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20 - 1

# Casey details secret Soviet-Cuban strategy

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The Soviet Union and Cuba "have established and are consolidating a beachhead on the American continent" as a launching pad to subvert the rest of Central and Latin America, William Casey, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, will tell the World Business Council in San Antonio, Texas, tomorrow.

At stake, he will tell the organization of chief executive officers of major U.S. corporations, is control of the Panama Canal and, ultimately, the oil fields of the Middle East.

An advance copy of the speech was obtained yesterday by The Washington Times.

Mr. Casey's hard-hitting description of the American stakes in Central America is the most comprehensive argument for U.S. assistance to the Nicaraguan resistance yet put forward by the Reagan administration.

It sets out, in stark and simple terms, the geopolitical stakes in Nicaragua — the administration's view of why Americans should consider its vital interests threatened by a Marxist government in a small nation in Central America.

The threat, the CIA director says, is to the Panama Canal in the short term, to Mexico in "a somewhat longer

*Text of Casey's speech: Page 8A.*

term," and first consequences of the expansion of Soviet power and influence there will be "a tidal wave" of refugees into the United States.

Nicaragua, he says, is but one element in the Soviet design. Developments there should not be viewed in isolation, he says, but as part of "a worldwide process" that has worked in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

"This campaign of aggressive subversion has nibbled away at friendly governments and our vital interests until today our national security is impaired in our immediate neighborhood as well as in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America," Mr. Casey says.

The two primary targets of "all this carnage, this creeping imperialism" are "the oil fields of the Middle East, which are the lifeline of the Western Alliance, and the isthmus between North and South America," he says.

"Afghanistan, South Yemen, Ethiopia, as well as Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and Mozambique and Angola in southern Africa, bring Soviet power astride the sea lanes which carry those resources to America, Europe and

Japan. Capabilities to threaten the Panama Canal in the short term and Mexico in a somewhat longer term are being developed in Nicaragua, where the Sandinista revolution is the first successful Castroite seizure of power on the American mainland," he says.

"They have worked quietly and steadily toward their objectives of building the power of the state security apparatus, building the strongest armed forces in Central America, and becoming a center for exporting subversion to Nicaragua's neighbors."

This lengthy Soviet campaign has unleashed "the four horses of the Apocalypse — famine, pestilence, war and death." He cites, as evidence, widespread famine in Marxist governments in Africa, pestilence through chemical and biological agents in Afghanistan and Indochina, "war on three continents, and death everywhere."

The unanimous evaluation of "four national estimates" of the U.S. intelligence community lead the United States to believe that "the Soviet Union and Cuba have established and are consolidating a beachhead on the American continent, are putting hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military equipment into it, and have begun to use it as a launching pad to carry their style of aggressive subversion into the rest of Central America and elsewhere in Latin America," Mr. Casey says.

Nicaragua will become to Latin America as Beirut is to the Middle East, he says, a "focal point for international and regional terrorists."

Managua's support for training of Central American subversives is well documented, he says.

"The [Sandinistas] support Salvadoran communists, Guatemalan communists, radical leftists in Costa Rica, and are attempting to increase

the number of radical leftist terrorists in Honduras. More recent evidence indicates Nicaraguan support for some South American terrorist groups and growing contacts with other international terrorist groups."

CIA analysts have identified "46 indicators of the consolidation of power by a Marxist-Leninist regime," he says, and since it came to power in 1979 the Sandinistas have accomplished 33 of these indicators.

The indicators measure the movement toward one-party government; control of the military, security services, media, education, the economy; the forming or takeover of labor unions and other mass organizations; the exertion of population control; the curbing of religious influence, and support for aligning the government with the Soviet Union.

He cites the establishment of a Directorate of State Security to monitor the behavior of the Nicaraguan press, the churches and public institutions. According to CIA estimates, he says, the directorate is staffed by, among others, 400 Cubans, 70 Soviets, 40 to 50 East Germans and 20 to 25 Bulgarians. "There are Soviet advisers at every level of the secret police," he says.

Already, the Sandinistas have developed the best equipped military in the region, with an active strength of 65,000 and almost an equal number of reserves, he says. These forces are equipped with Soviet tanks, armored vehicles, state-of-the-art helicopters, patrol boats and an increasingly comprehensive air defense system that gives the Sandinistas a military capability greater than the other Central American nations combined.

As many as 6,000 to 7,500 Cuban advisers and several hundred other communists and radical personnel are at work in Nicaragua, he says.

Page 1 of 3

President of South Yemen and is now back in Aden after being exiled briefly to the USSR. Abd'al Fatah told Bob of his experience in the higher Komsomol school which the Soviets maintain for training young revolutionaries from non-communist countries. He explained that he had been taught in Moscow that he needed 20 years, a generation, to consolidate his revolution.

He would have to control the education of the youth and to uproot and undermine and ultimately change the traditional elements of society. This meant undermining the influence of religion and taking the young away from their parents for education by the state. He was taught that to control the people he would have to establish block committees as a powerful secret police. Finally, Abd'al Fatah spoke in impassioned terms of a need to export revolution to carry out his mission as a dedicated Marxist-Leninist and to ensure that attention was focused on neighboring countries thus diverting attention from his own country and allowing it to consolidate its revolution.

Bob Ames said that as he looked back, Abd'al Fatah — with Soviet Bloc help — had done as he said he would. He captured and subverted a legitimate war of liberation. He killed or drove into exile those members of the movement who believed in democracy and then went about the work of consolidating a communist regime and began armed subversion against Oman and North Yemen.

In Ethiopia, Angola, Afghanistan, and Grenada, dedicated Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries followed this Soviet blueprint with only slight modifications.

Our analysts have studied this blueprint for taking over a government and consolidating a totalitarian regime as it has been exemplified in seven totalitarian regimes; six Marxist-Leninist in Cuba, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Grenada, Nicaragua, and the Islamic revolutionary government of Iran. They have identified 46 indicators of the consolidation of power by a Marxist-Leninist regime. These indicators measure the movement toward one-party government, control of the military, of the security services, of the media, of education, of the economy, the forming or takeover of labor or other mass organizations, exerting social and population control, curbing religious influence and alignment with the Soviet bloc.

Of the 46 indicators, Nicaragua in five and one-half years has accomplished 33. They have established control of the media, taken over radio and TV, censored the broadcasts of Sunday sermons of the Archbishop of Managua, and subjected the only free newspaper, La Prensa, to a brutal daily censorship.

They have taken control of the education system. Nicaraguan textbooks now teach Marxism. They attack the tenets of Western democracy. They attack traditional religious teachings and encourage children to maintain revolutionary vigilance by watching for signs of ideological impurities in their neighbors, friends and relatives. The Sandinistas have taken control of the military. They have taken control of the internal secret police and have established a Directorate of State Security. That directorate, according to our reports, has 400 Cubans, 70 Soviets, 40-50 East German and 20-25 Bulgarian advisers. There are Soviet advisers at every level of the secret police. In fact, it is safe to say that it is controlled by the Soviet Union and its surrogates. Block committees have been established to watch and control the people. The church has been persecuted.

Witness the campaign mounted by the Directorate of State Security to harass and embarrass Pope John Paul II during his 1983 visit to Nicaragua. They have used political mobs (similar to the Red Guards of Soviet and Chinese revolutionary history) to attack democratic politicians, union members and religious leaders. And finally, just as Abd'al Fatah told Bob Ames what he must do, and following Hitler and Khrushchev, the Sandinistas have told the world that they would spread the example of Nicaragua beyond El Salvador to Honduras, Guatemala, and the entire region.

An integral part of this blueprint for subversive aggression is deception and disinformation to manipulate and influence public opinion and policies in western countries. This takes many shapes and forms.

A worldwide propaganda campaign has been mounted and carried out on behalf of the Sandinista regime and Salvadoran guerrillas which would not have been possible without the capabilities, the contacts, and the communication channels provided by the Soviet bloc and Cuba. The Sandinistas themselves have shown remarkable ingenuity and skill in projecting disinformation into the United States itself. Perhaps the best example of this is the systematic campaign to deceive well-intentioned members of the western media and of western religious institutions.

There are many examples of Nicaraguan deception. The Sandinista press, radio and government ministry have put out claims that the United States used chemical weapons in Grenada, that the United States was supplying Nicaraguan freedom fighters with drugs, and that the United States might give the opposition bacteriological weapons.

The debate in the Congress disclosed few who think that what is happening in Central America is a desirable state of affairs or that it is compatible with avoiding a possibly permanent impairment of our national security and a serious deterioration in the American geopolitical position in the world.

There are some who will be content with an agreement that the Nicaraguans will now forego further aggression. Our experience in Korea and Indochina provides some lessons on the value of agreements with communist governments. Korea started to violate the Korean Armistice within days of the truce signing.

Under the 1973 Paris Accords, North Vietnam agreed to cease firing in South Vietnam, withdraw its forces from Cambodia and Laos, and refrain from introducing additional troops and war materiel into South Vietnam except on a one-for-one replacement basis. North Vietnam never observed the cease-fire and troop withdrawal requirements, and within little more than two months after it had signed the peace agreements it had already infiltrated some 30,000 additional troops and over 30,000 tons of military equipment into South Vietnam.

We believe the Sandinistas' main objectives in regional negotiations are to buy time to further consolidate the regime. History and the record and purposes of Marxist-Leninist regimes in general and the Sandinistas in particular lead us to believe that unless Nicaragua has implemented a genuine democracy as required by the Organization of American States such assurances could not be adequately verified and would not be complied with. Cuban officials have urged the Salvadoran communist guerrillas to slow down their attacks against the Duarte government in order to fortify and consolidate the Nicaraguan revolution. We believe that Cuba has assured the Salvadoran communists that it might take as long as five to 10 years, but as long as the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua remains, that country will serve as a base for communist expansion in the area and the Salvadoran insurgency will be renewed once the Sandinistas have been able to eliminate the armed resistance.

What does this mean for America's future? Should Central America fall under communist control, it could mean a tidal wave of refugees into the U.S.

Every country that has fallen under communist control since World War II has sent refugees streaming over the borders — first Eastern Europe, then Cuba, and more recently Vietnam and Afghanistan — and the potential influx from Central America is even higher than

from any of these. Since 1980, some 200,000 Salvadorans fleeing the communist-initiated violence in their own country have entered the U.S. illegally. Illegal movement from Mexico has increased, with some one million Mexicans illegally entering this country in 1983 alone. In 1984, the Bipartisan Commission on Central America warned that a communist Central America would likely be followed by the destabilization of Mexico and that this could result in many millions of additional Mexicans fleeing into the United States.

Today, the Cuban and Nicaraguan military forces are together four times the size of those of Mexico and are equipped with vastly superior weapons. Today, with armed forces larger and better equipped than the rest of Central America put together, Nicaragua could walk through Costa Rica, which has no army, to Panama, and Cuba can threaten our vital sea lanes in the Caribbean.

The insurgency is a major obstacle to Sandinista consolidation in that it encourages the erosion of active support for the Sandinistas by creating uncertainties about the future of the regime; by challenging its claims of political legitimacy; and by giving hope to the leaders of the political opposition.

The largest anti-Sandinista insurgent group, the FDN, is still providing strong military resistance despite cutoff of United States aid almost a year ago. Popular sympathy for the insurgents appears to be increasing in the countryside, and the FDN continues to receive significant numbers of new recruits.

That opposition can increase the pressure until the Sandinista support has eroded sufficiently to leave them no option other than modification of their rejection of internal reconciliation. The objective is to allow for the same process of democratization that is taking place in the rest of Central America to occur in Nicaragua.

Page 3 of 3

With help of Soviet capabilities, contacts and communications channels, the Sandinistas have mounted a worldwide propaganda campaign that shows "remarkable ingenuity and skill in projecting disinformation into the United States itself," he says. "Perhaps the best example of this is the systematic campaign to deceive well-intentioned members of the Western media and of Western religious institutions."

The CIA believes the Sandinistas' "main objectives in regional negotiations are to buy time to further consolidate the regime," Mr. Casey says.

Beyond that, he argues, the history of agreements forged to end wars in Korea and Indochina are persuasive evidence that agreements with Marxist governments don't mean much.

"We believe that Cuba has assured the Salvadoran Communists that it might take as long as five to 10 years, but as long as the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua remains, that country will serve as a base for Communist expansion in the area and the Salvadoran insurgency will be renewed once the Sandinistas have been able to eliminate the armed resistance."

The major obstacle to Sandinista consolidation — and the establishment of the Marxist base in Central America — is the Nicaraguan resistance, he says. The resistance "encourages the erosion of active support for the Sandinistas by creating uncertainties about the future of the regime; by challenging its claims of political legitimacy, and by giving hope to the leaders of the political opposition."

*Following is the text of a speech prepared for delivery by CIA Director William Casey to the World Business Council in San Antonio, Texas, tomorrow. A copy of the speech was obtained by The Washington Times.*

Today, I would like to tell you about the subversive war which the Soviet Union and its partners have been waging against the United States and its interests around the world for a quarter of a century or more. This campaign of aggressive subversion has nibbled away at friendly governments and our vital interests until today our national security is impaired in our immediate neighborhood as well as in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This is not an undeclared war. In 1961, [Nikita] Khrushchev, then leader of the Soviet Union, told us that communism would win not through nuclear war which could destroy the world or conventional war which could quickly lead to nuclear war, but through "wars of national liberation" in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We were reluctant to believe him then. Just as in the 1930s we were reluctant to take Hitler seriously when he spelled out in "Mein Kampf" how he would take over Europe.

Over the last 10 years, Soviet power has been established:

- In Vietnam, along China's border and astride the sea lanes which bring Persian Gulf oil to Japan.

- In Afghanistan, 500 miles closer to the warm-water ports of the Indian Ocean and to the Straits of Hormuz. Through which comes the oil essential to Western Europe.

- In the Horn of Africa, dominating the southern approaches to the Red Sea and the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula.

- In Southern Africa. The source of minerals which we and other industrial nations must have.

- And in the Caribbean and Central America, on the very doorstep of the United States.

This is not a bloodless war. Marxist-Leninist policies and tactics have unleashed the four horses of the apocalypse — Famine, Pestilence, War and Death. Throughout the Third World we see famine in Africa, pestilence through chemical and biological agents in Afghanistan and Indochina, war on three continents, and death everywhere. Even as I speak, some 300,000 Soviet, Vietnamese, and Cuban troops are carrying out savage military operations directed at wiping out national resistance in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, and several other countries.

In the occupied countries — Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua — in which Marxist regimes have been either imposed or maintained by external forces, there has occurred a holocaust comparable to that which Nazi Germany inflicted in Europe some 40 years ago. Some four million Afghans, more than one-quarter of the population, have had to flee their country. The Helsinki Watch tells us that they have fled because "the crimes of indiscriminate warfare are combined with the worst excesses of unbridled state-sanctioned violence against civilians." It cites evidence of "civilians burned alive, dynamited, beheaded; crushed by Soviet tanks; grenades thrown into rooms where women and children have been told to wait."

In Cambodia, two to three million people, something like one-quarter of the pre-war population, have been killed in the most violent and brutal manner by both internal and external Marxist forces.

In Ethiopia, a Marxist military government, supported with extensive military support from Moscow and thousands of Cuban troops, by collectivizing agriculture and keeping food prices low in order to maintain urban support, has exacerbated a famine which threatens the lives of millions of its citizens. It has exploited the famine by using food as a weapon to forcibly relocate people fighting an oppressive government in the north hundreds of miles to the south where there is no prep-

aration to receive them. In urban areas, food rations are distributed through party cells.

In Nicaragua, the Communist government killed outright a minimum of 1,000 former Somoza national guardsmen during the summer of 1979. In 1982, it forcibly relocated some 15,000 Miskito Indians to detention camps, forced many more to flee to refugee camps in Honduras, and burned some 40 Indian villages. Last month, the Sandinistas forcibly moved 60,000 campesinos from areas close to the Honduran regions, burning their houses and killing their cattle.

What is the purpose of all this carnage, this creeping imperialism? In my view, there are two primary targets — the oil fields of the Middle East which are the lifeline of the Western Alliance, and the Isthmus between North and South America. Afghanistan, South Yemen, Ethiopia, as well as Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and Mozambique and Angola in southern Africa, bring Soviet power astride the sea lanes which carry those resources to America, Europe and Japan.

Capabilities to threaten the Panama Canal in the short term and Mexico in a somewhat longer term are being developed in Nicaragua where the Sandinista revolution is the first successful Castroite seizure of power on the American mainland. They have worked quietly and steadily toward their objectives of building the power of the state security apparatus, building the strongest armed forces in Central America, and becoming a center for exporting subversion to Nicaragua's neighbors.

The American intelligence community over recent months unanimously concurred in four national estimates on the military buildup, the consolidation and the objectives of the Soviets and the Cubans and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. If I were to boil the key judgments of those estimates down to a single sentence it would be this: The Soviet Union and Cuba have established and are consolidating a beachhead on the American continent, are putting hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military equipment into it, and have begun to use it as a launching pad to carry their style of aggressive subversion into the rest of Central America and elsewhere in Latin America.

Let me review quickly what has already happened in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas have developed the best equipped military in the region. They have an active strength of some 65,000 and a fully mobilized strength including militia and reserves of nearly 120,000. These forces are equipped with Soviet tanks, armored vehicles, state-of-the-art helicopters, patrol boats and an increasingly comprehensive air

defense system. This gives the Sandinistas a military capability far beyond that of any other Central American nation and indeed all Central American nations put together.

In addition to the considerable military hardware, there are now an estimated 6,000 to 7,500 Cuban advisers and several hundred other communists and radical personnel in Nicaragua assisting the regime in its military buildup and its consolidation of power.

The Communist government under Cuban direction and guidance has been essential in helping the regime establish control over the media, create propaganda mechanisms and neutralize the effectiveness of those who oppose the Sandinista totalitarianism.

Today, we see Nicaragua becoming to Central and Latin America what Beirut was to the Middle East for almost 15 years since 1970 when Lebanon became the focal point for international and regional terrorists. Managua's support for training of Central American subversives is well documented — they support Salvadoran communists, Guatemalan communists, radical leftists in Costa Rica, and are attempting to increase the number of radical leftist terrorists in Honduras. More recent evidence indicates Nicaraguan support for some South American terrorist groups and growing contacts with other international terrorist groups.

Yet, just last week the American congress refused to approve \$14 million for people resisting communist domination of Nicaragua, on the very day that a Soviet ship unloaded more than \$14 million worth of helicopters, East German trucks, and other military cargo at Corinto, the principal port in Nicaragua.

On the very next day, [Daniel] Ortega, the Nicaraguan communist dictator, traveled to Moscow to ask the Soviet Union to make \$200 million available to him to consolidate a Leninist communist dictatorship across a stretch of land which separates South America from North America.

This development in our immediate neighborhood should not be viewed in isolation but as a part of a worldwide process which has already worked in Europe, Africa Asia and Latin America.

Let me now give you an insight of how all this happens. In early 1981 I had a talk with Bob Ames, our CI/Middle East expert, who died at the hand of a terrorist attack in Beirut in 1983. Stationed in Aden, South Yemen, in 1967, he met an befriended the young revolutionar Abd'al Fatah Ismail, who became

Page 2 of 2