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LATIN AMERICAN TERRORISM: THE CUBAN CONNECTION

INTRODUCTION

The fall of the Somoza government in Nicaragua to the Sandinista guerrilla forces (FSLN, Sandinista Front for National Liberation) and their foreign collaborators in July, 1979, has raised concern throughout the Western hemisphere that similar insurgency movements in other Latin American countries could lead to the weakening or overthrow of their governments as well. Increasing awareness of the role of Communist Cuba, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and various Soviet surrogate forces in assisting the FSLN through arms, training, and moral support has also created concern that the Nicaraguan and other Latin American insurgency movements are not merely indigenous "protests" or spontaneous rebellions against oppressive regimes, but are part of an internationally orchestrated campaign of subversion and terrorism to increase Soviet and Cuban influence in Latin America at the expense of the U.S.

Since the U.S. depends on Latin America in a number of ways - international cooperation in the UN and OAS, international trade and investments, and general diplomatic and political support - this concern for the internal security of Latin American states is especially relevant to the national security interests of the U.S. Furthermore, Communist influence in any Central or South American state would seriously compromise U.S. geopolitical security. Just as, in Winston Churchill's phrase, North Africa is the "soft underbelly of Europe," so Latin America is the soft underbelly of the United States. Despite President Carter's recent remarks about exaggerating the role of Cuba in destabilizing friendly governments and supporting armed rebellions, the evidence is clear throughout Latin America that the Castro regime is responsible for widespread support for terrorism, guerrilla warfare, and political subversion, that Cuba has long been involved in such activities, and that the Soviet Union itself supports the

disruptive and revolutionary policies of Cuba. In view of the fall of the Somoza government, the escalation of internal violence in other Latin American states, and the recent controversy over the Soviet military presence in Cuba, the Cuban connection with international terrorism in Latin America is especially relevant.

BACKGROUND

Terrorism and guerrilla warfare are certainly not new phenomena in Latin America. Continued warfare with Indians, periodic slave rebellions, and internal political wars in the region have caused terrorism to persist in Latin American political culture. In recent history - since 1960 - left wing (i.e., Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyist, Castroite, or Maoist) ideologies and strategies have predominated among Latin American terrorists, but terrorism from right wing (i.e., ultra-nationalist or anti-communist) groups and counter-terrorism from ruling authorities have also been prominent. Some of the ideological content of terrorist groups, such as the Argentine Peronists, has been ambiguous in terms of having left-right identity.

In 1977, the CIA found that, of fourteen Latin American terrorist groups, only one could be described as "Extreme Right" and that the current status of its activities was unknown. Of the other thirteen groups, all but one, described as "Populist Left," were "Radical Left." The fourteen groups were known or suspected to have been responsible for eighty-two transnational or international terrorist acts (including abductions, bombings, hijackings, and assassinations) between January 1, 1968, and December 31, 1975 (this count does not include terrorist acts committed entirely within the borders of a single state).¹

A more recent CIA study has found that, of a total of 3043 international terrorist incidents between 1968 and 1978, 808 incidents (26.6 percent) occurred in Latin America, which was second only to Western Europe (with 1130 or 37.1 percent) in the incidence of international terrorism. Perhaps of more direct significance for Americans, the study also found that of 1271 international terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens or property from 1968 to 1978, 474 (37.3 percent) occurred in Latin America - the region in which such attacks were most common. In 1978, there were 19 international terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens or property in Latin America out of a total of 123 such attacks throughout the world.² The following tables show the incidence of terrorism chronologically and by category of attack.

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1. Research Study: International and Transnational Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis (Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, April, 1976), App. C.
 2. International Terrorism in 1978: A Research Paper (Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, March, 1979), App., Table I, p. 7; Table VII, p. 10; Table VIII, p. 11.

Table 1
International Terrorist Incidents (ITI), 1968-1978

	Total ITI	Total ITI on U.S. Citizen or Property	ITI in Latin America
1968	111	51	41
1969	166	93	71
1970	282	188	113
1971	216	153	70
1972	269	109	49
1973	275	102	80
1974	382	139	124
1975	297	104	48
1976	413	125	105
1977	279	84	46
1978	<u>353</u>	<u>123</u>	<u>61</u>
Total	3043	1271	808

Source: CIA

Table 2
ITI, 1968-1978, by Category of Attack

	Total	In Latin America	On U.S. Citizens/ Property
Kidnapping	243	133	95
Barricade, Hostage	60	11	13
Letter Bombing	162	9	12
Incendiary Bombing	437	69	266
Explosion Bombing	1473	388	655
Armed Attack	162	33	54
Hijacking	92	22	34
Assassination	199	56	54
Theft, Break-in	76	44	41
Sniping	63	28	28
Other Actions	<u>76</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>
Total	3043	808	1271

Source: CIA

Thus, of a total of 808 Latin American international terrorist incidents in the last decade, over half (474 or 58.7 percent) represent attacks on Americans or their property. Latin American international terrorism has increased since 1968 but appears to have diminished since 1974. With the successful terrorist and guerrilla operations against Somoza, however, it is likely that there will be an upsurge in such operations in the future, and it is possible that they will enjoy more success than they have in the last decade.

In the middle and later part of the 1960s, a number of terrorist organizations were founded and became active in South America. These were such groups as the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP, Revolutionary Army of the People) and the Montoneros in Argentina; the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN, Army of National Liberation) in Bolivia; the Acao Libertadora Nacional (ALN, National Liberation Action) and the Vanguardia Popular Revolucionaria (VPR, Popular Revolutionary Vanguard) of Brazil; the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR, Movement of the Revolutionary Left) of Chile; and the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN, Movement of National Liberation) or Tupamaros of Uruguay. These and similar groups in other countries were often so successful in destabilizing their respective societies that they sometimes provoked authoritarian reactions from the governments, which in recent years have made considerable progress in the suppression of terrorist activities within their countries. Unfortunately, however, generally democratic political cultures were sometimes destroyed or retarded in their development in the reactions against the terrorism and subversion of the left. Yet terrorism has not been destroyed completely, and the leaders of many terrorist movements have gone into exile in Western Europe, Communist states, or Third World countries.

Some of the above-named groups had their origins in Trotskyist revolutionary organizations. Thus, the ERP of Argentina, the ELN of Bolivia, and the MIR of Chile, as well as the Frente Izquierdista Revolucionaria (FIR, Revolutionary Left Front) of Peru, led by convicted terrorist Hugo Blanco-Galdos, all originated in the various branches of the Fourth International and have received assistance from within this international Trotskyist organization. However, the ERP, under the leadership of Mario Roberto Santucho Juarez, split with the Fourth International in 1973. Prior to the split, the ERP had sought to recruit its members from Argentine urban youths and by 1972 had about 500 members in 17 cells in 6 Argentine provinces. By 1974 the ERP had about 2000 active and 12,000 secret members. The Tupamaros of Uruguay are said to have originally been composed of sugar plantation workers from the northern part of the country, but they increasingly attracted middle class intellectuals and students. The Uruguayan Communist Party penetrated the Tupamaros and provoked the military reaction against the terrorists by instigating Tupamaro attacks on military personnel.

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3. Lawrence P. McDonald, Trotskyism and Terror: The Strategy of Revolution (Washington: ACU Education and Research Institute, 1977), ch. iv passim (hereafter cited as McDonald, Trotskyism); Albert Parry, Terrorism from Robespierre to Arafat (New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1976), pp. 262-63, 277 (hereafter cited as Parry, Terrorism); Brian Crozier, ed., Annual of Power and Conflict, 1977-78: A Survey of Political Violence and International Influence (London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1978), p. 151 (hereafter cited as APC).

Many of these terrorist organizations received support from each other as well as from Cuba. On February 13, 1974, a clandestine meeting was held in Mendoza, Argentina, and the Junta de Coordinacion Revolucionaria (JCR, Junta of Revolutionary Coordination) was formed. The JCR consisted of four groups: the ERP of Argentina, the ELN of Bolivia, the MIR of Chile, and the Tupamaros of Uruguay. Also in attendance at the Mendoza meeting was Alain Krivine, the leader of the French Trotskyist organization, the Ligue Communiste. The manifesto of the JCR declared that "armed struggle...is the only possibility for victory" and that "The continental character of the struggle is fundamentally determined by the presence of a common enemy. North American imperialism carries out an international strategy to hold back the socialist revolution in Latin America." The ERP in 1974 provided \$5 million from the ransom of an Exxon Corporation official for the joint operations of the JCR and in effect became the dominant group within it. Buenos Aires became the headquarters of the JCR. The other member-groups were already in decline, and, in July, 1976, Santucho himself was killed in a battle with Argentine authorities. However, the JCR became the central organization for Latin American terrorism, and its members received arms and training from Cuba. The JCR maintained a guerrilla warfare training school, an arms factory, and a false documentation center -- all of which were closed down in 1975 by Argentine security forces. However, the JCR, mainly through the ERP, sponsored and cooperated with a Bolivian support group for the ELN, with Colombian terrorist groups, and with a Paraguayan guerrilla group called Frepalina. Members of the JCR received training from Cuba, Iraq, and Libya. As of 1976, Cuba was providing training for the JCR on an 1800 hectare (7 square miles) estate near Guanabo as well as at another site in Pinar del Rio. The course lasted at least three months and included the use of translated manuals of the U.S. Special Forces. Training concentrated on the use of explosives, weapons, tactics, operations against regular forces, survival in rugged terrain, tank warfare, and the techniques of clandestine warfare. The JCR maintained front organizations in Western Europe as well as a secret documentation center in Paris where fabricated identity papers are manufactured.⁴ The JCR now calls itself the Southern Cone Revolutionary Junta.

RECENT TERRORISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin American terrorism is so complex that it is impossible to give a full account of its organizational and operational

4. Robert Moss, "Soviet Ambitions in Latin America" in Patrick Wall, ed., The Southern Oceans and the Security of the Free World: New Studies in Global Strategy (London: Stacey International, 1977), pp. 197-206 (hereafter cited as Moss, "Soviet Ambitions"); Parry, Terrorism, p. 261; the passage from the JCR manifesto is quoted from Terrorism: A Staff Study Prepared by the Committee on Internal Security, U.S. House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session (August 1, 1974), p. 11 (hereafter cited as Terrorism); McDonald, Trotskyism, p. 46; Information Digest, August 24, 1979, p. 265.

background without an extensive treatment. Moreover, many of the organizations active in the late 1960s and early 1970s have been suppressed, disrupted, or forced into exile by the rigorous measures adopted by Latin American governments - especially in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Uruguay. However, terrorism continues to threaten Latin America and U.S. citizens and property there, and many currently active terrorists are related to the terrorist groups of the recent past.

Argentina

The most important terrorist groups of the recent past in Argentina were the ERP, originally a Trotskyist group, and the Montoneros, which developed partly from the splintering of the Argentine Trotskyists in 1973. In 1962, Trotskyist terrorists received training in Cuba. The military regime of General Videla since 1976 has been generally successful in the fight against Argentine terrorism, although at a fearful cost. The ERP, as discussed above, became the dominant group in the JCR. The Montoneros, led by Mario Firmenich, were virtually crushed by the end of 1977, and Firmenich fled to Europe. He has admitted to the murder of the Provisional President of Argentina, Pedro E. Aramburu, in 1970. Soon after the fall of the Somoza government, Firmenich arrived in Managua, where he announced that his followers will again seek to take over Argentina this year. The Montoneros have the support of the PLO and the Baader-Meinhof Gang (Red Army Fraction). In 1973, the Montoneros merged with the Cuban-oriented FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias or Armed Revolutionary Forces) and by that time had already absorbed most members of the Peronist revolutionary groups. In the spring of 1975, the Montoneros kidnapped Juan and Junge Born, sons of the founders of Bunge and Born, one of Argentina's largest multinational corporations. The Born brothers were released on June 20, 1975, after the firm paid a ransom of \$60 million, the largest ransom for a kidnapping in history. According to Firmenich, this money was to be used for the financing of further terrorism by the Montoneros. In April, 1977, Firmenich and other Montonero leaders formed the Movimiento Peronista Montonero (MPM, Montonero Peronist Movement), with a Marxist ideological base. MPM sought the support of a number of European and Third World socialist parties. According to a chronology of significant terrorist incidents compiled by the State Department, there were 72 such incidents involving Americans or American installations in Argentina between June, 1963, and September, 1978.⁵

5. Parry, Terrorism, p. 269; APC, pp. 117-20; Intelligence Digest, September 5, 1979; Stefan T. Possony and L. Francis Bouchev, International Terrorism -- The Communist Connection (Washington: American Council on World Freedom, 1978), p. 51 (hereafter cited as Possony and Bouchev, International Terrorism); Trotskyite Terrorist International: Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 94th Congress, 1st Session (July 24, 1975), pp. 34, 208-9.

Bolivia

Ernesto "Che" Guevara founded the ELN in 1967 as a rural guerrilla movement. Seventeen Cubans, some of them members of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, fought with him in Bolivia, and the ELN received arms and training from Cuba and included some Bolivians and Peruvians. The Soviets, however, frowned on Guevara's strategy for revolution in Latin America and, using the pro-Soviet Bolivian Communist Party, sabotaged his movement. The Bolivian Party had lured Guevara to their country by reporting that it was ripe for a guerrilla insurgency, but after Guevara's arrival, the Party did nothing to assist him. Furthermore, Guevara's mistress, Tania Bunke, was a KGB agent who helped betray him to the Bolivian authorities in 1967, when he was killed. Soon after Guevara's death, the ELN was refounded as a Trotskyist group, the armed branch of the Partido Obrero Revolu-

cionario (POR, Revolutionary Workers Party), led by Hugo Gonzales Moscoso. In 1974, the ELN adhered to the JCR, discussed above. In 1972, the Bolivian government expelled 49 Soviet diplomats who had been involved with the ELN, indicating that the Soviets came to have a more favorable attitude toward terrorism and insurgency once they had more influence over it. One of the group's principal commandos was Monica "Irmilla" Ertl, who assassinated the Bolivian consul in Hamburg, Germany, on April 1, 1971, using a weapon provided by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, who was deeply involved with European terrorism and with the Cuban Tricontinental, the publication of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL). Ertl was killed in a gunfight with Bolivian police on May 13, 1973. Terrorist activities in Bolivia have been largely curtailed by the military regime of General Banzer.⁶

Brazil

Carlos Marighella, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, was a principal leader of and theoretician for two Brazilian terrorist groups, the ALN and the VPR. These groups were originally Maoist and rural-based in ideology and strategy, but became urban-based in 1968. Both received arms and training from Cuba. Marighella's Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla was published in Havana in November, 1970, in Tricontinental, no. 56. In October, 1968, the VPR murdered Captain Charles Chandler of the U.S. in Sao Paulo and on September 4, 1969, the ALN kidnapped U.S. Ambassador Charles Burke Elbrick, who was released after 78 hours in exchange for 15 political prisoners, most of whom soon went to Cuba. Marighella was killed by police in Sao Paulo in November, 1969, but both terrorist

6. Terrorism, pp. 16-17; Possony and Bouchev, International Terrorism, pp. 47-48; McDonald, Trotskyism, pp. 46-47; Peter Kemp, "Left Against Left in Latin America," Spectator, April 9, 1977, p. 7.

groups survived him. In 1970, they kidnapped the West German and Swiss ambassadors to Brazil and released them in exchange for political prisoners, who were flown to Cuba. The military regime of General Geisel was successful in suppressing terrorist activities in Brazil in the mid 1970s, but recent reports indicate that international terrorist groups consisting of the United Red Army (URA) (which carried out the Lod Airport massacre on behalf of the PFLP in 1972), the Montoneros, and the ERP of Argentina may have joined together to attack U.S. targets in Brazil in retaliation for the U.S. role in the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement. In April, 1979, the Japanese consulate in Sao Paulo is said to have given police information on 15 URA members reported to have been present in Sao Paulo.

Chile

The principal terrorist group in Chile is the MIR, also a member of the JCR and an active force in the support of Salvador Allende Gossens's Popular Unity government of 1970-73. MIR was founded in 1965 and became a terrorist movement after its takeover in 1967 by Bautista von Schouwens (condemned to death in 1973 by the Pinochet government), Andres Pascal Allende (nephew of President Allende), and other extreme elements. MIR went underground in 1969, but later emerged in 1970 after Allende's amnesty of political criminals. During the Allende years, MIR served as "shock troops" or "storm troops" for the leftist government and received clandestine arms shipments from Cuba. MIR went underground again in 1973 after the coup d'etat that overthrew the Allende government, and in December, 1974, joined in the formation of the Revolutionary Party of the Chilean Proletariat. MIR has never been as active or as successful in its terrorism as some of its allies in the JCR were - e.g., the Tupamaros or the ERP - and the Pinochet government has maintained a tight lid on its activities. Nevertheless, MIR remains active. On October 16, 1977, MIR exploded 10 bombs in Santiago. Later in the year, the government arrested several MIR leaders and killed Augusto Carmona Acevedo, a former MIR editor of Punto Final. In 1979, about 40 bombing incidents were attributed to MIR in April-June. In August, the Chilean government announced that it was searching for Andres Pascal Allende, who was believed to have returned to Chile, and stated that it expected an escalation of MIR terrorism. In that month also, the Chilean security services raided a MIR base in El Arrayan and arrested Pascal's fiancée, Ana Maria Penailillo, and a leftist journalist. Documents captured in the raid showed that MIR was planning a series of bombings and robberies, a propaganda campaign against the Chilean government in the UN and OAS, reprisals against "traitors" and "torturers," and a reorganization of MIR into an underground action cadre and an aboveground support unit. Salvador Allende, when he pardoned

7. Parry, Terrorism, pp. 257-60; Tricontinental, no. 56 (November, 1970); Information Digest, August 10, 1979, p. 246.

the Miristas in 1970, stated, "All those young men who, prompted by a lofty desire for social change, attacked a number of banks, are granted amnesty."⁸

Colombia

One of the most important terrorist groups in Colombia is the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC, Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia), founded in 1966 and led by Manuel Marulanda Velez (also know as Tirofijo). FARC is pro-Soviet in its sympathies, and Marulanda is a member of the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party. Another terrorist group in Colombia is the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN, National Liberation Army), a Castroite group founded in 1964. In 1974, FARC and ELN came to an agreement whereby the former operated in rural areas and the latter in urban areas. Another active Colombian group is M-19 (April 19 Movement). In April, 1979, the Colombian military completed a crackdown on terrorism by arresting 714 persons linked to M-19, 162 linked to FARC, and 70 others linked to the Colombian Trotskyists. In June several Castroite terrorist groups announced a union of FARC, M-19, and a Maoist group, Ejercito Popular de Liberacion (EPL, Popular Liberation Army). M-19 claims to have retained most of 7000 weapons stolen in December, 1978. ELP exploded a bomb at the residence of the U.S. Embassy Marine guards in Bogota on May 1, 1979, wounding a marine and two women. In July, the Colombian government revealed that M-19 has Cuban and Swedish advisers, that it works with the FSLN in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and with Castroite groups in El Salvador, Uruguay, and Guatemala. M-19 also is reported to have a coordinating support group in Paris, and a leading spokesman, Carlos Toleda Plata, was in Costa Rica as of August, 1979. According to the U.S. State Department, there have been about 20 significant terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens or installations in Colombia between 1973 and January, 1979.

Peru

Castroite groups practiced terrorism in Peru, as did the Trotskyist Frente Izquierdista Revolucionaria (FIR, Revolutionary Left Front), founded in 1962 by Hugo Blanco Galdos. Blanco, a self-confessed murderer of three policemen, was sentenced to a 25-year prison term in 1963, but was released in 1969 in an amnesty. Arrested again shortly afterwards, Blanco was deported

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8. Information Digest, August 10, 1979, p. 246; Robert Moss, Chile's Marxist Experiment (London: David and Charles Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 106-11; Terrorism, p. 18; Possony and Bouchev, International Terrorism, p. 50; APC, pp. 127-28; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Latin America, August 10, 1979, VI (hereafter cited as FBIS/LA); Intelligence Digest, September 26, 1979.
 9. APC, pp. 128-29; Information Digest, April 20, 1979, p. 118; June 15, 1979, p. 187; August 10, 1979, p. 248; FBIS/LA, September 24, 1979, F1.

to Argentina and later found refuge in Allende's Chile. In 1975-76 the Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyist affiliate of the Fourth International in the United States) and its front group, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, tried to sponsor a speaking tour for Blanco in the U.S., but the convicted terrorist was denied a visa by the U.S. government. The left wing authoritarian government of General Velasco was successful in repressing terrorism in Peru, but in December, 1977, a leftist front called the Democratic Unity of the People (UDP) was formed to participate in the 1978 elections. The UDP contained both Maoist and Trotskyists, and in June, 1979, the Peruvian Maoist Party, Patria Roja (PR, Red Fatherland) announced its cooperation with the UDP and the Trotskyist FOCEP (Popular Student, Peasant, and Worker Front) in a "revolutionary coalition" for forthcoming elections. Blanco is a leader of FOCEP and was arrested in Lima two days after this announcement.¹⁰

Uruguay

The Tupamaros, or MLN, the last of the original cooperating groups of the JCR, were founded as a Castroite group in 1962. Perhaps the most successful terrorist group in Latin America, the Tupamaros were infiltrated by the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU), although the Communists posed as a party of "law and order" (as they have in Italy under the terrorist campaign of the Red Brigades). Mauricio Rosencoff, a member of the PCU, received financial assistance from Castro and orders from the DGI (Cuban intelligence), and after the arrest of Tupamaro leader Raul Sendic in 1970, Rosencoff assumed operational command of the Tupamaros. By 1972, however, the Bordaberry government of Uruguay had begun to destroy the Tupamaro cells, but their operatives in Europe murdered the Uruguayan military attache in Paris on December 19, 1974. The Colombian M-19 claims the support of the Tupamaros, who still exist. Many Tupamaro leaders live in exile in Havana, East Berlin, and Paris. Underground Tupamaro cells have sought to revive their activities in collaboration with the PCU in Montevideo.¹¹

CENTRAL AMERICAN TERRORISM

While terrorism in South America has been in decline in recent years, due to the restrictive measures of several Latin American governments, in Central America terrorism shows every sign of increase. The obvious case is Nicaragua, where the FSLN, after receiving substantial support from Cuba, overthrew the

10. McDonald, Trotskyism, p. 48; Terrorism, p. 26; APC, p. 147; Information Digest, June 15, 1979, p. 187.

11. Terrorism, p. 26; APC, p. 151; Moss, "Soviet Ambitions," p. 201; Peter Kemp, "Russia Against the Tupamaros," Spectator, April 16, 1977, pp. 8-9; Parry, Terrorism, pp. 274-81; FBIS/LA, 26 July 1979, F3.

Somoza government in July, 1979. The triumph of a Communist-supported terrorist movement against one of the key U.S. allies in Latin America opens the door to similar strategies throughout the subcontinent.

Many foreign guerrillas fought with the FSLN, and some have announced their intention to continue their struggle against other Latin American governments and against U.S. presence and influence. Thus, Plutarco Elias Hernandez, a commander of the FSLN and an organizer of the Simon Bolivar Brigade, a 2000-man guerrilla force of various nationalities that fought with the Sandinistas, announced in Costa Rica on July 27 that international brigades will cooperate with other revolutionary movements: "Other people require my assistance in their struggle for liberation." Although a member of the Sandinista junta denied that Hernandez was authorized to make such statements, another guerrilla - Hugo Spadafora, former minister of health in Panama and leader of the Victoriano Lorenzo Brigade, a Panamanian force that fought with the FSLN - announced in Managua at the same time that his men "are ready to go to any country where the people are opposing injustice and tyranny." In late August, a delegation of the PLO in Managua expressed solidarity and cooperation with the Sandinista junta, and PLO delegate Fares Melhem stated, "Our common enemy is American imperialism and we must always be united to fight it." As of early July, 1979, 50 Colombians and several dozen Venezuelans, Mexicans, Costa Ricans, and other Latin Americans and Spaniards had joined the Sandinistas.¹²

Costa Rica

This country has been one of the few in Central America to have a genuinely democratic government, but its freedom has not saved it from terrorism. Plutarco Elias Hernandez, mentioned above, led an attack on a Costa Rican garrison in 1969 that resulted in the freeing of Sandinista Carlos Fonseca Amador, now deceased. Hernandez was pardoned, but he was arrested again for directing an illegal military school. He founded the Simon Bolivar Brigade (SBB) in 1979. The Costa Rican government in 1974 lifted its 1949 ban on the Communist Party, and both a pro-Soviet and Trotskyist party exist. In 1977 the Revolutionary Commandos of Solidarity attacked U.S.-owned companies in Costa Rica. In August, 1979, the Costa Rican government expelled the first and second secretaries of the Soviet Embassy for their involvement in organizing and financing labor disputes in Puerto Limon in which over 100 persons were injured, and the government was considering the expulsion of about 150 foreigners, many of whom were wanted for terrorist acts in their own countries. The government did expel several members of the SBB, who had already

12. FBIS/LA, 30 July 1979, P8; 11 September 1979, P7; 9 July 1979, P1.

been expelled from Nicaragua when they began to organize Trotskyist cells.¹³

El Salvador

At the present time, El Salvador suffers from terrorism more than any other Latin American country. Several terrorist organizations have been active: the Fuerzas Populares de Liberacion de Faribundo Marti (FPL, Faribundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces), the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional (FARN, Armed Forces of National Resistance), the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP, Revolutionary Army of the People), and the Ejercito Guerrilleros Proletario (EGP, Guerrilla Army of the Proletariat). These are all left wing groups, but the Union Guerrera Blanca (UGB, White Fighting Union) is a right wing group that specializes in attacking Jesuits. Of all these groups, the oldest and probably the most active is the FPL. Faribundo Marti was a contemporary and collaborator of Augusto Sandino (the namesake of the Sandinistas) and was killed in 1942. In 1978, the FPL began attacking foreign interests (especially those of the U.S.) in El Salvador: bombing of a Coca Cola bottling plant and a McDonald's Restaurant and a machine gun attack on the U.S. Embassy in September, 1978. In 1977 the FPL kidnapped the Foreign Minister of El Salvador and killed several party leaders and government personnel. In 1979 the FPL has been responsible for the assassination of the Minister of Education (May 23) and of the brother of President Romero, Jose Javier Romero (September 6). In September also, the FPL announced that it would cooperate with the ERP and already had ties to the FSLN in Nicaragua. According to a recent study, FARN, EGP, and FLP "are believed to be essentially made up of many of the same people operating under different names."¹⁴ According to a CIA memorandum of May 2, 1979, Cuba has maintained its closest contacts with FPL, and 50 members of the group are said to have received training in ideological and military techniques in Cuba. Cuba has also had links to FARN. Still

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13. Ibid., 9 July 1979, P1; 30 July 1979, P8; see also Information Digest, August 24, 1979, p. 266; according to this account, the Simon Bolivar Brigade was founded by the Colombian Socialist Workers Party of the Fourth International under the leadership of Hugo Bressano, aka Nahuel Moreno, a founder with Santucho of the Argentine Trotskyist group, PRT, the parent group of the ERP. For Moreno, see McDonald, Trotskyism, p. 44 et seq.; APC, pp. 133-34; FBIS/LA, 22 August 1979, P5, and 27 August 1979, P2.
14. Martin Arostegui, "Revolutionary Violence in Central America," International Security Review IV, (Spring, 1979), 95; idem, "Will El Salvador Be Next To Fall?" Human Events, August 11, 1979, p. 10; APC, pp. 147, 150; FBIS/LA, 11 September 1979, P3.

another violent political group in El Salvador is the Popular Revolutionary Bloc, dominated by the FPL, which in May seized the embassies of Costa Rica, France, and Venezuela.¹⁵

Guatemala

The Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (FAR, Rebel Armed Forces) was founded in 1963 as a Cuban-style rural guerrilla group. On August 28, 1968, FAR assassinated U.S. Ambassador John G. Mein (the first U.S. ambassador ever assassinated) and in 1973 kidnaped Roberto Galvez, an executive of an American-owned company who was later released for \$50,000 ransom. With the assistance of the U.S. government and U.S.-trained counter-insurgency forces, the Guatemalan government virtually destroyed FAR. However, in 1975, the Ejercito Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP, Guerrilla Army of the Poor) emerged as a serious terrorist threat. One of the leaders of FAR, Cesar Montes, was also the leader of the EGP as well as a member of the PGT, the Guatemalan Labor Party (the illegal, pro-Soviet Communist Party of Guatemala). Both FAR and another terrorist group, M-13 (Movimiento del 13 de Noviembre, 13 November Movement) were founded by Yon Sosa. However, during 1978, about 40 percent of Guatemalan terrorist incidents were attributed to the EGP. On January 1, 1978, the EGP kidnapped the Guatemalan Foreign Minister, and on January 26, 1979, it murdered the Nicaraguan ambassador to Guatemala. President Laugerud charged in January, 1978, that the EGP obtains all its support and some instructors from Cuba.¹⁶ While this charge may be an exaggeration, its substance is corroborated by the CIA memorandum cited above. According to this source,

Havana's closest links are to the [EGP], and the Cubans have used it as a link to broaden their ties with other insurgent groups. According to a reliable Guatemalan source, on 12 January [1979] a Cuban official met in Guatemala with leaders of the EGP, the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), and the dissident wing of the Guatemalan Communist Party (PGT), to urge these three action-oriented groups to unify.¹⁷

The Cubans also implied that greater cooperation would lead to greater financial and material assistance. Cuba has trained EGP guerrillas for some years, and has reportedly offered the services of three experts to work with FAR and PGT to coordinate the assassinations of several government officials. In September, 1979, the PGT destroyed two planes and damaged twenty-four others

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15. Arostegui, "Revolutionary Violence," p. 94; APC, pp. 147, 150; CIA Memorandum, p. 9.
 16. Washington Post, May 5, 1979, p. A1 and September 27, 1979, p. A24; Terrorism, p. 22; APC, p. 135; Arostegui, "Revolutionary Violence," pp. 98-99.
 17. CIA Memorandum, p. 7.

in the sabotage of a hangar in interior Guatemala, and the EGP and FAR also were involved in bombing incidents about the same time, according to unofficial reports.¹⁸

Mexico

In 1963, Fabricio Gomez Sousa approached the Soviet Embassy in Mexico and offered his services to the KGB. The Soviets trained Gomez and several other Mexicans at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, and they later received special guerrilla training in North Korea. The Mexicans formed a group called Movimiento de Accion Revolucionaria (MAR, Movement for Revolutionary Action). About 40 members of MAR returned to Mexico in September, 1970 and added about 50 recruits. MAR robbed a bank courier of \$84,000 in December, 1970, and planned an extensive series of sabotage actions. However, the group was arrested before these plans could be carried into operation. The Mexican government recalled its ambassador from Moscow and expelled 5 members of the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City in March, 1971. A more recent terrorist group in Mexico is the 23rd of September Communist League (LC-23), which in January, 1977, assassinated U.S. businessman Mitchell Andreski, President of the Duraflex Corporation, and in August, 1978, kidnapped the son of the Mexican ambassador to the United States, who died of wounds received in the abduction. The LC-23 has concentrated on bank robberies and has sometimes taken refuge in U.S. territory. It has links with Guatemalan terrorists and is Marxist in ideology. Its early activities in 1972 suggested a link with North Korea.¹⁹

Puerto Rico

Although Puerto Rico is a U.S. territory, its culture is Latin American and it has been the source of some of the most active terrorist groups with Cuban links. Between the referendum of 1967 and 1974, the FBI counted over 400 terrorist bombings or incendiary attacks by Puerto Rican independence groups. About 135 Puerto Ricans were trained in Cuba in guerrilla warfare. Puerto Rican terrorists have been active in the U.S. as well as in Puerto Rico itself. The most significant Puerto Rican terrorist group in recent years has been the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN, Armed Forces of National Liberation), which began its operations in 1974. About 75 actions and at least five deaths resulted from FALN's terrorism, the most significant being the Fraunces Tavern bombing in New York City on January 24, 1975, in which four died. In 1977-78, FALN carried out nineteen bombing actions in the continental U.S. and three in Puerto Rico. FALN is believed to have contained about 50 members in early 1978, and both Senators Moynihan and Javits as well as Congressman Larry

18. Ibid., p. 8; FBIS/LA, 18 September 1979, P2.

19. John Barron, KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents (New York: Readers' Digest Press, 1974), ch. xi passim.

McDonald have pointed to its ties with Cuba. In 1977, a former member of FALN was interviewed in Time and stated that he had received guerrilla training in Cuba, that friendly contacts in Cuba and the Dominican Republic provided FALN with arms and explosives, and that funds for the terrorist group came from wealthy radicals, bank robberies, and drug smuggling.²⁰

LATIN AMERICAN TERRORISM: LINKS WITH COMMUNIST STATES

Almost every significant Latin American terrorist group of left wing orientation has had or has today links with Cuba or the Soviet Union or with both. In the 1960s Cuban links did not necessarily imply a connection with the Soviet Union, although since the early 1970s the Cuban connection almost certainly implies the approval, if not the actual cooperation, of the Soviets. Prior to the effective satellization of Cuba by the USSR in 1969-70, the Soviets did not approve of revolutionary insurgencies as effective tools in Latin America -- mainly because the Soviets did not themselves control such insurgencies. Thus, the Soviets and their supporters in the Communist Party of Bolivia lured Che Guevara to that country and may have helped betray him to the Bolivian authorities. In Uruguay, the pro-Soviet Communists also contributed to the destruction of the Tupamaros through their clandestine penetration and manipulation of the terrorist group. Since the early 1970s, however, the Soviets have effectively controlled the Cuban Direccion General de Inteligencia (DGI, General Directorate of Intelligence), the Cuban secret service, which has been largely responsible for the Cuban support for Latin American terrorist groups. However, in the case of at least one group - the MAR of Mexico - the Soviets, through the KGB, were responsible for the training of terrorists and the direct support of their activities, and Soviet involvement with the successor of Guevara's ELN of the same name indicates that the Soviets supported this group also.

As discussed above, the DGI has provided extensive training for the JCR and its constituent groups as well as for the Sandinistas and other Central American terrorists. Since 1970, the DGI has been under the direct control of the Soviet KGB. Vassiliy Petrovich Semenov, a KGB general, and his staff are actually in charge of the DGI in Havana. In 1970, Raul Castro, brother of the Cuban dictator, purged all anti-Soviet personnel from the DGI. This amalgamation of the DGI with the KGB proceeded at about the same time that Cuba was being transformed into a complete satellite of the Soviet Union through its integration into Comecon and its public assumption of a pro-Soviet posture at the first Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in December, 1975.²¹

20. Terrorism, pp. 162-63; Congressional Record, August 5, 1977, p. E5162, and August 4, 1977, pp. S13766-67; Possony and Bouchey, International Terrorism, p. 68.

21. Moss, "Soviet Ambitions," pp 195-96.

The "Tricontinental," or the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), serves as an institution for international coordination for terrorism and guerrilla activities throughout the world. Founded in 1966 with 513 delegates from 83 organizations meeting in Havana on January 3-16, OSPAAAL acquired headquarters in Havana, and Osmany Cienfuegos Gorriaran, then Minister of Construction in the Cuban government and a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, became Secretary General. The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL publishes a bi-monthly journal, entitled Tricontinental, in several languages. OSPAAAL serves as a kind of umbrella group for "liberation movements" in the three continents and as a means of control, coordination, and propaganda for non-orthodox revolutionary forces.²²

In addition to its support of terrorism in Latin America and throughout the world, Cuba has also been involved with support for violent, extremist, and terrorist groups in the United States itself. Cuban involvement with FALN has been mentioned, but other terrorists have received aid from the Castro regime as well. Members of the Cuban Mission at the UN in New York were involved in financing black militant groups such as the Black Panther Party and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and in giving propaganda materials for fund-raising to Mark Rudd and Jeff Jones, members of the violent Weather Underground Organization (WUO), in August, 1969. Julian Torres Rizo, the Director of the Venceremos Brigade, which consisted of young American leftists who visited Cuba in 1969 and following years, was First Secretary of the Cuban Mission and had extensive contact with Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the United States from the Allende government and later a principal focus of left-wing anti-Chilean activities in Washington, who was murdered in Washington in 1976.²³ The initiation of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) trips to Cuba was handled by leaders of the SDS who became Weathermen. According to Julie Nichamin, a principal organizer of the VB trips to Cuba and a member of SDS as well as of the WUO, interviewed in Granma, December 10, 1969, "We want people to understand that the battle of the Cuban people, like the battle of the Vietnamese people is the same battle to which to which we are committed, a battle against American imperialism."²⁴ According to a declassified FBI report on foreign contacts of the Weathermen,

The ultimate objective in the DGI's participation with the VB is the recruitment of individuals who are politically oriented and who someday may obtain a position, elective or appointive, somewhere in the U.S. government,

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22. Alfonso L. Tarabochia, Cuba: The Technocracy of Subversion, Espionage, and Terrorism (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1976), pp. 30-33 (hereafter cited as Tarabochia, Cuba).
23. Ibid., pp. 15-19.
24. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Foreign Influence -- Weather Underground Organization (WUO), August 20, 1976, p. 121.

which would provide the Cuban government with access to political, economic and military intelligence.²⁵

However, the report continued,

The DGI had provided various forms of special training to a few persons from each VB contingent.... A very limited number of VB members have been trained in guerrilla warfare techniques including use of arms and explosives. This type of training is given only to individuals who specifically requested it and only then to persons whom the Cubans feel sure are not penetration agents of American intelligence.²⁶

According to Larry Grathwohl, an FBI informant in the WUO, in recruiting for the VB, he and others were to find persons who "could benefit from a trip to Cuba" and "They were referring to insurgency type training, guerrilla type training, and this is point blank exactly what was told to me [by Dionne Donghi, a leader of the SDS and member of the WUO who was in Cuba in July, 1969].²⁷ Grathwohl also knew of several individuals who had received training in the use of the AK-47, grenades, or infra-red scopes (used for sniper shooting in darkness). Naomi Jaffe, Dionne Donghi, and Corky Benedict were members of the WUO who had received guerrilla training in Cuba.²⁸ WUO leader Bill Ayers told Grathwohl in February, 1970, that contact with other WUO members could be made through the Cuban Embassy in Canada and that a code system for communications had been established by the Cubans.²⁹ The FBI Report also quoted a column by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beach of October, 1970, which discussed contacts between SDS and the Cuban UN Mission in New York in 1969. The column cited the case of

Two mission diplomats -- Alberto Hidalgo Gato and Lazaro Eddy Espinosa Bonet [who] -- were declared persons non grata last year [1969] because of what is described by intelligence agents as "problems over contacts with the radicals and with explosives." There was highly placed speculation at the time that the case involved an alleged plot against President Nixon.³⁰

25. Ibid., p. 125.

26. Ibid., p. 126

27. Terroristic Activity Inside the Weatherman Movement: Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, U.S. Senate, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, October 18, 1974, p. 137.

28. Ibid., pp. 108, 109, 139-40, 141.

29. New York Times, October 9, 1977, pp. 1 and 24.

30. Quoted, FBI Report, pp. 138-39; see also Tarabochia, Cuba, pp. 16-17, for further information on this incident.

In the first and second VBs, 28 members of WJO were present in Cuba, and, according to some authorities, Wendy Yoshimura, later a member of the terrorist Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) who was arrested in company with Patty Hearst in September, 1975, was a member of the second Venceremos Brigade in 1970.³¹

The WJO, however, is not the only U.S. terrorist group with which Cuba has had contact. A former member of the Emiliano Zapata Unit (EZU), a terrorist group on the West Coast that was associated with the New World Liberation Front (NWLFF), which is composed of the survivors of the SLA, identified a man known as Andres Gomez as a Cuban adviser to the EZU. The EZU was effectively disrupted when most of its members were³² arrested in February, 1976. Gomez is known to be a DGI agent.

North Korea is another Communist state that has had significant links with Latin American Terrorism. In 1966, North Korea gave \$50,000 to the Venezuelan Forces for National Liberation and since that year, North Korea "has lent practical and moral support to guerrilla groups fighting in or operating from Chile, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina,³³ Guyana, Peru and Guatemala in South and Central America alone."

LATIN AMERICAN TERRORISM: LINKS WITH THE TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL

Since the late 1960s there has existed, mainly in Western Europe and the Middle East, an extensive but loosely organized network of cooperating terrorist groups that has come to be known as the "terrorist international." This network consists of such infamous terrorist organizations as the PLO and its constituent groups (e.g., PFLP and Black September), the Baader-Meinhof Gang or Red Army Fraction in West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, the ETA in Spain, and the IRA in Northern Ireland and England, as well as other groups and individuals. The network has received extensive assistance from such Arab states as Syria, Iraq, Libya, and South Yemen and its operatives have received training, arms, and assistance from the Soviets - directly through Moscow, but also through East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and other Eastern Bloc states. The terrorist international is not limited to Western Europe, however, but also extends to Latin America, the terrorist groups of which³⁴ have received considerable aid from their European collaborators.

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31. FBI Report, pp. 131-32; for Yoshimura as a member of VB-2, see Tarabochia, Cuba, p. 23; Vin McLellan and Paul Avery, The Voices of Guns (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p. 392; Robert Morris, Self Destruct: Dismantling America's Internal Security (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1979), p. 79.
 32. Possony and Bouchey, International Terrorism, p. 81.
 33. To The Point, October 20, 1978, p. 19.
 34. For the Terrorist International, see Heritage Foundation Background No. 47, "The Terrorist International and Western Europe," (Revised, April 18, 1978), and Claire Sterling "The Terrorist Network," Atlantic (November, 1978), pp. 37-47.

One of the principal operatives of the terrorist network in Western Europe has been Illich Ramirez Sanchez, better known as "Carlos," who has been responsible for such terrorist actions as the kidnapping of the OPEC ministers in Vienna in December, 1975, and who is today probably the most wanted terrorist in the world. Carlos is a native Venezuelan whose father was a member of the Venezuelan Communist Party who named his three sons after Lenin ("Vladimir," "Illich," and "Lenin"). Carlos himself received guerrilla training in Havana under General Semenov, discussed above as the KGB control of the DGI, and engaged in a terrorist raid in Venezuela under DGI supervision. He was also trained at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow and later in Palestinian training camps in the Middle East. A recent report claimed that the Shiite regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran had recruited Carlos for the mission³⁵ of the assassination of the deposed Shah, then living in Mexico. Another link between the terrorist international and Latin America terrorism was Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, a left wing Italian publisher who had extensive contacts with the Italian and Palestinian terrorists. Feltrinelli was the publisher of the Italian edition of Tricontinental and may have given money to Salah Khalef of Al Fatah and the Black September Organization. The gun used by Monica Ertl to murder the Bolivian consul in Hamburg on April 1, 1971, was provided by Feltrinelli, as was the gun used in the terrorist murder of a Peruvian citizen in Lima in 1972. On March 15, 1972, Feltrinelli died while trying to sabotage a power line in Milan. Regis Debray, an associate of Castro and Che Guevara, spoke at Feltrinelli's funeral and used the occasion to blame his death on the CIA -- a tactic that has been used more recently by Italian leftists in accounting for Red Brigade terrorism. Debray himself recently arrived in Managua.³⁶

Although Latin American terrorists have not been centrally involved with European terrorists, they have had considerable contact with and support from them. The Red Brigades, responsible for the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro in March-May, 1978, have links with the MIR in Chile. The FSLN, described by a recent writer as³⁷ "a member in good standing of the terrorist international," signed a joint communique with the PLO on February 5, 1978, in Mexico. In 1970, Al Fatah trained Pedro Arauz Palacios of the Sandinistas and in 1974-76 trained more Sandinistas in its Mid-Eastern training camps. In March, 1979, a group of Sandinistas met in Havana with the PDFLP, an affiliate of the PLO, which has offered to fight for the FSLN. The PLO has also allied with the Montoneros and the Tupamaros, and, according

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35. Ovid Demaris, Brothers In Blood: The International Terrorist Network (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1977), pp. 23-25; Intersearch, July 31, 1979, p. 3.
36. Possony and Bouchey, International Terrorism, pp. 141-45; Demaris, Brothers In Blood, p. 197; Tarabochia, Cuba, p. 32; FBIS/LA, 7 August 1979, P7.
37. Arostegui, "Revolutionary Violence," p. 90.

to Israeli intelligence, has provided arms and training for them. Mario Firmenich, the leader of the Montoneros, has links with Iraq and Libya as well as with the Spanish terrorist group, ETA-Militar. Argentine terrorists are receiving training at bases in Libya and South Yemen as well. On February 1, 1979, a meeting was held in Benghazi, Libya, of "progressive revolutionary organizations of Latin America" which included Argentine, Uruguayan, and other Latin American terrorist groups. The key delegation at this conference was that of the Montoneros, who have issued with the PLO a joint declaration that they have formed a tactical alliance to attack Israeli and Argentine targets. The Colombian terrorist group, M-19, which includes Tupamaros from Uruguay, has had strong ties with Arab terrorists for some years as have many Brazilian guerrilla leaders. In July, 1979, a planeload of 30 tons of Chinese Communist military equipment from the PLO was discovered en route to the FSLN in Costa Rica.³⁸

CONCLUSION

The Strategy and Purposes of Latin American Terrorism

Several common features are widely shared by many terrorist groups in Latin America and appear to form a pattern from which the strategy of terrorism can be inferred. These features include (1) a widespread degree of mutual support among the terrorists of each country and wide support from the Cuban government and intelligence apparatus, regardless of ideological content; (2) Marxist ideological orientation, whether Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyist, Maoist, or neo-Marxist (i.e., the ideas of Fanon, Debray, Marighella, etc.); (3) a rhetoric that is specifically anti-American, targeting the U.S. as the source of "imperialism" through capitalist domination and "exploitation"; and, (4) in accordance with this rhetoric, the concentration of terrorist attacks on targets associated with the U.S. and especially with U.S. capitalism (U.S.-owned businesses, businessmen, and foreign employees or managers of U.S. businesses). Given these characteristics, then, it may be said that the principal purpose of Latin American terrorism is the destruction of the U.S. economic and political connection in Latin America. The immediate purpose is not so much the take-over of specific states (although with the fall of the Somoza government, this goal may loom larger in the near future), as it is the attempt to drive out U.S. foreign investments in and U.S. assistance to Latin American governments. Thus, the Soviets and the Cubans are, at this point, less concerned with supporting orthodox Marxists or loyal pro-Soviet agents than they are with destabilizing the political and economic environment of the targeted regimes, depriving the governments of U.S. support and the U.S. of the resources, revenues, and, eventually, the

38. Foreign Report, No. 1583, 23 May 1979, and No. 1584, 30 May 1979; Intelligence Digest, 21 March 1979.

political support of its allies. The disciplining of the revolutionary movement itself can come later, after the common enemy has been overthrown. This post-revolutionary disciplining appears already to have begun in Nicaragua with the expulsion of the growing Trotskyist cells formed by the units of the Simon Bolivar Brigade and the disarming of the Proletarian faction of the FSLN.

The "strategy of denial," whereby the U.S. is denied needed resources available to it through the Third World, is already evident in Arab oil prices, the use of which as political weapons was long advocated by Soviet theoreticians before they were actually so used in 1973 and since. The "strategy of denial" is in accordance with the Leninist doctrine of imperialism as "the highest stage of capitalism" and plays a significant role in the Soviet strategy for influence in the Third World. According to Lenin, advanced capitalist states dominate the less developed countries in the form of economic imperialism. This "neo-colonialism" is supposedly necessary for the capitalist states because their own internal economies become more unstable and because "exploitation" of the Third World allows the capitalist ruling class to provide material benefits for their own exploited workers and thus de-activate their revolutionary potential. Thus the Soviets see the Third World as an essential prop of the advanced capitalist states and the proletariat of the Third World as an ally in the final struggle against the forces of world capitalism. This doctrine (which has been widely criticized and refuted by Western scholars) is summarized in a recent study published by the Congressional Research Service.

For the Soviets, the Third World is an integral part of their ideological design of the world as they now perceive it and as they theoretically expect it to be with the unfolding of history; it is a vital component in the correlation of world forces that in the Soviet view implies a shift in the balance of world power in their favor.... [I]t has become the instrumentality for expanding and globalizing Soviet influence and power, and for reducing or denying that of the United States, the West, and Communist China.

Recent Soviet thought has applied similar analyses to Latin America in particular.

Soviet theoreticians in 1972 predicted that the U.S. would soon face shortages of raw materials available from Latin America and essential to advanced strategic industries. Despite early Soviet optimism over the Allende government, the fall of Allende

39. The Soviet Union and the Third World: A Watershed in Great Power Policy? Report to the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, by the Senior Specialists Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress (Washington, 1977), p. 3.

in 1973 was a serious setback to the Soviet strategy and led to a far-reaching reappraisal of the tactics for revolution in the Third World. While emphasizing that Allende had tried to move "too far, too fast," before he had adequately neutralized opposition in the armed forces, the economy, and the opinion media, the Soviets by the mid 1970s had come to believe that "wars of national liberation" (i.e., guerrilla war and terrorism) would be vital instruments for the destruction of "North American imperialism" in Latin America. According to Brian Crozier, Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London,

By supporting groups or governments that are overtly critical of the USSR, the subversive apparatus of the Soviet Union creates a dependency and need for further support. In time, the Soviet Union may hope to bring such groups or governments under their influence, and eventually under their control.⁴⁰

Mr. Crozier further pointed out that, although the Soviets identify themselves only with groups that can be labeled "national liberation" movements, they have given clandestine support to terrorist groups, especially when it is important for the Communist Party of a particular country to criticize revolutionary violence. Mr. Crozier cited the Allende government in Chile as an example of this tactic as well as the case of the Tupamaros, but another instance might seem to be the Communist Party of contemporary Italy.

One of the most important Soviet theoreticians of the revolutionary process is Boris N. Ponomarev, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and thus in charge of relations with all non-ruling Communist Parties. In an influential article⁴¹ of 1974, Ponomarev analyzed the lessons of Allende's downfall. While emphasizing the need to "broaden the base" of the revolution through infiltration and propaganda, Ponomarev also emphasized the "tremendous importance of being prepared to promptly change forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, of the ability to repel the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie with revolutionary violence."⁴² This emphasis on the necessity for violence is of course inherent in Marxism, but its applicability to the Third World in general and to Latin America in particular has been echoed by many Soviet writers.

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40. Brian Crozier, "Soviet Support for International Terrorism," Unpublished Paper at the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism, 1979, p. 1.
41. See Boris N. Ponomarev, "The World Situation and the Revolutionary Process," World Marxist Review, no. 6 (June, 1974).
42. Quoted in Leon Goure and Morris Rothenberg, Soviet Penetration of Latin America (Washington: Center for Advanced International Studies, 1975), p. 16.

It is in the context of this ideological and political-strategic matrix that Soviet-Cuban support for Latin American terrorism must be understood. In the future, Americans can expect that terrorism and guerrilla warfare will escalate in Latin America, that the U.S. and its businessmen and diplomats will be the targets of Latin American terrorists, and that both the Soviets and Cubans will seek to destabilize and overthrow pro-American governments in Latin America in support of a long-term and well-planned campaign to reduce even further the U.S. political and economic influence in Latin America.

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