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WASHINGTON

CIA Director William Casey, in a speech published Friday, said the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua has taken 33 of the 46 steps intelligence analysts say are on the Soviet blueprint for seizing and consolidating power.

Casey also said Soviet and Cuban objectives are to use Nicaragua as a "beachhead" and a "launching pad" to subvert the rest of Central and South America.

The CIA director first delivered the speech at an invitation-only meeting of the Metropolitan Club in New York May 1. The Washington Times published the text Friday, and a CIA spokeswoman said she did not believe its contents had been reported before.

Casey said analysts had studied "totalitarian regimes" in Cuba, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Grenada, and Nicaragua and "identified 46 indicators of the consolidation of power by a Marxist-Leninist regime."

Nicaragua, he said, "in 5 years has accomplished 33." Those 33 steps have included taking control of the military, the media, education systems and the secret police.

The American intelligence community, Casey said, has concurred "in recent months in four national estimates" of Soviet and Cuban objectives in the hemisphere.

"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," he said.

To back his argument, Casey said there are now an estimated 6,000 to 7,500 Cuban advisers "and several hundred other Communist and radical personnel in Nicaragua" besides a local military force of 65,000, militia and reserves of nearly 120,000, and Soviet tanks, armored vehicles, state of the art helicopters, patrol boats and an increasingly comprehensive air defense.

Primary communist objectives Casey said, are the Middle East oil fields and the "isthmus between North and South America."

"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," Casey said.