under the PLO in 1970.⁷ As the quote from Jorge Mandi makes clear, Sandinista troops fought beside the PLO against King Hussein of Jordan in 1970.⁸

Thomas Borge, the first Interior Minister of the Sandinista regime, has confirmed that he and other Sandinist-leaders were trained by Al Fatah, the leading PLO group, prior to 1970. Borge spent much of the early '70s working for Castro, and was frequently in the Middle East, where he used Libyan money and PLO assistance to obtain arms for Central American guerrilla movements.⁹

The first official confirmation of the PLO-Sandinista alliance came in February 1978. The two groups issued a joint communique in Mexico City that affirmed the "ties of solidarity existing between the two revolutionary organizations. They were united in their hatred of what they called the "racist state of Israel."

In a similar incident in March of 1978, the Sandinistas went so far as to join the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine in a joint "declaration of war" against Israel.

As the Sandinistas became more confident of victory, PLO aid became more concrete. Early in 1979, shortly before the

final Sandinista victory, the PLO sent an arms shipment to the Sandinistas but it was intercepted by the government of Morocco.¹⁰ During the final weeks of the revolution, several large shipments of arms arrived from the Middle East.¹¹ According to one source, Thomas Borge arranged for a shipment of guns to be sent from North Korea on a ship owned and operated by the PLO.¹²

Within two weeks of the Sandinista victory in July 1979, the Sandinistas sent a mission to Beirut to establish official contacts with the PLO. The PLO also extended the Sandinistas a \$12 million loan.¹³ Today, 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.

THE STORMS OF REVOLUTION

In 1980, on the first anniversary of the Sandinista Communist takeover, Yasser Arafat came to Managua as an honored guest. Thomas Borge proclaimed, "the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas." And Arafat replied, "the links between us are not new; your comrades did not come to our country just to train, but to fight. . . .Your enemies are our enemies."¹⁴

The PLO information bulletin, Palestine, commented:

There is no doubt there is a common line between Nicaragua, Iran, and Palestine. A common front against a common enemy. . . .

The Palestinian revolution understands the international dimensions of its struggle and its international task of supporting, within its capabilities,¹⁵ international liberation movements.

Current estimates suggest that there are about 50 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 Salvadoran guerrillas to export Communist terror to that country.

VICIOUS PERSECUTION

In a frightening development, the entire small Jewish community of Nicaragua has been forced into exile over the past several years. The Sandinistas seem always to have been rabidly anti-semitic -- in 1978 Sandinista supporters torched the doors of the Managua synagogue while services were going on. Even before the Sandinistas took power, the prospect of a Sandinista regime frightened many of Nicaragua's Jews into exile.

After the Sandinista takeover, the remaining Jews were terrorized into leaving. Some were arrested, some had their property confiscated. Others were turned out of their homes or subjected to death threats.

The Sandinistas confiscated the synagogue in Managua and turned it into a government youth center, covering the Stars of David outside with propaganda posters and displaying antizionist slogans on the walls inside. Nuevo Diario, a Managua newspaper that often reflects government policy, has run articles filled with revolting anti-semitic propaganda.¹⁶

IN EL SALVADOR

There is also a strong alliance between the PLO and the Salvadoran Communist guerrillas. The Salvadoran Communists, like the Sandinistas, share the PLO's rabid hatred of Israel.

One of the first clear signs of sympathy between the two groups emerged when one of the major Salvadoran Communist guerrilla groups, the Popular Liberation Forces-Farabundo Marti (FPL-FM) kidnapped and murdered the South African Ambassador to El Salvador. The FPL demanded, as part of the ransom, that the Salvadoran government break relations with Israel and establish official relations with the PLO.

Just a month later, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), another Salvadoran communist guerrilla group, bombed the Israeli embassy in San Salvador to show "solidarity with the Palestinian people," and demanded that the government recognize the PLO.

In May 1980, a delegation from Revolutionary Coordination of the Masses (CRM), the unified political front for all the important Salvadoran Communist groups, met in Beirut with

one of Yasser Arafat's deputies, Abu Jihad, and with George Habash, head of the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and arrived at agreements for training programs and arms purchases. The first group of Salvadoran trainees finished a "course" in PLO-style terrorism at an Al Fatah camp in June, 1980.

On July 23, 1980 representatives of the Salvadoran United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) which was then the unified military command for the various Salvadoran Communist groups, met with Arafat in Managua. Arafat promised them arms and aircraft.¹⁸ Later in the year, Arafat did send some arms to the DRU,¹⁹ and PLO fighters were sent to El Salvador in September.²⁰

The alliance picked up steam in 1981. In March, Shafik Handal, a Salvadoran of Palestinian descent and President of El Salvador's Communist Party, met with Arafat and representatives of Habash's Popular Front in Lebanon. The meeting resulted in a joint communique that, among other points, included an agreement to continue cooperation between the unified Salvadoran guerrilla groups and Habash's group.²¹

By early 1981, according to Congressional testimony from Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Bushnell, there had 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.

In January 1982, Arafat said publicly that PLO guerrillas were serving in El Salvador.²² And documents captured in Beirut during the summer of 1982 reveal that there were Salvadoran guerrillas in PLO camps in Lebanon.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Though these fragments of information have left a clear trail, even without them there would be no doubt about the relationship between the Central American Communists and PLO terror, because both sides have loudly proclaimed it. In 1981, Yasser Arafat spoke in words too clear to be misunderstood or explained away:

We are a great revolution that can never be intimidated. We have connections with all the revolutionary movements throughout the world, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua -- and I reiterate Salvador²³-- and elsewhere in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Al Watan (Kuwaiti newspaper) June 7, 1979.
2. Palestine (PLO Information Bulletin), June, 1980.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Hadar, The Jerusalem Post, August 14, 1981.
6. Washington Post, July 12, 1979.
7. Bell, Human Events, November 25, 1978.
8. Israeli Defense Force paper, "Report -- The PLO and International Terror," March 1981.
9. Newsletter, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, June, 1983.
10. State Department paper, "Communist, PLO and Libyan Support for Nicaragua and the Salvadoran Insurgents." May 25, 1983.
11. U.S. News and World Report, September 1, 1980.
12. Op. cit., Hadar.
13. London Daily Telegraph, December 2, 1981.
14. Op. cit., Israeli Defense Force
15. Palestine, July 16-31, 1980.
16. The Jewish Week, June 2-8, 1983.
17. Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Briefing, May 16, 1982.
18. U.S. Department of State Special Report #30, Feb. 23, 1981.
19. Op. cit., Israeli Ministry.
20. Op. cit., U.S. News.
21. Op. cit., Israeli Ministry.
22. Op. cit., Palestine, July 16-30, 1980.
23. Associated Press, April 14, 1981.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, II

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MCB, by jet*

SUBJECT: White House Digest Paper

Attached is our fourth White House Digest Paper.

The footnotes are attached, however, as you are aware, they are not complete. Otto Reich will be providing the appropriate information to us by Monday morning.

You will note on your memo to Darman that I have not mentioned when we will need the paper on Wednesday (our usual practice has been to give him the time of the Wednesday meeting). It was my feeling that you might want to informally indicate the possibility of the President speaking to the group, but in case you did not want to do so, I did not want to give a more definite time.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

THE WHITE HOUSE

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Right now, the PLO is giving the Salvadoran Communists the same sort of help. Since the late 1960s, the PLO has been working with Fidel Castro and his network of Latin American revolutionaries and has developed ties to revolutionary organizations in at least nine Latin American countries.

"BLOOD UNITY"

Though this alliance has received little attention in the press, neither the PLO nor its Latin Communist allies trouble to deny it. On June 7, 1979, six weeks before the Sandinistas came to power, Sandinista press spokesman Jorge Mandi delivered a particularly strong testimonial to the alliance:

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

Mandi also made it clear that the Sandinistas had participated in PLO terrorist acts such as hijacking.¹

START WITH CUBA

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Until the mid-1960s, Castro was a firm supporter of Israel. But, in 1966, Castro sponsored the First Conference of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, bringing together terrorists from three continents in order to get them to work together.

PLO representatives attended, and Castro began efforts to make the PLO a part of international revolutionary activities, especially in Latin America.

By 1968, Cuban intelligence and military personnel were assisting the PLO in North Africa and Iraq. By 1969, Cuban officers were in joint training with PLO officers in the U.S.S.R. In June 1969, Cubans from that training class participated in a joint raid with the PLO in the Sinai desert.²

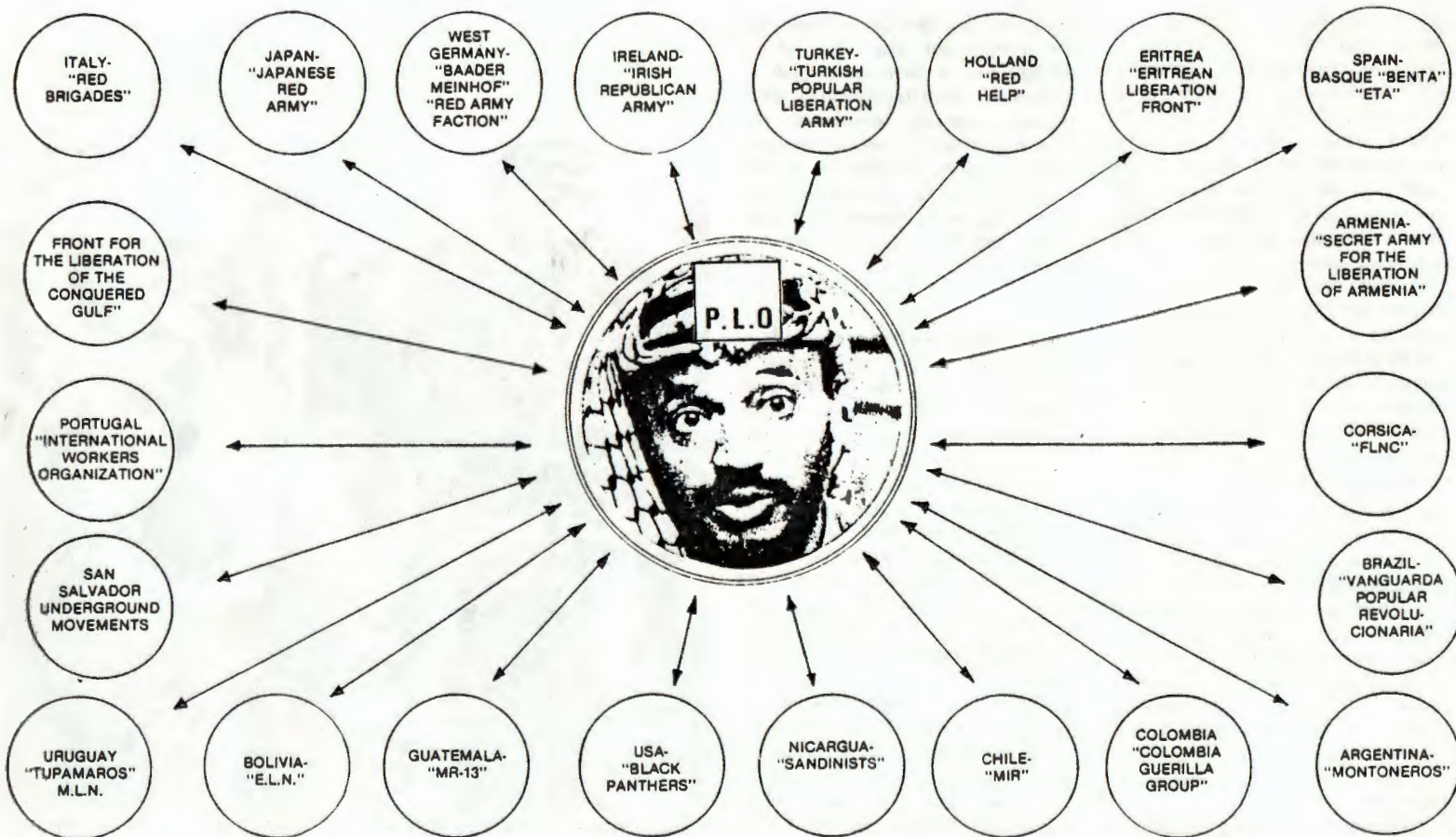
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THE NICARAGUA CONNECTION

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Intelligence information has linked the PLO with terrorist and guerrilla organizations around the world.

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

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 offshot of US hegemony, and they have to be defeated everywhere.

16-31 July 1980

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*



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

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Thomas Borge, the first Interior Minister of the Sandinista regime, has confirmed that he and other Sandinist-leaders were trained by Al Fatah, the leading PLO group, prior to 1970. Borge spent much of the early '70s working for Castro, and was frequently in the Middle East, where he used Libyan money and PLO assistance to obtain arms for Central American guerrilla movements.⁹

The first official confirmation of the PLO-Sandinista alliance came in February 1978. The two groups issued a joint communique in Mexico City that affirmed the "ties of solidarity existing between the two revolutionary organizations. They were united in their hatred of what they called the "racist state of Israel."¹⁰

In a similar incident in March of 1978, the Sandinistas went so far as to join the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine in a joint "declaration of war" against Israel.¹¹

As the Sandinistas became more confident of victory, PLO aid became more concrete. Early in 1979, shortly before the

final Sandinista victory, the PLO sent an arms shipment to the Sandinistas but it was intercepted by the government of Morocco.¹² During the final weeks of the revolution, several large shipments of arms arrived from the Middle East.¹³ According to one source, Thomas Borge arranged for a shipment of guns to be sent from North Korea on a ship owned and operated by the PLO.¹⁴

Within two weeks of the Sandinista victory in July 1979, the Sandinistas sent a mission to Beirut to establish official contacts with the PLO.¹⁵ The PLO also extended the Sandinistas a \$12 million loan.¹⁶ Today, 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.

THE STORMS OF REVOLUTION

In 1980, on the first anniversary of the Sandinista Communist takeover, Yasser Arafat came to Managua as an honored guest. Thomas Borge proclaimed, "the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas." And Arafat replied, "the links between us are not new; your comrades did not come to our country just to train, but to fight."¹⁷ . . . Anyone who threatens Nicaraguans will have to face Palestinian combatants."¹⁸

The PLO information bulletin, Palestine, commented:

There is no doubt there is a common line between Nicaragua, Iran, and Palestine. A common front against a common enemy. . . .

The Palestinian revolution understands the international dimensions of its struggle and its international task of supporting, within its capabilities,¹⁹ international liberation movements.

Current estimates suggest that there are 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 Salvadoran guerrillas to export Communist terror to that country.

VICIOUS PERSECUTION

In a frightening development, the entire small Jewish community of Nicaragua has been forced into exile over the past several years. The Sandinistas seem always to have been rabidly anti-semitic -- in 1978 Sandinista supporters torched the doors of the Managua synagogue while services were going on. Even before the Sandinista takeover, the remaining Jews were terrorized into leaving. Some were arrested, some had their property confiscated. Others were turned out of their homes or subjected to death threats.

The Sandinistas confiscated the synagogue in Managua and turned it into a government youth center, covering the

Stars of David outside with propaganda posters and displaying anti-zionist slogans on the walls inside. Nuevo Diario, a Managua newspaper that often reflects government policy, has run articles filled with revolting anti-semitic propaganda.²⁰

IN EL SALVADOR

There is also a strong alliance between the PLO and the Salvadoran Communist guerrillas. The Salvadoran Communists, like the Sandinistas, share the PLO's rabid hatred of Israel.

One of the first clear signs of sympathy between the two groups emerged when one of the major Salvadoran Communist guerrilla groups, the Popular Liberation Forces-Farabundo Marti (FPL-FM) kidnapped and murdered the South African Ambassador to El Salvador. The FPL demanded, as part of the ransom, that the Salvadoran government break relations with Israel and establish official relations with the PLO.²¹

Just a month later, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), another Salvadoran communist guerrilla group, bombed the Israeli embassy in San Salvador to show "solidarity with the Palestinian people," and demanded that the government recognize the PLO.²²

In May 1980, a delegation from Revolutionary Coordination of the Masses (CRM), the unified political front for all the important Salvadoran Communist groups, met in Beirut with one of Yasser Arafat's deputies, Abu Jihad, and with George

Habash, head of the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and arrived at agreements for training programs and arms purchases. The first group of Salvadoran trainees finished a "course" in PLO-style terrorism at an Al Fatah camp in June, 1980.²³

On July 23, 1980 representatives of the Salvadoran United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) which was then the unified military command for the various Salvadoran Communist groups, met with Arafat in Managua. Arafat promised them arms and aircraft.²⁴ Later in the year, Arafat did send some arms to the DRU,²⁵ and PLO fighters were sent to El Salvador in September.²⁶

The alliance picked up steam in 1981. In March, Shafik Handal, a Salvadoran of Palestinian descent and President of El Salvador's Communist Party, met with Arafat and representatives of Habash's Popular Front in Lebanon. The meeting resulted in a joint communique that, among other points, included an agreement to continue cooperation between the unified Salvadoran guerrilla groups and Habash's group.²⁷

By early 1981, according to Congressional testimony from Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Bushnell, there had 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.

In January 1982, Arafat said publicly that PLO guerrillas were serving in El Salvador.²⁸ And documents captured in Beirut during the summer of 1982 reveal that there were Salvadoran guerrillas in PLO camps in Lebanon.²⁹

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Though these fragments of information have left a clear trail, even without them there would be no doubt about the relationship between the Central American Communists and PLO terror, because both sides have loudly proclaimed it. In 1981, Yasser Arafat spoke in words too clear to be misunderstood or explained away:

We are a great revolution that can never be intimidated. We have connections with all the revolutionary movements throughout the world, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua -- and I reiterate Salvador -- and elsewhere in the world.³⁰

1. Al Watan (Kuwaiti newspaper) June 7, 1979.
2. Palestine (PLO Information Bulletin), June, 1980.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Hadar, The Jerusalem Post, August 14, 1981.
6. Washington Post, July 12, 1979.
7. Bell, Human Events, November 25, 1978.
8. Israeli Defense Force paper, "Report -- The PLO and International Terror", March 1981.
9. (Refers to internal document, reich will provide alternative source.)
10. Op. cit., Hadar.
11. (Reich will provide source.)
12. State Department paper, "Communist, PLO and Libyan Support for Nicaragua and the Salvadoran Insurgents." May 25, 1983.
13. U.S. News and World Report, September 1, 1980.
14. Op. cit., Hadar.
15. (Refers to internal document, Reich will provide alternative source.)
16. London Daily Telegraph, December 2, 1981.
17. op. cit., Israeli Defense Force.
18. (Refers to internal document, Reich will provide source.)
19. Palestine, July 16-31, 1980.
20. The Jewish Week, June 2-8, 1983.
21. (Reich will clarify source.)
22. (Reich will clarify source.)
23. Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Briefing, May 16, 1982.
24. U.S. Department of State Special Report #30, Feb. 23, 1981.
25. Op. cit., Israeli Ministry.
26. Op. cit., U.S. News.

27. Op. cit., Israeli Ministry.
28. Op. cit., Palestine, July 16-30, 1980.
29. (Reich will provide source.)
30. Associated Press, April 14, 1981.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
July 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM: Richard Vigilante

SUBJECT: Op-ed Piece *Appl. V. L.*

For what this is trying to do, I thought the simple, personal style appealing and made only minimal changes. Great for your hometown paper -- good for others.

I will do a version to which the Post might be more receptive.

1 Attachment a/s

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DRAFT OP-ED FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

I have long believed that analyzing public opinion is a complicated and subtle art, and that one should treat sweeping generalizations about what that public "really" thinks with care and circumspection. Nevertheless, as a result of my experience since coming to the White House in March, I would like to offer a sweeping generalization of my own. The American public, I am firmly persuaded, is very poorly informed about the policy its government is pursuing in Central America.

This conclusion results from the contacts which my office has had with scores of private groups about our Central American policy. My job is to help explain the President's policy to the American people -- a task which, on the face of it, does not appear too difficult. Yet, time and again, I have discovered that people entertain the most serious misconceptions about what the United States is doing in Central America.

Take the most frequent objection to U.S. policy: the Reagan Administration, we are repeatedly told, is concentrating too heavily on a military solution to the conflict in El Salvador; it should recognize that the problems in that country have deep rooted social causes, and adjust its assistance programs accordingly. Whenever someone confronts

me with this particular insight, I reply that three-quarters of our assistance to El Salvador is, in fact, economic in character, designed to help solve precisely those deep seated social problems that our critics keep pointing to. The almost invariable response is revealing: "Oh, I didn't know that."

Again, critics often say that the United States is "on the wrong side of history" (whatever that pretentious phrase means) in El Salvador. We should, it is argued, be on the side of reform in that country. When I respond to such criticisms by pointing out that the United States does indeed support reform, including the most important reform -- nurturing a fledgling democracy -- the usual reaction is one of incredulity: "Then why hasn't the President said that we favor democratic change?" I'm asked over and over again.

In fact, President Reagan has repeatedly stressed this country's commitment to democratic reform throughout Central America. In his address to a Joint Session of Congress on April 27th, the President summarized the four goals which we are pursuing in that region. "First," he said, "in response to decades of inequity and indifference, we will support democracy, reform, and human freedom." The three other goals cited by the President were support for economic development, security assistance, and "dialogue and negotiations -- both among the countries of the region and within each country."

The question of U.S. support for negotiations in El Salvador is another topic that frequently comes up in

criticism from private groups. By now, I shouldn't be too surprised at the problem: hardly anyone I speak to (outside of the U.S. government) seems to realize that the government of El Salvador has already offered to negotiate with the guerrillas' political front, the FDR, over the FDR's participation in El Salvador's forthcoming elections. That offer, after all, was not given very wide play in the American press. (The Salvadoran government's decision to grant amnesty to 500 Salvadorians who had been interned as a result of the conflict has been similarly ignored.

Still, I am more than a little taken aback when people demand to know why the Reagan Administration doesn't favor negotiations in El Salvador. When I tell them that we do favor negotiations over the terms and conditions of participation in elections, and that the President himself said so before a Joint Session of Congress, an awful lot of people seem genuinely surprised.

I am willing to grant that the situation in El Salvador, and indeed throughout Central America, is unusually complex. Although I firmly believe that the best way of protecting human rights in El Salvador is by empowering the people through free elections, it is nevertheless clear that honorable men and women can have serious disagreements over what should be done there. But what I can neither understand nor forgive is the apparent unwillingness of a good many of the Reagan Administration's critics to inform themselves about our policy. Perhaps if they did so, a clearer consensus

for promoting democracy and development while resisting guerrilla violence would emerge, and the policy debate would be more productive.