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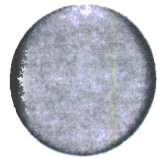
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: Second White House Digest Paper

Yes, we want to release this as a White House Digest paper at our Working Group meeting with supportive outside groups, at 2:30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 6. I am relying on you to get the material to Mike Baroody at the Communications Office so that he can have it printed up by the time of our meeting.

Attached is a copy of the current text you sent me. We have obtained better copies of the graphs and map. So the retyped paper should include these illustrations at the appropriate places.

Thank you very much for processing this.

On another item, I am hopeful that the piece entitled, "Central America: Facts Not Widely Known" which we gave you last week has also been cleared and could be printed up for distribution at the same meeting.

1 Attachment a/s

cc: Michael E. Baroody

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: June 23 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: June 27

SUBJECT: CENTRAL AMERICAN PAPERS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been revised by NSC et al. Do you still want to release it?

*col Gravett*

*sent to MBB 5:00 6/23/83 - r...*

RESPONSE:

RECEIVED  
88

4003


1983 JUN 22 PM 9:25

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT 

SUBJECT:

Second White House Digest Paper

Attached herewith is an edited version of the proposed second White House Digest paper on Central America. The editings have been made on the original text. It has been concurred in by the NSC staff, State and CIA for factual accuracy.

Attachment

Tab I White House Digest paper

cc: Adm. Poindexter

## 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, Material

- The Soviet Union maintains and reinforces its presence by:
  - Deploying its long range Bear reconnaissance and anti-submarine warfare aircraft to the region on a regular basis.
  - Deploying its naval combatants for joint training exercises with Cuba.
  - Providing a Soviet Brigade of approximately 3,000 men stationed near Havana and an additional presence of 2,500 military advisors.
  - Providing Cuba with 8,000 civilian advisors.
  - Maintaining the largest intelligence monitoring/telecommunications facility outside the USSR.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 defense forces of 16,000, not including 500 thousand paramilitary troops.
  - 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.
- 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 about \$600,000 to operate annually.

# SOVIET MILITARY DELIVERIES TO CUBA

THOUSANDS OF TONS

250

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS  
(JULY - OCTOBER, 1962)

70

60

50

40

HEIGHT OF CUBAN  
INVOLVEMENT IN BOLIVIA

30

20

CUBAN TROOPS  
IN ANGOLA

CUBAN TROOPS  
IN ETHIOPIA

ARMS TO  
CENTRAL AMERICA

10

CUBAN/SOVIET  
POLICY RIFT

0

1962

63

65

67

69

71

73

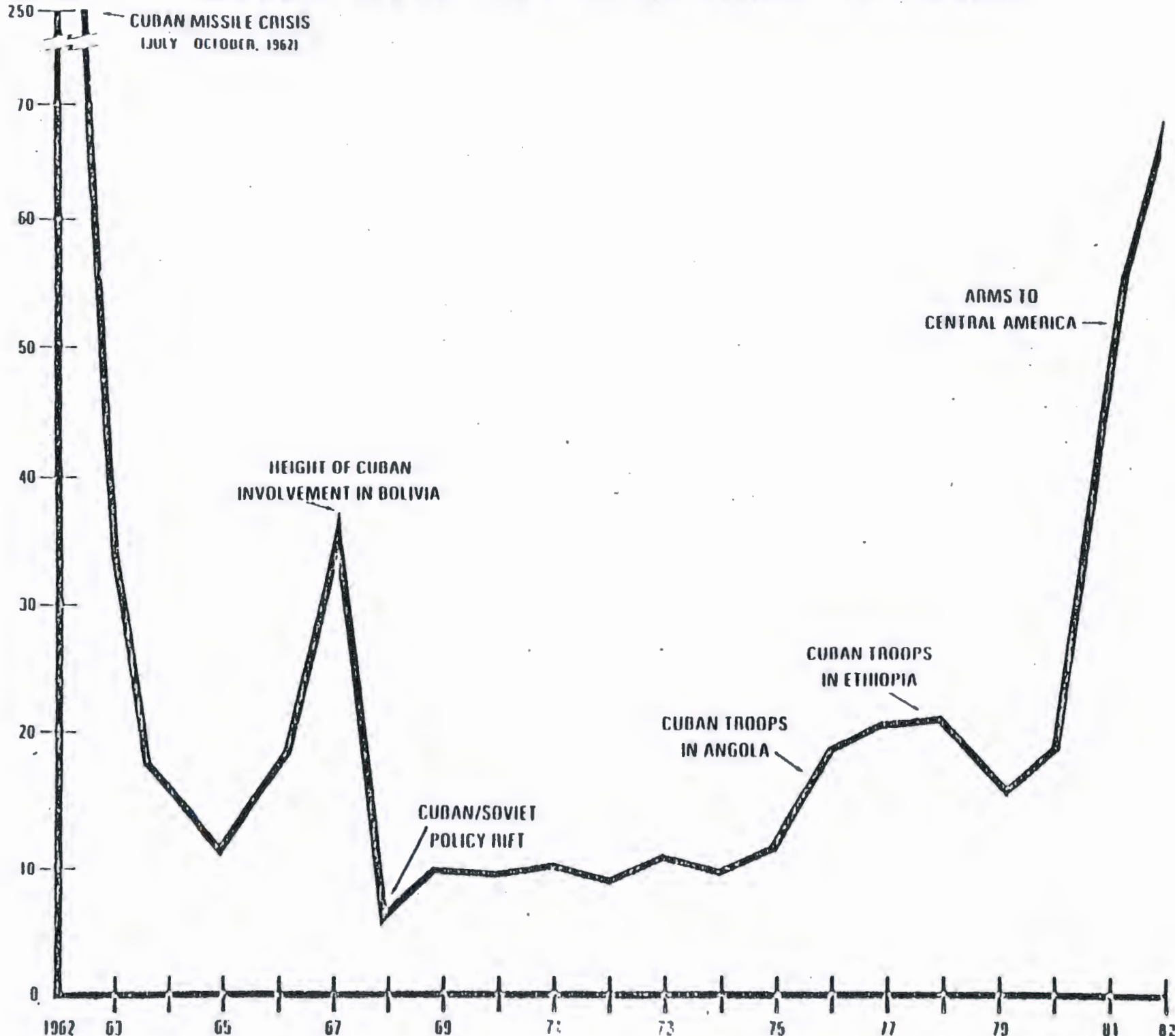
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## Spreading Soviet/Cuban Intervention Throughout The Region

- 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 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 about 1,750 Cuban military and security advisors in Nicaragua.

- The Sandinistas themselves have about 75,000 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.

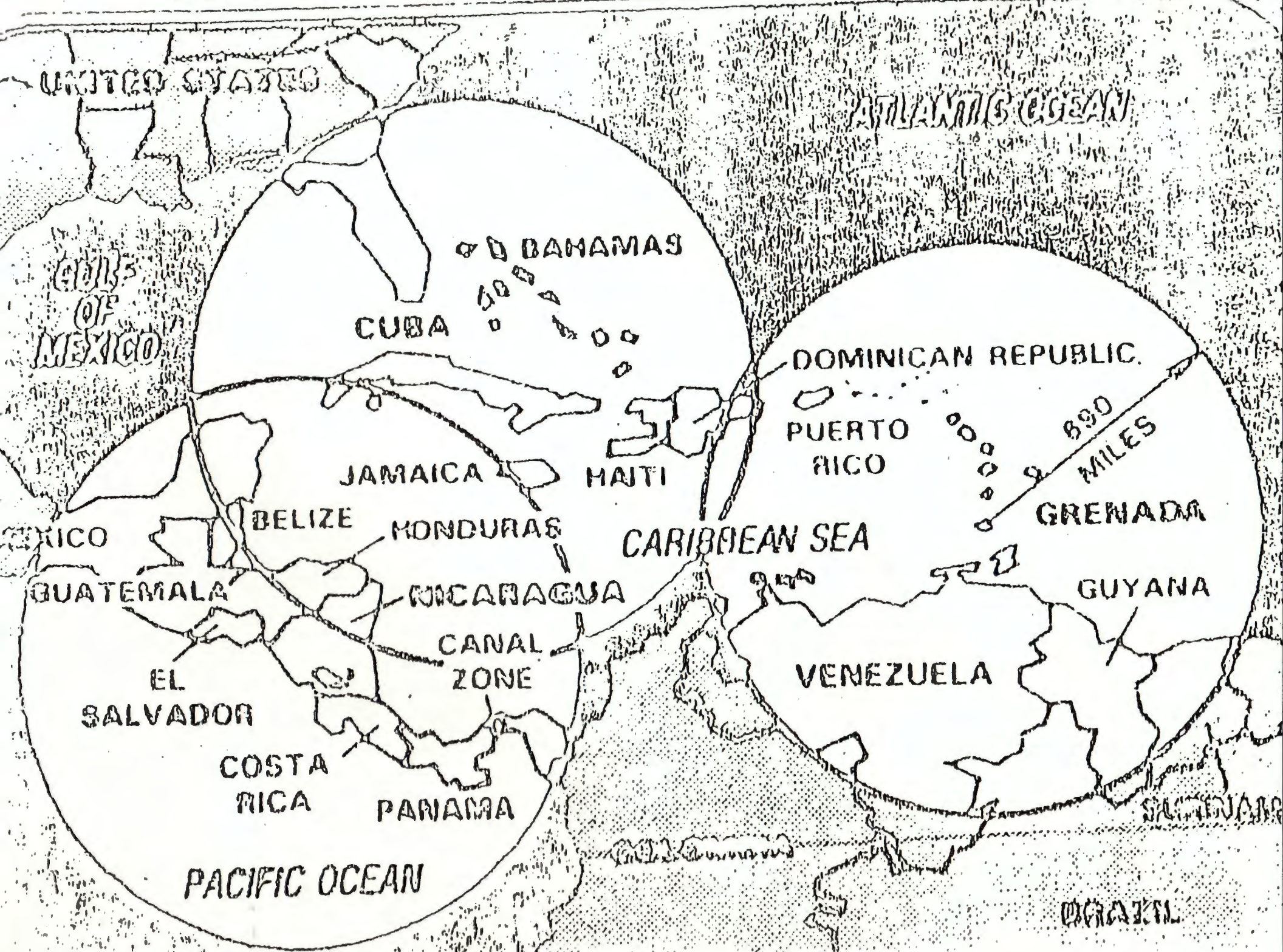
- Approximately 70 Nicaraguans were sent to Bulgaria for training as pilots and mechanics. Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate the most sophisticated Soviet jet aircraft. MIGs could be flown in quickly from Cuba.

- In Grenada, which has a strategic location in the eastern Caribbean, we are concerned because the Soviets and Cubans are constructing facilities, including an airfield, the eventual use of which is unknown.

- 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, and is much more important in formulating Cuban policy toward Latin America than is the Cuban Foreign Ministry. 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 GUYANA



## The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

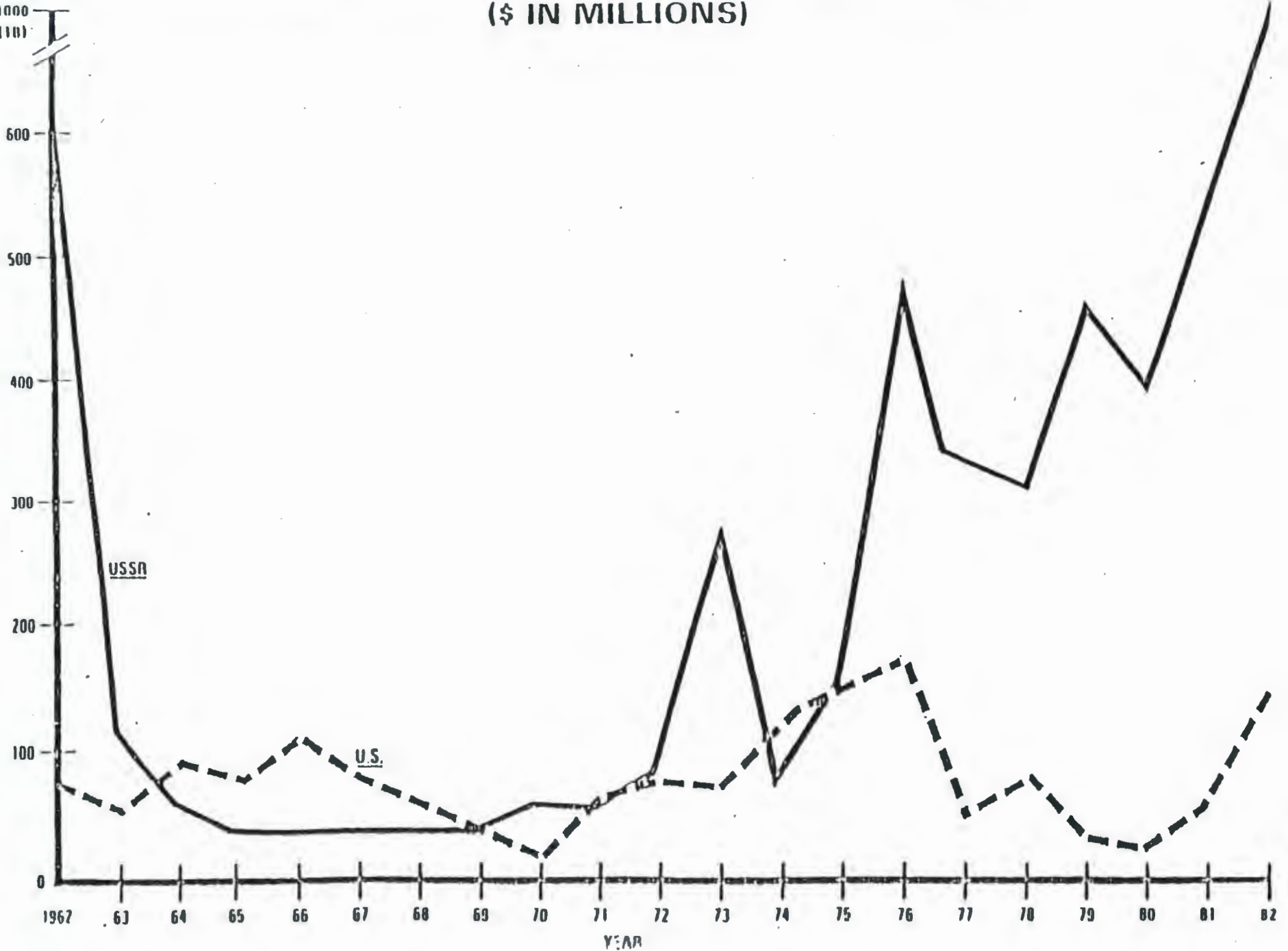
- Such communist expansion could lead to an extensive and permanent Soviet presence and an increased Soviet strategic capability in the region. This would create significant military consequences for the US:
  - It could place hostile forces and weapons systems within striking distance of targets in the US.
  - 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.
  - 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.



# SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA (\$ IN MILLIONS)

MILLIONS OF  
U.S. DOLLARS

1000  
(10)



1983 JUN -7 PH 6:29  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
June 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey *FRW/c*  
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond  
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*  
SUBJECT: ~~Third~~ *Second* White House Digest Paper

Attached is my suggested third White House Digest paper. It was prepared in the office of Nestor Sanchez and outlines the Soviet/Cuban Threat to the Caribbean. I suggest that you forward it to Dick Darman for clearances so that it can be our third "White House Digest" paper.

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:
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  - Deploying its naval combatants for joint training exercises with Cuba.
  - Providing ~~a palace guard of approximately 2,000 men of its Soviet Brigade~~ near Havana and an additional presence of 2,500 military advisors.
  - Providing Cuba with 8,000 civilian advisors.
  - ~~Maintaining the largest intelligence monitoring/telecommunications facility outside the USSR.~~ <sup>Soviet Brigade of approximately 2,000 men stationed</sup>
- 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.
- 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.
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  - Cubans have well over 200 MIG fighter aircraft.
  - Castro has about 65,000 Cubans serving overseas, ~~X~~ <sup>40,000</sup> military (25,000 troops in Angola, about 12,000 in Ethiopia) and 25,000 civilian technicians.
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- 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.



Spreading Soviet/Cuban Intervention Throughout The Region

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- 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. *about 1,750*

- The Sandinistas themselves ~~have boasted they have~~ *about 75,000* ~~38,000~~ 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.

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*Prattville*  
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In Grenada, requirement Selwyn Stra airport to will also b has been ai. constructed airfield, and areas; 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.

*and is much more important in formulating Cuban policy toward Latin America than is the Cuban Foreign Ministry.*

## The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

- Such communist expansion could lead to an extensive and permanent Soviet presence ~~x~~ and an increased Soviet strategic capability in the region. ~~==~~ <sup>This</sup> would create significant military consequences for the US; ←

-- It could place hostile forces and weapons systems within striking distance of targets in the US.

~~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.

-- 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.



## Human Rights and Cuba

For the last five years, in violation of each of her neighbor's right to self-determination, Cuba has attempted to "spread the revolution" by providing arms, advisors and strategy to rebels throughout Central America. If the Cubans and their allies succeed, Marxists will dominate the entire Caribbean Basin. Those who have witnessed the effects of Marxist-Leninist rule on the people of Eastern Europe, Asia or Africa must be concerned about its effects in Central America. Already, Cuba has served as a model for the Sandanistas in their betrayal of their democratic allies in the Popular Front, in their abuse of human rights and in their interference in their neighbors' affairs. Even now, as the Sandanistas consolidate their power, thousands of Cuban advisors serve in Nicaragua. Cuban intervention in Central America calls for a serious look at the Castro government's "record" and at the likely effects of Cuban success on the prospects for democracy, human rights and economic progress in the region.



In over two decades, Cuba's very poor record on human rights has shown no sign of improvement. Like other Marxist-Leninist countries, Cuba is a tightly controlled, highly centralized, repressive state. The government discriminated against those whom it declares are "in opposition to the state." Over the years, Castro has jailed thousands who opposed or were suspected of opposing or of criticizing Communist rule. Most sources indicate that up to 1000 men and women are now Cuban political prisoners. Some of those have been incarcerated since 1959, placing them among the longest-held political prisoners known in the world. Several hundred prisoners, known as "Plantados", refuse to be "reeducated" and to wear the clothing of common criminals. As a result, they have been denied food, medicine and clothing. These and other prisoners have been beaten and sometimes isolated for long periods in dark, cold cells without clothing. Freedom House notes that there are reports of psychiatric institutions being used, as in the USSR, to hold prisoners.

In December 1982, a recently released long-time political prisoner, the poet Armando Valladares, told two sub-committees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that repression of political prisoners is "ferocious." The Cuban police harassed his mother, Valladares reported, forcing her to send a letter denouncing him which was dictated by a Cuban secret policeman who had shown his



sister an approved court order sending her to jail if her mother did not cooperate. Valladares described the imprisonment of children and stated that physical and psychological torture was common. He claimed one man was severely beaten outside his cell on December 17, 1981, while he watched, and the he himself had also been physically mistreated. He testified that he had been denied food for a period of more than 40 days in 1974, resulting in the loss of use of his legs.

Several dual-national Cuban-American citizens visiting relatives in Cuba have "disappeared" without charge or hearing. Last year, Amnesty International transmitted a report that 29 prisoners were executed for "political offenses." Amnesty International, in its 1982 Report, claims that more than 50 prisoners have not been released on time or have been given additional 1-year sentences without "fair hearings". More recent sources indicate that some prisoners jailed for as many as 22 years have been given new long sentences.

"Political offenses" in Cuba are often actions which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognize as individual human rights. Opposition political parties, like all forms of dissent, are outlawed. The freedoms of the press and of speech do not exist in Cuba, where expressed disagreement with the Communist system is illegal. All print and electronic media are owned and censored by the Ministry of Culture. Artists have been jailed for not conforming with government guidelines on art. In 1977,



the police searched the home of journalist Amaro Gomez and sentenced him to 8 years for possessing his own unpublished and uncirculated poems and plays. The widely respected human rights organization Freedom House states that "writing or speaking against the system, even in private, is severely repressed." Even though literacy is growing in Cuba, less and less can be written or read.

Communist Party membership is considered to be inconsistent with the exercise of religious beliefs, thus effectively excluding those who practice religion from positions of authority in the Government or armed forces. There are reports that those who worship regularly are discriminated against in employment, housing, and schooling. Members of religious groups, such as Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses, who disagree with the Cuban Government have been prosecuted for their dissent. They have also lost their jobs and been excluded from universities.

Cubans do not have the right to join free trade unions which practice collective bargaining and have the right to strike. In the last year, over 200 workers have been prosecuted for attempting to organize strikes in Cuba's sugar and construction industries. Five trade unionists were reportedly first condemned to death, but may have had their sentences commuted to 30 years after the cases became public knowledge. The Cuban government, after



first denying the facts, ultimately said the "Terrorists" received "severe" sentences. At the recent conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, the Cubans were said to have stated that the severe sentences were necessary to block <sup>any</sup> attempt to set up a "Solidarity style organization." Fidel Castro is on record that he will not tolerate such an organization in Cuba. Another 200 Cubans are said to have been recently arrested in Sancti Spiritus province for protesting the confiscation of their crops.

Rather than permit citizens to protest or to join independent groups, the government denies each person's individuality and enrolls him or her into "mass" organizations such as the 5 million member Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. Such organizations give the individual no voice in his or in his country's destiny. The mass committees channel the people's energies toward party approved goals and effectively isolate individuals from those with whom they might speak and associate.

Instead of guaranteeing those rights recognized by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights the Cuban government denies these rights. Instead of allowing the people of Cuba to determine the destiny of Cuba, the Castro government has imposed communist rule. As a result of 24 years of communist control, over one million Cubans, more than 10% of the island's population, have fled their homeland. As estimated 200,000 more have applied to emigrate, even though they are stripped of their jobs, ration cards and housing. Their children are forbidden to attend school.



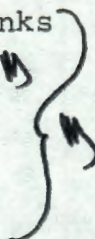
6

We owe it to ourselves and to the people of this hemisphere to be aware of the character of those who would shape Central America without respect for democratic forms or human rights. We must be especially concerned when those who intervene do so embracing Marxist ideology, the Soviet system and Soviet foreign policy. The "Cuban Experiment," Caribbean Communism, has repressed dissent, generated refugees and acted aggressively toward its neighbors, as have Marxist-Leninists states wherever they appear. Few who are aware of the Cuban experience would wish it on Central America.

Drafted:HA:MLutz *MJ*  
6/27/83:23660

Clearances:

HA - CHFairbanks  
HA/PP - RSSteven  
HA/HR - TTull  
HA/HR - RSnyder  
ARA/C - APerkins  
ARA/C - RLecocq

A large handwritten bracket on the right side of the list groups the four HA entries and the two ARA/C entries. There are also some handwritten initials or marks next to the HA/PP, HA/HR - TTull, and HA/HR - RSnyder entries.

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 (OSPAAAL) 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.

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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

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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.

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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.

THE PLO IN CENTRAL AMERICA -- TALKING POINTS

- 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 PLO AS WELL. THEY HAVE SAID SO PUBLICLY.
- <sup>IN 1978,</sup> THE YEAR BEFORE THE SANDINISTAS CAME TO POWER IN NICARAGUA, THEY SIGNED TWO COMMUNIQUES -- ONE WITH THE PLO, THE OTHER WITH THE DFLP (DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE) (--) 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, JUST LIKE THE LIBYAN PLANES RECENTLY INTERCEPTED IN BRAZIL, WHICH WAS INTERCEPTED IN TUNISIA <sup>IN EARLY 1979.</sup> -- --
- 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, <sup>197</sup> HELD <sup>HELD</sup> 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 TERROIST GROUPS, SUCH AS ARGENTINA'S MONTANEROS, 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 .
  
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## PLO IN CENTRAL AMERICA

### CUBA

1966 Tricontinental Meeting in Havana, Cuba of representatives of terrorists from three continents resulted in organization of OSPAL, Organization of the People's of Asia, Africa and Latin America, formulated ties.

By 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 America terrorists with specialized instruction in Lebanon, South Yemen & Libya.

1973, Castro broke relations with Israel at the Algiers Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States in September (Cuba training S. Yemeni pilots to fly MIGs in 1973 as well)

1974, the 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. (EG: 1978 photo in Buenos Aires magazine, Gente with 12 leading Montaneros (Argentine terrorists) including Mario Fermentish).

### NICARAGUA

Nicaragua is center for PLO activities in Central America.

Longstanding ties between the PLO & 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 7/79, 6 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 1970s, Nicaraguan and Palestinian blood was spilled together in Amman and in other places during the Black September battles.

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# LETTER

## FOR 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.

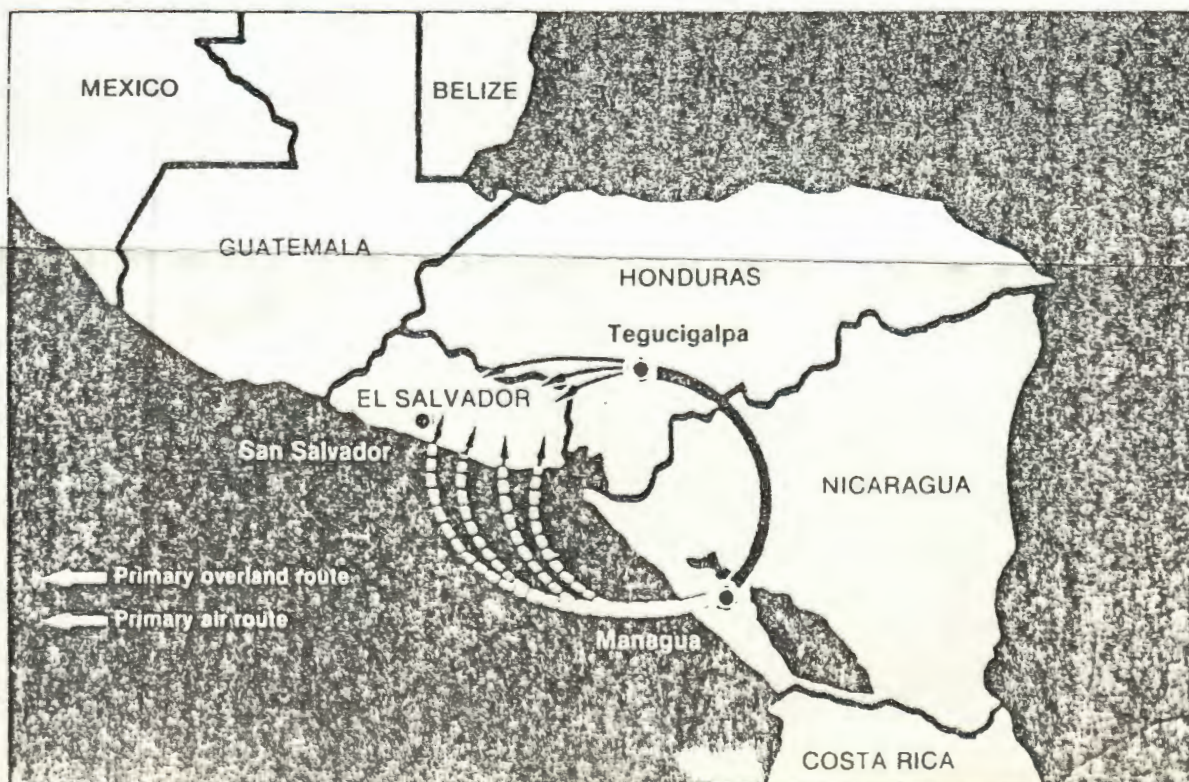
Castro met with PLO leaders in Algeria in May 1972, to discuss stepped-up coordination of activities. As a result, the PLO undertook to augment Cuban training of Latin American guerrillas with specialized instruction in Lebanon, South Yemen and Libya. The PLO opened its first Latin American office in 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 arm-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 McCole 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 channelled 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, against Israel's aggressive policy, with support, against our people."

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

#### El Salvador

**& Cuba:** Fidel Castro assumed a major role in the leftist opposition to the government which ousted General Carlos Herrera in October 1979. By the end of that year, and early into 1980, he assisted in unifying the various Salvadoran guerrilla movements.

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 Martí Peoples' Liberation Front (FMLA), a coordinating body for all guerrilla organizations.

Members of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCE), the National Front for the Liberation of El Salvador (FREL) 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 established very solid bases upon which we are building coordination and unity 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, Poland, Hungary and Ethiopia to discuss arms. He received commitments from these countries for 800 tons of military equipment for the Salvadoran rebels.

Over 200 tons of weapons were delivered for use in the guerrilla struggle in January 1981 "general offer" against the government. They arrived via Cuba and Nicaragua, and included Belgian, German and American assault rifles; 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 State Department.

**& the PLO:** Bruce McCole of the US 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 tensions between Arafat and Khadafi (Arafat said recently he would cut off Khadafi's tongue) may cause disruptions 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 El Salvador "in solidarity with the PLO."



preparatory meeting on Palestine and International Law...complies with one of the UN resolutions approved in 1982. This meeting is aimed at obtaining governmental and nongovernmental support for the Palestinian cause. It will reflect worldwide UN rejection of Israel's aggressive policy, with US support, against our people."

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

**El Salvador**

**& Cuba:** Fidel Castro assumed a direct role in the leftist opposition to the junta which ousted General Carlos Humberto Romera in October 1979. By the end of that year, and early into 1980, he assisted in unifying the various Salvadoran guerrilla movements.

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 central executive committee for political and military training in May 1980. In late 1980, they joined the Farabundo Marti Peoples' Liberation Front (FMLN), the coordinating body for all of the organizations.

Members of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES), the National Resistance and the Popular Liberation Forces signed a letter in Havana in 1979 to thank Castro for:

*The help of your party comrades...by signing an agreement which establishes very solid bases upon which we begin building coordination and unity of our organizations.*

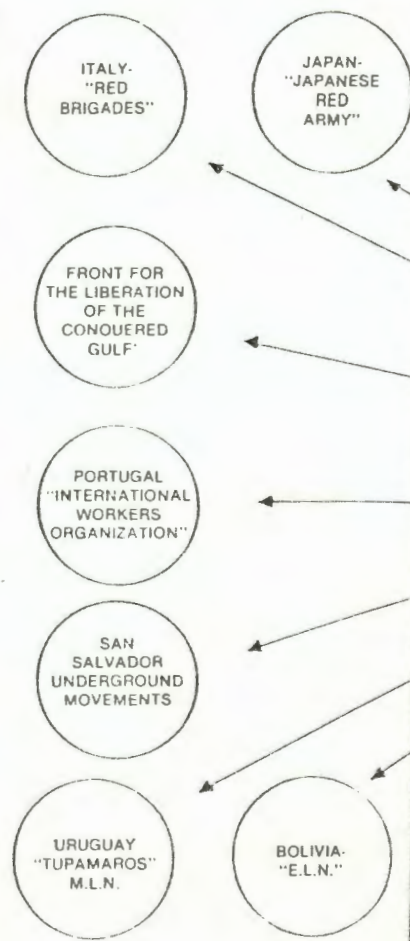
In the summer of 1980, Shafik Handel, general secretary of the PCES (and son of Palestinian emigres) traveled to Cuba, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Ethiopia to obtain arms. He received commitments from these countries for 800 tons of military equipment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

Over 200 tons of weapons were delivered for use in the guerrillas' January 1981 "general offensive" against the government. They arrived via Cuba and Nicaragua, and included Belgian, German and American rifles; Israeli Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles; American and Soviet hand grenades; Chinese grenade launchers; and US anti-tank weapons. The above information was confirmed by the State Department.

**& the PLO:** Bruce McCole of Freedom 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 Khadaffi, that is helping to establish the anti-American network in the area," and believed that the State Department had minimized the Arab connection to the rebels. Current difficulties between Arafat and Khadaffi (Arafat said recently he would cut out Khadaffi's tongue) may cause disruptions 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 Army bombed the Israeli Embassy in San Salvador "in solidarity with the Palesti-



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.



Fidel Castro upon Arafat's arrival in

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:

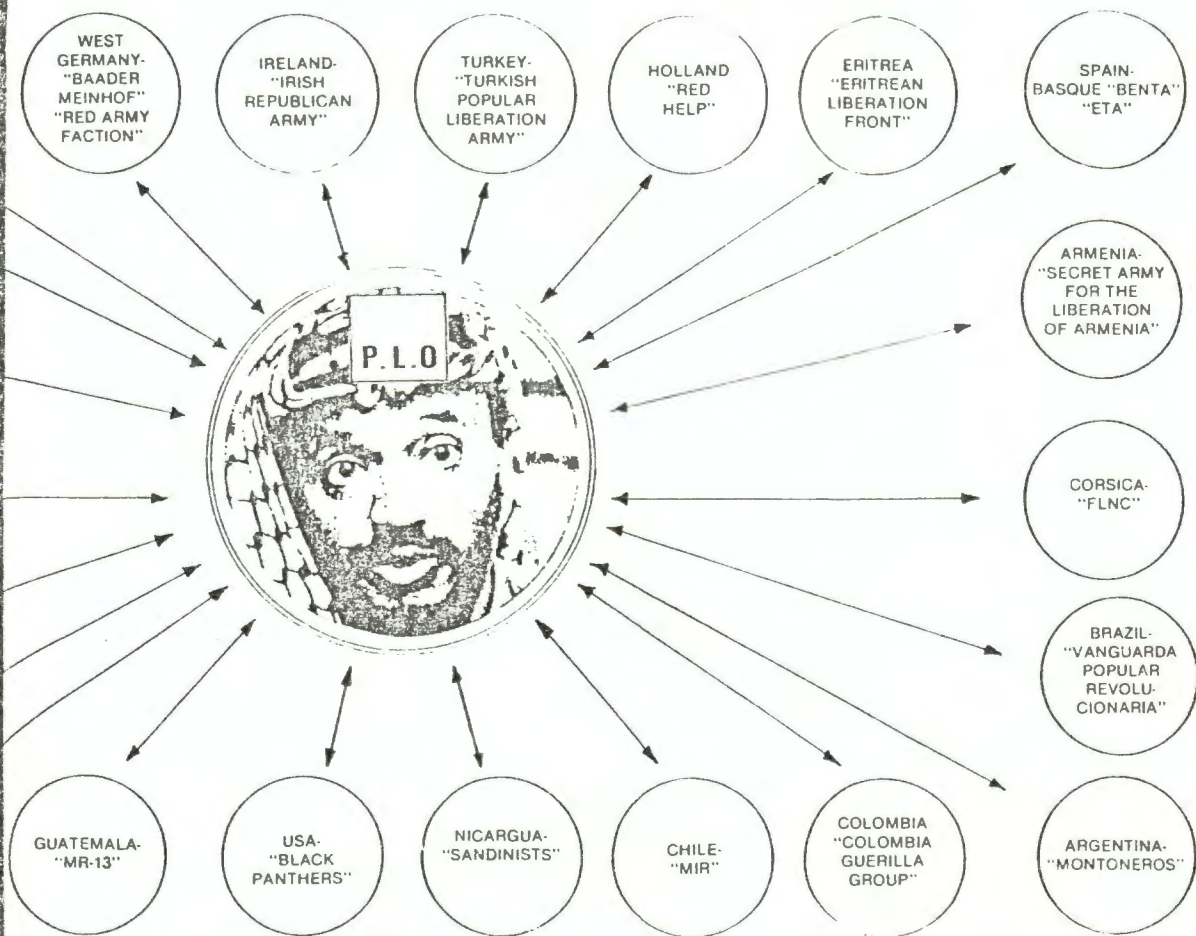
*The Executive Committee of the Central American and Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Tribunal (TACC), today strongly condemned the Israeli attacks on the Palestine refugees in Lebanon and the unconditional US support for Israel. In a communique, the TACC said the British colonialist attack on Argentina was 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."





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

*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.

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 Mutatino, 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 implicating Arafat, was to create Am-*

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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 Mon-*

*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 by these governments will be a bitter

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 political elite...has initialized



# NEWSLETTER

JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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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 at

## 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-



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."

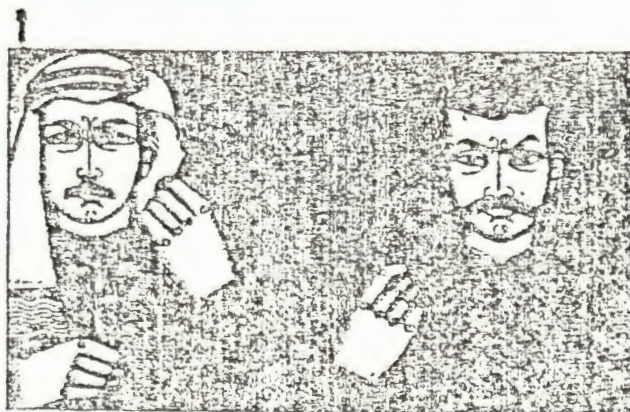
Yasir Arafat and other PLO leaders have furnished some arms and training to the Salvadoran guerrillas largely as a result of Salvadoran Communist Party leader Shafik Handal's mid-1980 trip abroad to seek aid for the guerrillas. Handal made a special visit to Beirut in March 1981 to meet Arafat and DFLP 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.