

Y 4.J 89/2: J-97-97

THE ROLE OF CUBA IN INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITY AND TERRORISM

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

THE ROLE OF CUBA IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND
SUBVERSION

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FEBRUARY 26, MARCH 4, 11, AND 12, 1982
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Serial No. J-97-97
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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



I would like to insert the full text of Director Casey's interview into the record, as it bears directly on this inquiry.¹

Another example for insertion in the record is a press article disclosing that a Soviet strategic submarine base has been built at Cienfuegos, complete with a nuclear warhead handling facility. It appeared in The New York Post on March 11, 1982, and is entitled "Nuke Bases in Cuba."²

In part, it states there have been many visits of Soviet *Golf* and *Echo* class submarines to Cienfuegos carrying strategic nuclear weapon warhead-equipped missiles. This compares to the violation that occurred with respect to Japan when we got a ship in there that had some kind of reported nuclear support equipment aboard.

There have been accounts of TU-95 Bear bombers regularly flying to Cuba, reports of 66,000 tons of Soviet military equipment shipped to Cuba in 1981 alone, three times more than in 1962 when we took this to the summit. The nuclear-missile-equipped Soviet naval task force tours of the Caribbean in 1981 threatened vital oil-fields. There are reportedly 40 nuclear-capable Mig-23's and Mig-27's now in Cuba, at least one Soviet combat brigade in Cuba.

[See exhibit A in appendix to this hearing.]

If, in fact, these press reports are accurate—and we have other reasons to believe that they are—in your opinion, have the Soviets engaged in a clearcut violation of the Kennedy-Kruschev agreement of 1962?

Secretary IKLE. There are two observations to be made. One, in direct answer to your question, that agreement has been constantly eroded so that there is very little left of it, indeed if there is anything left. Second, it is really not an actual agreement; it is a juxtaposition of unilateral positions, and one of the conditions, the verification condition of President Kennedy, was never fulfilled.

So, in that sense, their part of the bargain at the very outset was not completed. But even apart from that, what remained of their promises, as I said, has been constantly eroded.

Senator DENTON. During the period 1970 to 1971, is it true that Henry Kissinger conducted negotiations with Dobrynin and Berentsov on the so-called Kennedy-Krushchev agreements concerning the basing of strategic offensive arms in Cuba? Were similar negotiations conducted during the Carter administration, and, if so, what concessions were made to the Soviet Union?

Secretary IKLE. I could not be here in the open session to testify about these negotiations. In any event, Mr. Chairman, I believe the State Department would be a more appropriate department to provide a witness on these negotiations.

Senator DENTON. We shall ask that question of Secretary Enders who is to appear tomorrow.

Do the 70 or so Russian military advisors in Nicaragua carry rifles? How about the more than 2,000 Cuban advisors, the East Germans, the members of the PLO?

Secretary IKLE. Well, many of these Communist advisors and supporters are heavily armed; others, of course, are disguised and

¹ The article appears as exhibit B in the appendix to this hearing.

² The newspaper article appears as exhibit A in the appendix to this hearing.

Mexican territory, and if so, would you describe the extent of such training and the nature of such evidence?

Secretary IKLE. I'm having difficulty with your question, Mr. Chairman. I don't know whether these things can be confirmed or denied or whatever the case may be in on-the-record testimony.

I did recognize that Admiral Inman gave extensive testimony or a presentation the day before yesterday, and I understand more presentations will be given to the public about these matters. So perhaps your question will be answered there. If not, I suggest you may want to get a classified briefing on that issue.

Senator DENTON. If the so-called Kennedy-Khrushchev agreements have eroded away to practically nothing, is there any commitment on the part of the United States to the Soviet Union against the Soviet Union's invasion of Cuba? Is there any commitment remaining whatever now with respect to the Monroe Doctrine or the 1962 agreements or the Rio Treaty? Is there any commitment on the part of the United States to the Soviet Union not to invade Cuba?

Secretary IKLE. The 1962 agreements, as I said before, are really not formally valid agreements. A part of the bargain was never delivered at that time. The rest of the bargain, as I said, eroded over the last 20 years. Therefore, one cannot talk about a formal commitment relating to an alleged agreement on the part of the United States. I think it is important to keep that straight.

On the other hand, as you indicated in your question, it is worth looking back at the Monroe Doctrine and what it said about European imperialist interference in our hemisphere and how that has eroded. Of course, we have replaced, in coordination and consultation with our friends in the hemisphere, the Monroe Doctrine by the Rio Treaty. That, in itself, in its principal provision, is now being put to test.

Senator DENTON. Information has come to my attention, and perhaps yours, sir, that Soviet transport planes have been stopping in Gander, Newfoundland, to refuel, then proceeding directly over the east coast of the United States to Managua, Nicaragua, with military equipment and supplies. Apparently, the Soviets have the option of running these supplies through Cuba or dealing directly with the Nicaraguans themselves.

Would you comment upon these reports?

Secretary IKLE. This is an important question, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to get you an answer for the record on it, if I can.

Senator DENTON. Yes, sir. We will accept it as part of the record.

Several references have been made by DOD in recent statements and reports concerning the role of East German policy experts and police in assisting Cuba and its efforts in various parts of the world.

What role do you see East Germany playing in the Soviet-Cuba effort in the Caribbean?

[Subsequent to the hearing, a classified answer was furnished to the subcommittee.]

Secretary IKLE. As far as we can tell, the East Germans are particularly adept at setting up totalitarian police systems. Maybe that's something that goes back to the Gestapo days, I don't know. They have been doing that in a number of places, in South Yemen,