

September 30, 1983

## **INSIDE COMMUNIST NICARAGUA: THE MIGUEL BOLANOS TRANSCRIPTS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In July 1979, a coalition spearheaded by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the government of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. Sandinista promises of progressive reforms and free elections met with enthusiastic support from those who viewed Somoza's regime as corrupt and repressive.

Among those early revolutionaries was 20-year-old Miguel Bolanos Hunter. Bolanos joined the Sandinista State Security apparatus and rapidly rose through the ranks to become a counter-intelligence officer in section F-2--the second highest level of the organization. The higher Bolanos rose, however, the more disillusioned he became.

He soon discovered that the Sandinistas' promises were empty. In fact, they had a hidden agenda--to establish a Marxist state in Nicaragua and to export revolution to the other nations of the hemisphere. To meet their goals, the Sandinistas created a regime more repressive than Somoza's, controlling virtually every aspect of life in Nicaragua. With the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union, Nicaragua has become the centerpiece of the communist plan to undermine Latin America and the main channel for arms and guerrillas to communist insurgents in Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador.

On May 7, 1983, Bolanos commandeered a private airplane and escaped to Costa Rica. Because his mother is an American citizen, he was able to enter the United States. He has since provided American authorities with valuable and verifiable first-hand information on the Nicaraguan threat to Latin America.

The unedited excerpts that follow are taken from a series of interviews with Bolanos conducted by Heritage Policy Analyst

Richard Araujo at The Heritage Foundation during June and July 1983.

\* \* \*

## BACKGROUND

There is new strategy of communism in Central America. Its goal is complete control, not through region wide Revolution, but in sinister incremental steps. Marxism is alienating the Democratic forces opposed to it from their potential supporters and is simultaneously masquerading as "progressive" for world public opinion. Soon communism will establish itself firmly, and those opposed to it will still be girding for battle in the war they have already lost. That is the process now underway in all the countries of Central America.

The goal of communism is the gradual destruction of any non-communist obstacle blocking its access to total control: political parties, freedom of the press, the electoral process, the influence of the Church, and the power of private enterprise. In Nicaragua, all these sectors are being neutralized and destroyed by State Security forces before the elections of 1985. At that time, the Sandinistas will hold sham elections and thus prove to the international community their claim of existence of political pluralism.

Before coming to power, the Sandinistas signed accords with the free enterprise sector, the Catholic Church, and the existing political parties, in order to unite the entire country against Somoza. Once that was accomplished, however, all these sectors were betrayed. Private enterprise has been virtually destroyed by State controls and nationalizations. Although freedom of expression was promised, it lasted no longer than three months after the triumph of the Revolution. The Church is now being attacked and maligned, as a result of disturbances provoked by the Sandinista front to discredit and neutralize its political power. Today, the Church recognized by the Sandinistas as legitimate representatives of the Catholic followers is the "Church of the Poor," previously known as the "Peoples Church." The new church is not recognized by Rome, and Archbishop Obando y Bravo of Managua has officially discredited its activities.

When the Sandinistas assumed control of the government in 1979, they had to share power with democratic forces; a situation which they never had any intention of maintaining. They consolidated their position by taking control of all the propaganda media, the army, the internal police, the prisons and a very large part of what by then appeared to be a democratic political system. Thus, as the revolution developed, opposing political forces did not have any opportunity to argue their case against the changes imposed by the Marxist Sandinistas.

During the campaigns, the Sandinistas subtly discredited those opposition elements that the FSLN leadership wished to portray as

aligned with the Somozist National Guard. Through the use of disinformation, front organizations, youth organizations, teacher organizations, and a barrage of Sandinista propaganda, the Marxists successfully prevented the opposition from becoming recognized as a viable alternative to communism, thus assuring that no force within the opposition became a political threat to them.

After the triumph of the Revolution, the Sandinista Front rejected democratic forces such as the MDN (Movimiento Democrático Nicaragüense) and the Conservative Party of Nicaragua, which played important roles in the Revolution, claiming that the FSLN was the lone force that overthrew Somoza and remains the only alternative to Somoza. The Marxists scorned the role of the Church and Archbishop Obando y Bravo, who sometimes acted as mediator between the FSLN and Somoza. The Sandinistas now claim that Archbishop Obando y Bravo performed this role solely for personal interests. This is part of the propaganda used today against him. Archbishop Obando y Bravo always maintained his neutrality; he criticized the Somoza regime as well as the Sandinista idea of a military victory.

#### HOW STATE SECURITY IS ORGANIZED

The line of governmental command to neutralize the opposition is extremely well organized in Nicaragua and is under the supervision of State Security. There are numerous sectors charged with broad responsibilities. Sector F-1 is responsible for interrogation and capture; F-2 for surveillance of foreign embassies; F-3 deals with counter-revolutionaries; F-4 with political parties, churches, and independent labor unions; F-5 with economic control; F-6 with operations, technology, telephone and mail interception, the clandestine searching of diplomats, internal intelligence, and filming of events. Sector F-7 has responsibility for the surrounding area, the suburbs, and mob control.

Sector F-2 has a number of units, covering the CIA and American Embassy (Unit A), Latin American Embassies (Unit B), European and Asian Embassies (Unit C), and hotel accommodations for the press. There are about thirty to forty people in this section alone.

Lenin Cerna is the Chief of Security. This includes all intelligence and counterintelligence. All the F Sections are counterintelligence units and come under the direct command of Cerna. Through the State Security operations, the Sandinistas have been able to virtually control all aspects of Nicaraguan lifestyle, domestically and politically. With their counterintelligence surveillance they have infiltrated all levels of Nicaraguan society.

#### THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CHURCH

The project to neutralize the Church, the most powerful force opposing the Sandinistas, is directed toward denigrating the Church

hierarchy, associating it with the Somoza guard, and identifying it with the U.S. and the Nicaraguan wealthy classes.

The Sandinistas have used different types of operations to accomplish this. One is the use of government-organized mobs, called "divine mobs" by Commander Tomas Borge. Such mobs are placed in parishes, where they pose as devout Catholics. They gradually gain power by supporting priests who back the revolution. The idea is to divide the Church and to make it look as though the Church establishment is the enemy and these "progressive" priests are for the people.

For example, it was an F-4 operation that discredited Father Carballo, who was dragged through the streets naked and appeared on the front page of local newspapers and on television, after supposedly having been caught by a jealous husband. The woman he was accused of having been caught with actually was a Sandinista prostitute considered to be the mistress of the High Command. She lived in the hills, but was sent to Father Carballo's parish on the opposite side of town. This woman approached Father Carballo and said she was a Sandinista who wanted to repent and seek his counsel.

The whole incident was orchestrated to discredit the priest because he is the manager of the Catholic radio station. The whole operation was so skillfully orchestrated that, prior to the priest's being accosted, mobs had been placed outside the house, TV cameras and newspaper photographers were ready, and an officer of the F-7 section was selected to play the role of the jealous husband (the woman was not married). In front of the house, a van with dark colored windows from the F-1 section was parked. It carried two important observers, Lenin Cerna and Tomas Borge, two governing directors of the Sandinista regime. The F-7 agent posing as her "husband" tore the clothes of the priest inside the house and hit him, dragging him to the front door where the mobs were gathered. The woman, meanwhile, took her clothes off in accordance with the plan and was carried out to the police station, giving credibility to the story.

In another related incident, Archbishop Obando y Bravo removed a pro-Sandinista priest from a parish in Santa Rosa. In retaliation, the Sandinista mobs played the role of parishoners and created an uprising taking over the church. The mob took away church sacraments and turned the building into a warehouse. The government filmed the "spontaneous" incident for propaganda purposes.

The mobs that heckled the Pope during his visit to Nicaragua were also organized by State Security. They simultaneously prevented large numbers of Catholics who wanted to participate in the papal mass from getting close to John Paul II.

#### ANTI-BUSINESS HARASSMENT

Harassment of the business community began in 1980 with the assassination of business leader Jorge Salazar, head of the Nicara-

guan Businessmen's Association (COSEP). I am personally aware of this incident as the head of all the F sections, Alejandro Royero, gave me details of all the players and how it was planned to send Jose Moncada, Cerna's assistant, as a double agent to provoke Salazar to join the armed movement against the Sandinistas that Moncada led. Salazar was killed when he and Moncada went to a gas station to pick up arms. Moncada was armed and Salazar was not. The security guards shot at Salazar only. Following the incident Moncada was sent to Cuba. He returned from Cuba in 1983 and holds a high position in State Security.

Business leaders have also been subjected to harassment. The jailing of nine businessmen in February 1982 was part of an operation to scare them into leaving the country and to make them aware that they were not immune from Sandinista repression. The idea is to make it so those who remain will cooperate with the Sandinistas.

#### OPERATION SPIDERWEB

This operation was one of the final strategic projects which involved discrediting political leaders, the Catholic Church, the private sector, and independent labor unions, with the idea of painting American imperialism as the manipulator of these organizations. This propaganda scheme was organized in efforts of obtaining their control of them by 1985, making the FSLN the only legitimate political party in power in Nicaragua.

For the last two years, I had been assigned on various occasions to tape, follow, photograph, and bug political officers and other diplomats of the U.S. Embassy in conversations with different political, church, and independent union leaders in Managua. The idea for propaganda was to show the "links" between these officers and the different local leaders. In particular, I was in charge of following U.S. political officer Linda Pfeifel from June to December of last year. I was able to learn everything about her. We were ordered to do a number of films of her activities and edit the film to show a conspiracy against the revolution. We would provoke American double agents, telling the agents to lead the Americans into forming a group in opposition to the regime. In this manner we could frame diplomats and expose them as CIA agents, completing the internal propaganda campaign in efforts of getting support from the populace and proving their propaganda correct.

Upon my departure on May 7, the operation to discredit the Americans was temporarily halted. The original exposé was to have taken place in April but, due to lack of sufficient evidence it was postponed. Knowing that I would disclose the operation, they speeded up the operation and decided on criminal charges against Linda Pfeifel.

The films that were shown to the international press implicating Miss Pfeifel were in reality a compilation of films that had been collected since January 1982.

All the plans for Operation Spiderweb were under the direct supervision of a Cuban. General Roberto (nom de guerre) was the former head of counterintelligence in Cuba and now is an advisor to the chief of security in Nicaragua. The Cuban advisor in section F-2, who collect the information was called "Pancho."

The incident with the Americans is only one of many planned for other foreign diplomats of Western nations.

#### PRESS MANIPULATION

Since 1979 the Sandinistas have been working with the foreign press through F-2 Section D. It collects information about all the correspondents who come to Nicaragua, categorizing those who are useful, manageable, or hostile. For example, on numerous occasions, whenever a network crew would arrive at their hotel, members of the F-2 D section were secretly sent to their rooms to review video tapes made by groups such as CBS, NBC, or ABC. Some times the tapes were confiscated and replaced with blank tape. Their notes were read and cassette tapes listened to--all this while the crew was on assignment for a long period away from the hotel. The Minister of Tourism has assisted in creating a center for surveillance of the international press, which on a regular basis bugs reporters' rooms. Hotel clerks are in reality security agents, all coordinated by State Security. This process really begins at the airport where passports of reporters are photographed and files are kept on them.

The more serious censorship of journalists is done upon their exiting the country at the airport. All information is reviewed without their knowledge while they await departure. All passports are checked against the files taken on their arrival.

During my last few months as a counterintelligence officer, I discovered a plan to keep even better control of journalists. This entailed the F-2 D section assigning colored ID cards to all journalists. These would be according to how favorable they had been to the Sandinistas. Those who have been favorable will have better access to all areas of importance, including the coverage of the fighting in the North of the country.

Roberto Sanchez is the public relations man for the army and is in charge of taking journalists to the war zone. The security section decides who can go, and these are always judged the most flexible and favorable. There is an understanding that they are going out at their own risk, but F-2 D never really takes them to an area of combat. According to prior agreement, television crews have to give the Sandinistas copies of everything they film. The Sandinistas would prepare an area beforehand, taking them to an area where there is some fighting and where the Sandinistas control the anti-Sandinista groups. It is important to show that the Sandinistas are winning the war.

The Sandinistas have also worked in ways of manipulating local international press representatives in efforts of controlling their activities. One correspondent in Managua for a widely respected American press organization has been working as an agent of the F-2 D section since December 1982. Though he is not being paid, he is receiving direction from State Security. He is sometimes critical of the Sandinistas in his dispatches, but it is only to maintain credibility. For example, he will do interviews with democratic officials and then give the information to the Sandinistas. His employer does not know that he is working for the Sandinistas. However, he is not a full agent because State Security believes that the CIA could have planted him and that he could be a double agent. There are many other journalists working like him.

Journalists are not the only ones used to promote the image of the Sandinistas abroad. A number of religious representatives have been manipulated; one of the most prominent among them is the Catholic Maryknoll Order of Missionaries. The Sandinistas' Foreign Minister, Miguel D'Escoto, is a Maryknoll priest and the former editor of Maryknoll magazine, a Catholic publication which has printed stories favorable to the Sandinistas and very critical of the rest of the governments of Latin America. D'Escoto has used his influence in the Catholic Church in the United States to gain support for the Sandinistas.

The Maryknoll Order represents a very influential Catholic force both in Latin America and in the United States. The Sandinistas have realized they need the promotion of a religious group to have a credible image in the U.S. Maryknoll is only one of several religious organizations in support of the Sandinista regime that promotes the FSLN abroad.

The Sandinistas have skillfully taken advantage of U.S. minority groups such as the American Indians, to project an image of people oppressed by the U.S. At one time, representatives of the American Indian caucus were taken to Managua, where the Sandinistas claimed they were together as oppressed victims of the United States. Following the Indian representatives' return to the U.S., they spoke in solidarity with the Sandinistas. But the campaign failed to affect the whole American Indian community as they did not share a unanimous consent with their visiting representatives.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS DENIALS

The Sandinista security forces systematically employ methods of interrogation against their opponents that deny their basic human rights. When the Sandinistas bring someone in for interrogation, they usually need only to confirm information or to obtain names they do not yet have. They apply the KGB method of psychological torture. Even the jails are constructed for psychological torture; their layouts have been brought from Cuba and are based on KGB models.

The F-1 interrogators are trained by Cubans who themselves trained for five years in the Soviet Union. They have the ability to reduce anyone's resistance within two days. Outside Managua the methods are not so sophisticated.

In the north, anti-Sandinista rebels are often brutally killed en masse. If fifteen are captured, two will be taken to Managua for debriefing, where they are put on TV, and the rest will be killed. Often they are killed by stabbing, but there is also the "vest cut." In this, the prisoner's arms and legs are cut off while he is alive, and he is left to bleed to death. It is an old technique used by Somoza and Sandino.

Stedman Fagoth, the leader of the Miskito Indians, was one of those who was psychologically tortured. He gave F-1 more information than he realized. Due to the interrogation, he negotiated with the Sandinistas. Later, however, we realized it was an intelligent move on his part, because it allowed him to get away. Argentine Victor Frances was interrogated in this manner when he was kidnapped in Costa Rica and brought back to Managua. It was then that he was forced to make statements about U.S. and Argentine involvement in helping the anti-Sandinista rebels.

#### COMMUNIST BLOC INVOLVEMENT

Intervention by Cubans, Soviets, and other elements of the Socialist bloc exists on a grand scale in all areas of Nicaraguan society today. There are Soviet and Cuban political advisors and, as a consequence, there is rapid movement toward a Marxist economy. There is already a plan to establish firm economic ties with the Soviet Union.

Renan Montero (nom de guerre), commander of Nicaraguan intelligence service, was a former colonel in Cuba's intelligence service, who became a nationalized Nicaraguan citizen. He was ordered to work with the Sandinistas fifteen years ago, in efforts to help them seize power and set up communism in Nicaragua. Sandinista leader Tomas Borge was so pleased with his work that he asked Fidel Castro to allow him to remain permanently in Nicaragua.

Today, Nicaragua has 3,000 Cuban soldiers (not counting high-level advisors, and a covert team of 2,000 soldiers working as technical advisors building roads and handling heavy machinery. Their purpose is to help Nicaragua in case of an attack or emergency. There is a total of 400 Cuban advisors to the Army alone, and 40 high-level officials on the staff of the regular army. There are 200 Soviet military advisors in Nicaragua, of whom 50 are high-level officials working with the Army. There are also high-level Cuban and Soviet advisors working with intelligence and counterintelligence. The Cubans' role with the regular Army involves military training of low ranking Nicaraguan soldiers, as well as developing all aspects of Army security and defense.



In the counterintelligence section where I worked (F-2A), there are two Soviet and a Cuban advisor. There can be at least seven to ten Cubans at any given time; the Soviets only come occasionally to review and brief the F-2 unit. In total there are 70 Soviet advisors involved in all aspects of Nicaraguan state security, along with some 400 Cubans. There are 40 to 50 East Germans and about 20 to 25 Bulgarians. The Bulgarians have a center of operation dealing with counterintelligence matters where they process information gathered by our office and then make recommendations on the operations. Bulgarians are expert analysts in matters of counterintelligence. The East Germans also get to see data we collect and will give their analysis of our findings. The F-2 section, which has the surveillance of foreign embassies, has several East German advisors. Their interest is mainly concerned with operations directed against the West German Embassy. East Germany has provided Nicaragua with their latest surveillance and bugging equipment. The Soviets have as well given technical equipment for security and counterintelligence operations.

The State Security forces have hand guns which are the same as those the KGB uses ( 9mm short Makarof), which were gifts from the Soviets. The whole structure of the security system, the methods and means of working, are from handbooks and studies given in Cuba and Bulgaria. The Soviets have already built a school for State Security in Nicaragua.

The PLO and Libyans have also established headquarters in Nicaragua as a convenient Western Hemisphere base from which to work against Israel. Libya is also sending military and financial help, including light planes especially designed for anti-terrorist activities.

#### SOVIET ARMS

Arms from the communist bloc network have flowed freely into Nicaragua. Today the army, the militia, and the police, including the security police, special troops, and commandos, are outfitted with Soviet arms. Armaments that have been sent by the Soviet Union to Nicaragua include bazookas, machine guns, mines, and hand guns. All cannons are Soviet-made, including Katuska recoilless and .45 recoilless guns.

There are 100 Soviet tanks in Nicaragua and, according to the head of the Nicaraguan Air Force, 80 Soviet MiGs are waiting in Cuba until Nicaraguan pilots return from training in Bulgaria. There are also armored transport vehicles of Soviet manufacture and Soviet-made artillery. Nicaragua has also received radar-guided surface-to-air missiles and the heat-seeking SAM-7 missile.

Two subterranean missile bases have been placed in Nicaragua. One is located in the Sandino International Airport; the other in a restricted area near Managua, in a project called "Granja."

The Soviets have rented the port of South San Juan. They are expected to repair and recondition it for receiving their large fishing vessels. But, while they need the port for economic reasons, international communism also needs this port for the purpose of arms delivery directly to Central America. Afterwards, of course, there is the possibility of submarine use.

Furthermore, the Soviets are already building a channel through Nicaragua so they will not have to depend on the Panama Canal. If Panama breaks ties with Nicaragua, the Soviets will have to build much faster. Aside from the port they are building in San Juan del Sur, on the Pacific, they are also going to build two more ports--one on the Lake of Managua, close to the capital city, and another on the Lake of Nicaragua. Then they will dredge the San Juan River to the Atlantic. It is the same route that Americans thought of using instead of the Panama Canal at the beginning of the century.

#### EXPORTING REVOLUTION

Nicaragua has become the base of operations for the spread of international communism in the Western Hemisphere. Cuba is an island and easily watched. However, Nicaragua has a commercial airport, and ships can leave Nicaragua more easily than Cuba.

Nicaragua has become the center for revolutionary reawakening. It is the psychological center of support to reawaken the revolutionary consciousness. The M19, Montoneros, FMLN, EGP of Guatemala and the armed groups of Costa Rica and Argentina all have their center of operations in Nicaragua. These are preparing for a new invasion of Argentina and Colombia.

In El Salvador, the Sandinistas are offering total help, advice, and direction on how to manage both the war and international politics. Salvadoran guerrillas have been and continue to be trained in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas have helped the Salvadorans with their air force, army, and navy, in transporting arms into El Salvador. Some of the arms come from Cuba via Nicaragua.

The Salvadorans have two command centers in Nicaragua: one for communications and the other to meet with the Nicaraguan high command. The Salvadoran high command stays in Managua all the time, unless they go back to rally the troops. They are then flown in for a day and flown back. The political people have homes in Nicaragua.

The insurgents have all the positions in their "government" designated to certain individuals already. Everything has been carefully thought out: who shall have a Ministry, who will command the armed forces. They have everything very well calculated.

## ARMS TRANSFERS

There are many routes used by the Sandinistas to transfer arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas. At one time, one of the routes was from Mexico, through Guatemala into El Salvador; they used trucks and mules for transport. There is an international arsenal of arms in Mexico where these weapons come from.

Other routes have been through Honduras, along the border with El Salvador and Nicaragua, and along the Pacific coast of El Salvador in fast speedboats that made landings on deserted beaches. The bulk of the arms were delivered in the early part of 1980 to 1981. This is when the Sandinistas delivered some 6,000-7,000 machine guns and rifles. At this time the Salvadorans do not need any more arms, only ammunition. They already have five times more than the Sandinistas had when they overthrew Somoza.

Recently, aircraft small enough to land on highways have been used, usually two planes a day. These planes drop 30-40 rifles at a time, along with logistic supplies. Because of radar intervention, the Sandinistas use parachute drops to deliver their supplies, when it is difficult to make a landing. This is one of the reasons guerrillas in El Salvador hold onto areas of highways for several hours.

## GUERRILLA ASSISTANCE TO HONDURAS AND COSTA RICA

There was never a guerrilla group in Honduras until 1980-1981, when they got organization from this international communist group. The Hondurans are smart. They realize that, if the guerrillas win in El Salvador, they will spread into their country. The Honduran guerrillas are the Cinchoneros. There are 400 Cinchoneros in Honduras. They have been trained in Nicaragua since 1979.

There is a special interest by Nicaragua to destabilize the Honduran government--so much that they have created a special commando force to covertly go into Honduran territory and attack. Last year, they had a test run of attacks against anti-Sandinista rebels. They crossed into Honduran territory and wiped out a camp of two hundred rebels. These attacks have been repeated, though with fewer casualties.

There is a major plan by the Sandinistas to test the Honduran military to see how far they will venture into entering Nicaraguan territory in efforts to provoke an attack on Honduras. I became aware of this plan through interviews with other agents I had to use for additional operations relating to counterintelligence.

My first awareness of the interest Nicaragua had against Honduras was early after the triumph of the revolution in October 1979. At that time there were five Soviet generals as advisors to the Sandinistas. In one of their sessions, they displayed the map of Honduras with their military capabilities and next to it

was what was left militarily of Nicaragua. It was decided and advised at that time that Nicaragua had to concentrate on a military buildup to fight against Honduras. Today, Nicaragua is capable of defeating Honduras militarily in a matter of days.

Since 1979, there has been a plan to neutralize democracy in Costa Rica. The Sandinistas have been doing it covertly in Costa Rica. They are training guerrilla groups and infiltrating unions to cause agitation. The strategy is aimed at causing internal struggle in Costa Rica between the labor unions and the government, and to challenge Costa Rica's police security giving them a military image. When the economy gets worse, they will be able to organize popular forces aided by the guerrilla forces already there.

#### NEW COMMUNIST CLASS

The slogan of the Sandinistas is "Only workers and peasants will obtain power and last until the end." Why? Because they are used to feeling inferior and are without high expectations. In transferring to a Marxist process, they cannot see the difference between the privileged classes under Somoza and the new privileged class under the Marxists.

In a few sectors, the poor do live better, but it is a limited standard preventing them from any achievements. The poor cannot become professionals and work for themselves; they will be controlled as they are in Cuba. And, as in Cuba, the people who belong to the Sandinista party will remain the privileged class, having good salaries and living in the best places.

Despite talk about the "new society of Nicaragua," the leaders who were going to construct this new society spend money on themselves. The commanders feed themselves with the best food, while the people are reduced to rationing.

People want to join the party because that is where the good life is. The Sandinistas recently bought 70 new cars for their nine commanders. All the commanders have foreign bank accounts. It is called "money of the people."

When Cerna and Borge returned from a trip to the Soviet Union, they gathered 600 top government and party officials together to show them all the things they bought with the money that belonged to the ministry. Among their purchases were many cases of Bulgarian wine and caviar.

For party members, there are no waiting lines, but a commissary well stocked with items which in the open market are heavily rationed and in great shortage. The Nicaraguan people have realized that the Sandinista directorate has become like the members of the Somoza family they fought so hard against.

## CONCLUSION

The Sandinista leadership was trained in Cuba since the early 1960's. Their training was ideologically, politically and militarily supervised by Fidel Castro. To think that the Nicaraguan revolution is merely a revolution of character is naive, it is to be at the margin of reality. To think that the model of the Nicaraguan revolution is unique, and to think that there exists the possibility that this revolution be different from others is as well naive. A revolution is never spontaneous, and in recent history, all revolutions have been motivated and created by one of two forces, capitalism or communism.

International support was given to the revolution, not as a communist revolution, but as a spontaneous revolution. The Sandinistas fabricated propaganda for domestic and international consumption portraying the Nicaraguan revolution and the FSLN as one and the same. Thus, little by little, world public opinion was led to believe that the radicalization of the revolution was actually a normal response to domestic conspiracy against the revolution.

The window which international communism has opened in Nicaragua must be closed. This involves not only aiding the rebels but also playing "hard ball" with the international forces supporting the Sandinistas. They include the Socialist International, Mexico, Venezuela and some sectors of France. The United States must persuade these international forces to cut the support they give the Sandinistas. This will pressure the Sandinistas into defining themselves and their revolution.

The U.S. has a moral responsibility to educate the Western world about the reality of the Sandinistas. Through a well organized propaganda campaign, the Sandinistas are viewed as democrats who will permit elections in 1985. The U.S. must warn the world about the Sandinistas as it warned about the Nazis in World War II. The Nazi strategy is the same as the communist today, the ambition to conquer the world. The Sandinistas are today's Nazis. Though their propaganda and rhetoric proclaim them to be anti-Nazi, they are the moulders of minds and enslavers of human souls. Who could be more fascist than they?

U.S. policy should give far more attention to Latin America. The U.S. must open up Latin export economies and increase its economic assistance to the region. The U.S. will reap the benefits of these actions--but not if communism triumphs in the American Hemisphere.

The most direct assistance to the Salvadoran guerrillas is coming from the Sandinista Front, not the Cubans, in the same way in which the Cubans gave assistance to the Nicaraguan Revolution. The practical experience needed to conquer El Salvador is based in Managua. The Salvadoran government must be helped, militarily and economically. Pressure must continue against Marxist rebels.

The U.S. should not force the Salvadoran government to give the rebels the legitimacy they should earn only through the democratic process.

The U.S. should provide Honduras and Guatemala with military training and assistance. In the case of Honduras, it is a necessity to prepare the Honduran military to defend themselves from an attack by Nicaragua. Honduras has been a prime target of Nicaraguan military strategy. Costa Rica is as well threatened by Nicaragua but not militarily as much as politically. The democratic forces of the U.S. must realize that the Costa Rican democracy is now threatened by Nicaraguan triumph.

The Sandinistas have been fighting for twenty years to implant communism. It is totally illogical to think that they would have friendly relations with the U.S. when they believe that it is their historic mission to export communism to the rest of Latin America. Those Americans who naively think that negotiations will solve the problems don't know the Sandinistas. Negotiations only serve to buy time for the Sandinistas. This is something they tell you quite openly within the Sandinista organization; negotiation is only used to buy time to consolidate power.

Communism has come to this hemisphere because the area is of vital economic and strategic importance to the United States. The only option for the U.S. is to support those who are trying to defeat the Sandinista regime. If the United States refuses to aid the anti-Sandinista forces, who are growing stronger in internal support, it will be morally responsible for selling the Nicaraguan people into slavery. And in a few years, the U.S. will have to respond to communist gains throughout the rest of the American Hemisphere.