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SUBJ: SANDINISTA SUPPORT FOR SALVADORAN INSURGENTS; REPORTED
OFFER BY GENERAL NORIEGA OF PANAMA TO AID THE FMLN

[REDACTED]

SUMMARY: FROM 1980 THROUGH 1987, A SECRET BUREAU UNDER SANDINISTA COMANDANTE [REDACTED] HAS IMPLEMENTED SANDINISTA SUPPORT FOR SALVADORAN INSURGENTS. THE SANDINISTA DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ALSO MAINTAINS CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INSURGENTS. INTERIOR MINISTER [REDACTED] TOLD DEFENSE MINISTER [REDACTED] IN SEPTEMBER THAT BY DECEMBER 1987 10,000 RIFLES WILL BE AVAILABLE IN NICARAGUA FOR DELIVERY TO THE FMLN. NICARAGUAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE CHIEF [REDACTED] SAID THAT [REDACTED] OF PANAMA HAS PROMISED AN FMLN OFFICIAL THAT HE WOULD SEND WEAPONS FOR THE FMLN TO NICARAGUA. BETWEEN 1980 AND 1985 THE BUREAU USED SMALL BOATS TO DELIVER WEAPONS TO THE FMLN.

TEXT: 1. IN LATE 1980 THE SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FSLN) FORMED A SECRET ORGANIZATION CALLED THE "BUREAU" (BURO) TO CARRY OUT FSLN SUPPORT FOR SALVADORAN INSURGENTS. FROM ITS FOUNDING THROUGH 1987 THE BUREAU HAS BEEN SUBORDINATE ONLY TO THE SANDINISTA PARTY, [REDACTED]. THE CHIEF OF THE BUREAU IN THE EARLY 1980'S WAS [REDACTED], NOW DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S FIFTH DIRECTORATE, NICARAGUA'S MAIN FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION. THE BUREAU'S MEMBERS IN ITS EARLY YEARS WERE NICARAGUANS EXCEPT FOR A SINGLE CHILEAN (NFI).

2. THE FSLN DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (DRI) HAS ALSO RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING RELATIONS WITH SALVADORAN REBEL DRI OFFICIALS RECEIVE SUPPORT REQUESTS FROM THE REBELS' REPRESENTATIVES IN NICARAGUA AND PASS THE REQUESTS TO THE FSLN DIRECTORATE FOR CONSIDERATION. [REDACTED], A DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE DRI, HAS COORDINATED MUCH OF MANAGUA'S SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS IN RECENT YEARS, AS HAS [REDACTED], ONE OF [REDACTED] SUBORDINATES IN THE DRI. [REDACTED] HAS WORKED WITH THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMLN) SINCE 1980 AND HAS ATTENDED MEETINGS BETWEEN DEFENSE MINISTER [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED], SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR. THE BUREAU AND A FEW DRI OFFICIALS PROVIDE HOUSING, MEDICAL CARE, AND TRANSPORTATION FOR FMLN MEMBERS IN NICARAGUA.

4. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED], INTERIOR MINISTER [REDACTED] TOLD [REDACTED] IN SEPTEMBER 1987 THAT THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (MINT) WILL STORE ABOUT 10,000 RIFLES FOR LATER SHIPMENT TO THE FMLN. THESE RIFLES ARE NOW USED BY MINT TROOPS AND WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE AS THE MINT REPLACES THEM WITH RECENTLY IMPORTED AK-TYPE RIFLES. THE 10,000 RIFLES FOR THE FMLN WILL BE IN STORAGE BY DECEMBER 1987 AND WILL INCLUDE M-16'S, GARAND'S, FAL'S, GALIL'S AND SUBMACHINEGUNS. [REDACTED] COMMENT: THE SOURCE DID NOT KNOW WHEN OR HOW THE WEAPONS WOULD BE SHIPPED.

5. [REDACTED], MILITARY INTELLIGENCE CHIEF [REDACTED] STATED THAT PANAMANIAN [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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5. [REDACTED] MILITARY INTELLIGENCE CHIEF [REDACTED] STATED THAT PANAMANIAN DEFENSE FORCES COMMANDER [REDACTED] HAD PROMISED AN FMLN OFFICIAL THAT [REDACTED] WOULD DELIVER WEAPONS TO THE FMLN IN NICARAGUA. [REDACTED] REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE WOULD ALSO ASSIST IN THE DELIVERY OF THESE WEAPONS FROM NICARAGUA TO EL SALVADOR AT AN UNSPECIFIED LATER DATE. [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE LEARNED THIS WHEN HE MET WITH [REDACTED] IN PANAMA IN SEPTEMBER 1987.

[REDACTED]

6. ARMS FROM CUBA WERE ROUTINELY TRANSHIPPED THROUGH NICARAGUA TO EL SALVADOR BETWEEN 1981 AND 1985. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

* [REDACTED] *
* [REDACTED] *
* [REDACTED] *
* [REDACTED] *
* [REDACTED] *

INFORMATION RECEIVED BY [REDACTED] DURING THIS PERIOD, THE WEAPONS USUALLY ARRIVED IN NICARAGUA ON CUBANA AIRLINES FLIGHTS THAT LANDED AT SANDINO AIRPORT. CUBAN ADVISERS AT THE NICARAGUAN MINT WOULD TELL THE BUREAU ABOUT EACH INCOMING SHIPMENT. THE BUREAU USED ITS OWN TRUCKS AND WAREHOUSES TO MOVE AND STORE THE WEAPONS. ONE OF THE WAREHOUSES WAS NEAR A SITE CALLED "CASA PELA" IN MANAGUA. SMALL BOATS (CAYUCOS) DELIVERED WEAPONS TO EL SALVADOR. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE CAYUCOS DEPARTED FROM "ESTERO PADRE RAMOS" OR "PUNTA COSIGUINA" AT 1800 AND RETURNED THE NEXT MORNING AROUND 0500.

7. AFTER THE SANDINISTA NAVY INTERFERED WITH SOME OF THE EARLY SHIPMENTS AROUND 1980 OR 1981, THE NAVY STARTED ORDERING ITS PATROL BOATS BACK TO CORINTO PORT EVERY TIME THE BUREAU'S CAYUCOS MADE DELIVERIES. [REDACTED], CHIEF OF THE DEFENSE MINISTRY'S SECRETARIAT, TELEPHONED NAVAL CHIEF OF STAFF [REDACTED] BEFORE EACH SHIPMENT SO THAT [REDACTED] COULD HAVE THE CORINTO NAVAL BASE ORDER THE RETURN OF ITS SHIPS. [REDACTED] WOULD DO THIS AFTER RECEIVING A CALL FROM [REDACTED] OF THE BUREAU. [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] REFERRED TO THESE RECALL OPERATIONS AS "PLAN MARIPOSA" IN THEIR PHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH EACH OTHER.

[REDACTED]

8. IN 1984, [REDACTED] FORMER AIR FORCE CHIEF OF STAFF, AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF [REDACTED] MET TO CONSIDER AERIAL RESUPPLY FOR THE FMLN. THEY DECIDED AGAINST AIR OPERATIONS, HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE RISK OF DETECTION, POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT IF THE ORIGIN OF THE FLIGHTS BECAME KNOWN INTERNATIONALLY, AND THE SANDINISTAS' LACK OF EXPERIENCE IN PLANNING AND FLYING SUCH MISSIONS. AROUND MID-1985 A MEMBER OF THE BUREAU SAID THE BOAT DELIVERIES WERE BEING MADE DIFFICULT BY NAVAL PATROLS IN THE GULF OF FONSECA AND BY A RADAR SITE ON ISLA MEANGUERA, A SALVADORAN ISLAND IN THE GULF. AROUND THIS TIME [REDACTED] STOPPED RECEIVING REQUESTS FROM THE BUREAU TO COORDINATE BOAT SHIPMENTS WITH THE SANDINISTA NAVY.

9. [REDACTED] COMMENT: [REDACTED] SAID THAT FORMER BUREAU CHIEF [REDACTED] ONCE TOLD HIM THAT VEHICLES WITH FALSE BOTTOMS WERE ALSO BEING USED TO SEND WEAPONS FROM NICARAGUA TO FMLN INSURGENTS OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. [REDACTED] DID NOT SPECIFY, HOWEVER, THE YEAR IN WHICH [REDACTED] REPORTEDLY MENTIONED OVERLAND SHIPMENTS. HE THINKS OVERLAND SHIPMENTS HAVE PROBABLY CONTINUED IN 1987, BUT SAID HE LACKED ACCESS TO FACTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT THEM.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]