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CUBAN PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES IN THE THIRD WORLD

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PREFACE

This study offers an assessment of the Cuban presence and activities in the Third World in the late 1980s and early 1990. It is organized alphabetically by region--Africa (Sub-Saharan), Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East--and, within each region, alphabetically by country. The information presented is based primarily on the data base generated by the FRD analysts, using a variety of Cuban periodicals. In addition, the analysts consulted some general and regional reference works in order to provide an analytical framework for the specific information obtained from the data base.

In general, a country is listed only when some recent activity or contact has been noted. Nevertheless, where information was available about a country with no significant current ties to Cuba but with a past relationship of interest--e.g., Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Grenada--that country has been included for background purposes.

Various charts summarizing data from the data base and tables with statistics from Cuba's <u>Anuario Estadístico</u> are included in an Appendix to the study. Information in the charts is derived primarily from the FRD data base and is thus not comprehensive.

Finally, the study includes a list of sources consulted. The FRD analysts concentrated on available Cuban periodicals, of which <u>Granma</u> and <u>Granma Weekly Review</u> were the most fruitful.

With regard to timeframe, the study focuses on the 1988-89 period because those are the years for which comprehensive research was conducted. Where available, however, data from earlier years were included as well.

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AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN)

Cuba's involvement in the Third World is nowhere greater than in Africa. Some estimates state that as many as 90 percent of all Cubans who have been abroad since the Cuban revolution have served in Africa. In addition to the motives that fuel Cuban involvement in the rest of the world, Cuba's interest in Africa is based somewhat on racial grounds. Cuba's population is approximately two-thirds black or mulatto and Castro has touted Cuba's mixed racial heritage and promoted Cuba's ties to black Africa.

Cuban involvement with the countries of sub-Saharan Africa throughout the 1980s has been in the military, economic, and cultural fields. Cuba maintained exchanges with most of the countries of the region, but the greatest number were with Angola, Ethiopia, and the front-line nations of southern Africa. Cuba provided medical and educational personnel, veterinarians, technicians, and agronomists. Thousands of African students studied in Cuba, mostly in schools set up for foreign students on the Isle of Youth off the southern coast of Cuba, and the number of African students in Cuba steadily increased during the decade. The number of African students was reported as 12,000 in 1985. Delegates from Africa continued to figure prominently in the numerous cultural and artistic functions held in Havana during the last years of the decade.

Reports indicate that Cuban military advisers or troops operated in 10 African nations. In most of those countries, the numbers ranged from several thousand to seven, but there was little information concerning changes in number over the decade. Angola, however, showed a significant increase in Cuban military personnel aiding the government in the civil war. Cuban troops and advisers increased to approximately 50,000 before a troop withdrawal accord was signed in 1988. In Ethiopia the 24,000 troops sent to assist that country in its war with Somalia and to put down insurrections in Eritrea and Tigre Provinces were completely withdrawn in 1989.

<u>Angola</u>

Since relations between Cuba and Angola were established in 1975, over 300,000 Cubans have been to Angola to assist in projects in the fields of science, technology, education, and culture. Angola has, in fact, been the destination of the largest number of Cuban "internationalists." In 1988, for example, 2,000 of the 4,500 Cuban civilians working on projects outside of Cuba were assigned to Angola. In addition to civilian projects, Cuban military forces steadily increased throughout the decade of the 1980s to a figure of near 50,000 in 1989.

Cuban-Angolan military relations were extremely close in the late 1980s; Cuban military personnel were largely responsible for keeping the Angolan Government viable in its

15-year struggle against the rebel UNITA forces and their South African backers. Cuban military personnel had increased to about 50,000 by the end of the 1980s; however, an agreement was signed in late 1988 providing for complete withdrawal of Cuban troops over a 2-year period.

Contacts between high-level members of each government were frequent. Castro paid an official visit to Luanda in 1986, and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos travelled to Havana in 1985. Jorge Risquet, a high-ranking member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba made frequent visits to Angola throughout the decade, often meeting with President dos Santos. Members of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the ruling party in Angola, also made numerous trips to Havana.

Cultural, political, and economic exchanges were even more numerous. Four hundred Cubans in the public health field were said to be in Angola in 1987. In 1988 over 1,000 Cuban construction workers were working on various projects, including construction of a hospital, two secondary schools, and expansion of the port of Luanda. A Cuban forestry team had spent 4 years in Cabinda helping the Angolans establish a logging industry. A group of Cuban technicians provided assistance in improving Angolan ports and in the fields of ocean technology and automotive planning in 1985. Over 400 Cuban medical professionals were reported assisting in Angolan public health projects in 1985.

Exchanges of teachers and students between the two nations have been particularly significant. In 1987 about 2,000 Cuban teachers were reported working in 13 of the 18 Angolan provinces; since 1976 approximately 9,000 Cuban educators have taught in Angola. Over 700 children from several southern Africa countries (including Angola) were attending elementary school in Cuba. Another source reported that over 4,000 Angolan students were being educated on the Isle of Youth.

Agreements were signed between the two countries in the areas of trade, bilateral relations, and exchange of technicians and technical information. A protocol was signed in 1988 to expand cooperation in public health, education, sports, agriculture, transportation, and tourism. Another, signed earlier in the same year, covered trade matters. Agreements for cooperation in communications and transportation were initialed in 1985.

<u>Benin</u>

Relations between Benin and Cuba appeared close. In 1989 on the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations, the two countries signed a protocol for increased exchanges between youth and women's groups. A joint intergovernmental committee was established in 1988 to increase cooperation in health, education, sports, and the sugar industry. The Beninois Minister of Foreign Relations visited Havana in 1988. Cuba reportedly had 50 advisers in Benin, including personnel in the health, education, and agricultural fields. A cultural agreement was signed that also provided scholarships for Beninois students to attend school in Cuba. The number of Beninois students in Cuba

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increased from 9 in 1987 to 89 in 1989. In addition, 70 workers were sent to Cuba for specialized training.

<u>Botswana</u>

A new Cuban ambassador was named to Botswana in 1986. In June 1989, the Botswanan Minister of Health visited Havana to attend a session of the Mixed Commission of Collaboration between the two countries. A Cuban Politburo member expressed the desire of Cuba to provide technical assistance to Botswana in the areas of public health and economics.

Burkina Faso

Cuban-Burkina relations were cordial. High-ranking Burkina officials made official trips to Cuba in March 1989 and in September 1988 to discuss bilateral relations. Burkina leader Thomas Sankara visited Cuba in 1986, and new ambassadors from both Burkina Faso and Cuba were appointed in 1988. Cuban personnel in Burkina Faso included agricultural and health workers. Burkina students were also studying in Cuba in 1986. The two countries had several bilateral agreements on trade.

<u>Burundi</u>

Although various agreements were signed between Burundi and Cuba in 1983 and 1984 providing for trade between the two countries and 16 Cuban technicians were reported assisting in rural areas in Burundi, it appeared that most projects were unsuccessful and had been allowed to lapse. Cuba reduced its diplomatic staff in Burundi to one in 1984 and except for the naming of a new ambassador to Cuba in 1988, subsequent diplomatic relations were minimal.

Cape Verde

The only recorded contact between Cuba and Cape Verde was a trade agreement signed in 1989.

<u>Congo</u>

Congolese-Cuban relations were among the closest of the countries of Central Africa. Various high-ranking Congolese leaders visited Cuba in 1989, and the Congolese Prime Minister made an official state visit to Cuba in April 1988. The head of the National Bank of Cuba met with a member of the Congolese Labor Party in 1988, and the two agreed to renew a bank accord in effect between the two nations. Cuba and the Congo concluded an agreement in 1986 to extend a 2-year cooperation accord signed in 1984. The two countries signed several trade agreements, and it was reported that 600 Congolese students attended Cuban secondary schools and over 1,000 were enrolled in Cuban universities. Cuba also

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was said to maintain 3,000 military personnel in the Congo in 1987, stationed in the Pointe Noire region of Cabinda, near Angola. These troops were reportedly used as a rear base for support of the MPLA in Angola.

Equatorial Guinea

After the 1979 coup in Equatorial Guinea, the Cuban presence reportedly dropped from 200 to about 2 dozen, including 15 persons stationed at the Cuban Embassy, 3 forestry experts, and 2 medical teams in Rio Muni. In 1987, however, one source stated that 240 Cuban troops were assigned to Equatorial Guinea.

<u>Ethiopia</u>

After Angola, Ethiopia was the country in Africa with the most Cuban personnel during the 1980s. The 24,000 troops sent to Ethiopia in 1977 to assist the government in its war against Somalia were completely withdrawn in 1989. Although the Cuban military presence ceased to exist by the end of the decade, Cuban support of the Ethiopian regime appeared high. Several agreements were signed to increase trade between the two countries, including a protocol signed in 1988 under which Cuba would import beans and hides and would export wire, spare parts, and medical products. Despite these agreements, however, one source reported that trade between the two countries was "insignificant." Numerous exchanges and visits occurred between members of the ruling parties of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the Cuban Communist Party.

Almost 200 Cuban medical personnel (90 doctors, 54 nurses, and 51 technicians) were said to be in 12 of the country's 14 provinces in 1987. One team of 27 medical personnel, including physicians, surgeons, and radiologists, was stationed at the Jimma Institute of Medical Sciences in Kaffa Province. A team of Cuban construction workers helped build a new cement factory 100 kilometers from Addis Ababa. Agricultural assistance began in 1979, primarily in the field of cattle-raising. Over 1,000 Ethiopian students were in school on the Isle of Youth in 1985.

<u>Ghana</u>

The Ghanian Prime Minister visited Cuba in 1984 and again in 1988 for political talks. The Cuban Foreign Minister travelled to Accra in 1984. Different sources reported that 600 Ghanian students were in Cuba in 1989, down from the 700 Ghanian students studying on the Isle of Youth in 1988. In 1987 that number had been variously reported as 1,000 or 800. Relations between Ghana and Cuba appeared to be warm, and Ghanian leader Jerry Rawlings indicated that although no Cuban troops were in Ghana, they would be welcomed if the Cubans needed another African base after pulling out of Angola.

<u>Guinea</u>

There were few recorded contacts between Cuba and Guinea, although the Guinean Foreign Minister visited Havana in 1989.

Guinea-Bissau

Relations between the two countries were cordial. A member of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) met in Havana with members of the Cuban Politburo in 1988. The President of Guinea-Bissau paid an official visit to Cuba in 1986 and while in Havana stated that the two countries have had strong relations and have cooperated in many areas, including health, education, the economy, and trade. A Cuban delegation visited Guinea-Bissau in 1988. Cuba also reportedly maintained 125 civilian personnel in Guinea-Bissau in 1987. Over 400 young people from Guinea-Bissau were studying on the Isle of Youth in 1986.

Ivory Coast

Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in 1986, and new ambassadors from both were named in 1988. Relations between the Ivory Coast and Cuba appeared to be minimal, however.

<u>Lesotho</u>

The Cuban Foreign Minister arrived in Lesotho in January 1986 but left when a coup occurred. Relations between Lesotho and Cuba after the coup were described as cool.

Madagascar

A member of the Cuban Politburo paid a visit to Madagascar in 1985 to participate in the festivities marking the twenty-first anniversary of the Malagasy revolution, and a Malagasy delegation visited Havana in 1988. The Malagasy Foreign Minister was in Havana in 1985 as part of a delegation for cooperation in economic, scientific, and technical fields. Although Madagascar pursued a leftist international policy, contacts between the countries, except for a protocol signed in 1985 concerning scientific and technical cooperation, appeared to be minimal.

<u>Mali</u>

A Cuban Communist Party official traveled to Mali in 1988, and the President of Mali made an official visit to Havana in 1989, signing a protocol to increase film, radio, and television exchanges between the two countries.

Mauritania

The only recorded contact between Cuba and Mauritania was a barter agreement for

trade signed in 1982.

<u>Mauritius</u>

The Cuban Vice President visited Mauritius in 1983, and the two countries signed an agreement to exchange know-how on sugar production. There were no other recorded contacts between Cuba and Mauritius.

Mozambique

Relations between the ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and Cuba were close; Cuba was one of the principal backers of the government in its civil war against South African-supported insurgents. Cuban personnel in Mozambique increased to 2,500 in 1987, 800 of whom were reportedly soldiers. Over 2,700 Mozambican students were studying on the Isle of Youth in 1988. (Another source put the number at 3,000). The President of Mozambique made a state visit to Havana in 1988.

<u>Nigeria</u>

Relations between the two countries were cordial although few contacts were recorded. The former President of Nigeria paid an official visit to Havana in 1988, and the two countries signed an agreement on fishing, the sugar industry, and cattle raising in 1984.

Rwanda

Cuba closed its embassy in Rwanda in 1989, but announced that this did not mean an end to friendly relations; relations between the two were subsequently handled by the Cuban Ambassador to Tanzania.

Sao Tome e Principe

Relations between the two nations were described as warm. A joint commission of the two nations met in January 1990 to increase cooperation on agricultural matters. Thirtyseven Cuban workers were reported in Sao Tome working in the fields of public health, education, and fishing. A new Cuban Ambassador to Sao Tome was named in 1988, and it was reported that Cuba maintained 500 military security personnel there in 1987, up from the 200 military and civilian personnel assigned to Sao Tome in 1985. Military personnel assigned to Sao Tome were reportedly training that nation's army.

Senegal

There appeared to be minimal contact between Senegal and Cuba. A member of the ruling party of Senegal paid a visit to Havana in 1988.

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Seychelles

A delegation from Cuba attended the conference of the ruling party of the Seychelles in 1988. An agreement was signed to increase media and cultural exchanges between the two nations.

Sierra Leone

Contacts between Sierra Leone and Cuba appeared to be for civilian projects. In 1988 a delegation from Sierra Leone arrived in Havana for talks, and an agreement was signed to increase educational and cultural exchanges. Cuba reportedly maintained 50 civilian advisers in Sierra Leone in 1987.

<u>Somalia</u>

Relations between the two were broken after Cuba supported Ethiopia in the 1977 war with Somalia over the Ogaden region. There were no recorded contacts between Cuba and Somalia until 1989, when diplomatic relations were restored.

<u>Tanzania</u>

Tanzania generally pursues a leftist policy, and relations between Tanzania and Cuba were warm. Several high-level visits between the two countries were reported in 1986, in 1988, and again in 1989. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere made his third official visit to Havana in October 1985. In 1985, 116 Tanzanian students were on the Isle of Youth, and Cuba maintained 100 military advisers in Tanzania in 1987. A new Cuban Ambassador was named in 1988. It was reported that since 1974, Cuba has sent about 500 technicians to Tanzania to assist in public health, construction, education, and livestock-rearing projects.

The two countries signed numerous accords for trade and cooperation in a variety of fields. In 1989 an agreement was concluded whereby Cuba would provide Tanzania with food supplies, dynamite, and building materials. Two protocols signed in 1982 provided for cultural exchanges and cooperation between the two countries' news agencies and for an extension of links previously set up under the Joint Committee on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. A barter trade arrangement was agreed upon in 1983.

Togo

A new ambassador from Togo was named in 1988, but contact between Togo and Cuba appeared minimal.

<u>Uganda</u>

Although diplomatic relation were established in 1974, relations between the two were

minimal throughout the first half of the 1980s. The first Cuban assistance was technical advice to the Ugandan sugar industry in 1980. In 1984 it was reported that 100 Ugandans were studying in Cuba.

Cuban-Ugandan relations were described as improved after the 1986 coup in Uganda. A cultural agreement was signed in 1987 to promote exchange visits and links in the arts, and a barter agreement in 1986 provided for trade in agricultural products. Cuba reportedly had 250 troops in Uganda in 1987. The President of Uganda paid a visit to Cuba in 1988, and spoke of the barter trade agreement between the two countries which provided for Cuba to build 500 housing units a year in Uganda. A cultural protocol was signed in 1988 to increase the exchange of cultural, radio, and television programs, and also educational material.

<u>Zaire</u>

Contacts between Cuba and Zaire were minimal; a special adviser for defense in the Zairian Government visited Havana in 1988.

<u>Zambia</u>

Relations between Zambia and Cuba were friendly, and various visits occurred between high-level officials of each country. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was in Havana in 1985 and again in 1989. An increase in Cuban aid in the fields of health, agriculture, and sports was included in the protocol signed in 1988. An unnamed number of Zambian students were in schools on the Isle of Youth, and 200 Cuban troops were reportedly stationed in Zambia in 1987. Cuba also had 143 medical personnel working in Zambia in 1987, an increase over the 25 Cuban medics in Zambia in 1984.

Zimbabwe

Contacts between the two countries had increased, and relations were described as strong. Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe arrived in Havana in 1985, and in 1986 President Castro attended the Nonaligned Movement Summit in Harare. Various high-level government ministers made visits between the two countries in the 1986-89 period. Over 700 Zimbabwean students were on the Isle of Youth in 1988 and 30 Cuban science teachers were sent to Harare. Protocols were signed in 1987 and 1989 increasing the number of Cuban doctors in Zimbabwe to 100 and sending additional Cuban technicians and teachers to Zimbabwe. Another agreement provided for 1,200 high-school students to receive teacher training in Cuba. A 1989 protocol continued scientific and technical exchanges begun 4 years earlier. No contacts of a military nature were recorded.

Liberation Movements:

Namibia/SWAPO

Cuba has been a long-standing supporter of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its struggle for independence. SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma visited Havana in 1988, and 900 Namibian students were studying on the Isle of Youth. In 1989 over 1,500 Namibian students "of voting age" were studying on the Isle of Youth, compared with 569 in 1986.

South Africa/ANC

Cuba has been a strong and vocal supporter of the African National Congress (ANC) in world fora and has sponsored anti-apartheid conferences in Havana. A new representative from the ANC to Cuba was named in 1989.

ASIA

Cuban activities in Asia concentrated on other Communist nations, particularly Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea), Cambodia, Laos, and China. Vietnam and Laos appeared to be the major recipients of Cuban aid and assistance. China did not enjoy the services of Cuban internationalists, but the number of diplomatic and economic contacts between the two countries indicated an expansive trend in their relations. The warming of the Sino-Cuban relationship seemed to be lent a certain ideological impetus after China's June 1989 crackdown on student demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square and the Chinese Government's subsequent campaign to eliminate public dissent. This hardline approach was philosophically compatible with Fidel Castro's efforts at "rectification" and the renewal of Socialist discipline in Cuba. Cuban officials such as Politburo member Jorge Risquet Valdes no doubt expressed Fidel's viewpoint when they condemned the United States for interference in the internal affairs of both China and Cuba.

Cuban relations with Asia (and the Middle East) seemed to be accorded a lower priority than relations with Latin America and Africa. Cuba enjoyed better entree to Latin American countries as a result of shared Hispanic cultural roots and linguistic compatibility. Cuba's significant black population was often cited as a rationale for the island nation's involvement in Africa. These cultural and ethnic factors did not come into play, however, in Asia and the Middle East. The comparatively advanced economic status of some Asian countries, combined with the conservative politics of most of these more-developed states (e.g., the Republic of Korea (South Korea), Taiwan), also militated against Cuban influence. Therefore, ideology played a larger role in Cuban policy toward Asia than was the case in other regions of the world.

<u>Afghanistan</u>

Cuba has maintained close ties with Afghanistan since the establishment of a Communist regime there in 1978; Cuban internationalist programs in Afghanistan began that same year. Castro supported the Soviet invasion of December 1979, a position that did nothing to enhance Cuba's standing in the Nonaligned Movement (NAM). Afghan President Sayid Mohammed Najibullah, who assumed effective leadership of the country in May 1986, has expressed gratitude for the solidarity of Cuba, one of the few countries in the world that supported his Soviet-imposed government. Najibullah demonstrated his affinity for Cuba by making an official visit to the island in June 1988 and by personally receiving in Kabul Cuban delegates to the tenth and eleventh anniversary celebrations of the Afghan revolution. During the 1988 visit, Najibullah and Castro signed a protocol calling for expanded cultural and educational ties; a separate memorandum of understanding was signed between the Cuban Civil Aeronautics Institute and the Afghan Civil Aviation Ministry. Representatives of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan also signed a protocol of cooperation with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Cambodia

The Khmer Rouge government led by Pol Pot expelled Cuban internationalists from Cambodia in 1978. Cuba therefore welcomed the 1979 ouster of the Khmer Rouge by Vietnamese forces and the installation of a pro-Vietnamese regime headed by Heng Samrin. Since that date, Cuban internationalists have been active in Cambodia, particularly in the health field (Cuban nationals reportedly made up 4 percent of all medical doctors in Cambodia in the mid-1980s). Heng Samrin's visit to Cuba in July 1988 demonstrated the close and supportive relationship between the two countries and resulted in the signing of a long-term treaty of friendship and cooperation. Contact between the two governments, however, did not appear to be frequent or of particular significance to Cuba.

China

Although definite signs of improving Sino-Cuban relations appeared in the late 1980s, the relationship still appeared very formal in comparison with Cuba's relations with most other countries, particularly Communist countries. China did not accept Cuban internationalists, and there was no military cooperation between the two countries. Contacts were limited to official delegations and representatives. Nevertheless, these contacts were frequent. Perhaps the most significant exchange took place in 1989, when Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca visited China, and his Chinese counterpart, Quian Quichen, reciprocated 5 months later. These were the first such high-level contacts between the two countries since 1960, when the relationship began to deteriorate as a consequence of Sino-Soviet discord. Although Chinese Governments condemned the Castro regime as a puppet of the Soviet Union from the 1960s to the early 1980s, this stance apparently yielded during the latter half of the 1980s to a more neutral position on the part of the Chinese.

Numerous high-level contacts reflected the interest of both governments in expanding relations in such areas as trade and agricultural technology. Aside from the exchange of visits by the foreign ministers, the most significant contacts during the 1988-89 period included the December 1989 signing of several trade agreements in Havana by the foreign trade ministers, the late September-early October 1989 visit of Communist Party of

Cuba/Central Committee (PCC/CC) Secretary Lionel Soto to China (Soto was received by Deng Xiaoping), a September 1989 visit by Chinese Politburo member Zhu Liang to Cuba, a September 1988 visit to Cuba by Chinese Central Committee member Li Beihai, and a January 1988 trip to China by a Cuban trade delegation headed by Jose Alberto Naranjo, an aide to Fidel Castro (Naranjo was received by Prime Minister Li Peng). After his meeting with Zhu Liang, Cuban Politburo member Jorge Risquet Valdes articulated what may come to be a new theme in the two countries' relations--condemnation of the "campaign of gross interference in the internal affairs of both China and Cuba" by the United States. Such an approach would accommodate Cuba's longstanding hostility toward the United States and reflect the relative diplomatic isolation of these two hard-line Communist states in a period of global political upheaval.

<u>India</u>

India appeared to be the only non-Communist nation in Asia with which Cuba maintained constructive relations. The relationship seemed to hinge on the leadership roles played by both countries in the Nonaligned Movement and on a number of cooperation agreements in the scientific and technical fields. The two governments also have signed exchange agreements in such fields as culture, education, science, radio, television, and sports. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Ghandi visited Cuba in 1985 and has received Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and other high-ranking officials several times since that date.

Korea, People's Democratic Republic of (North Korea)

Cuba enjoyed warm fraternal relations with North Korea, as demonstrated by Cuba's boycott of the 1988 Olympics held in the Republic of Korea (South Korea). North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung reflected the status of the relationship during the Thirteenth World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang in July 1989 by meeting with the Cuban delegation on two separate occasions; Kim has also received Cuban representatives on several other occasions. Cooperative relations between the two Communist nations included projects in such areas as agriculture, industry, and health. Reports of a 1989 protocol signed by Kim Il Sung and Cuban Foreign Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz indicated a reciprocal relationship in the scientific-technical field whereby Korean nationals would undertake projects in or for Cuba in return for projects undertaken by Cuba. The protocol also expanded commercial ties; Cuban-North Korean trade was expected to reach its highest level in 10 years as North Korea bartered such products as laminated iron, clothing, consumer goods, food, and raw materials for Cuban sugar, nickel, food, and sports equipment. In 1989 at least 60 North Korean students were enrolled in Cuban secondary schools on the Isle of Youth, and North Korean nationals almost certainly received technical training in Cuba. A November 1988 visit to Cuba by a North Korean delegation at the invitation of the National Directorate of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution also indicated a cooperative relationship in the internal security area.

<u>Laos</u>

Laos enjoyed the services of Cuban internationalist workers and technicians in several fields, particularly health, agriculture, livestock, construction, and education. Following the pattern of Cuban relations with many other states, a Cuban-Lao Intergovernmental Commission met regularly to negotiate economic, technical, and other agreements. The justice ministers of the two countries signed a bilateral cooperation agreement in April 1986. In 1985, 11 Cuban medical personnel were reported in Laos. Cuban construction workers have built or assisted with several projects in the country, including a bovine research center and a poultry farm. Cuban agronomists also have studied the possibility of cultivating coffee in Laos. Although relations appeared to be friendly, the limited number of contacts indicated that they were of relatively low priority.

<u>Mongolia</u>

Cuba established diplomatic relations with the Mongolian People's Republic in 1960. Although limited by geography and the underdeveloped nature of both economies, these relations have been described in the Cuban press as fraternal and friendly. Agreements on trade, culture, science, and technology were signed during the 1980s, probably on an annual basis. There were indications of close interaction between the Communist Party of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP): in March 1988 an MPRP Central Committee member visited Cuba under a cooperation program between the two parties; in February of the same year, a member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Youth League reportedly visited Cuba at the invitation of the Union of Young Communists (UJC). Carlos Rafael Rodriguez received a Mongolian delegation in October 1985; the visit resulted in the signing of agreements governing trade relations for the 1986-90 period.

<u>Sri Lanka</u>

Cuba maintained relations with both the government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. Cuban internationalists have provided services in the fields of health and education, and Sri Lankan students have studied in Cuba. In November 1988, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka signed a 5-year agreement with a representative of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with Peoples (Instituto Cubano para la Amistad con los Pueblos--ICAP); the agreement called for exchanges of media delegations and materials, and for the accommodation of scholarship students, diplomats, and technicians.

<u>Vietnam</u>

Vietnam was Cuba's closest ally in Asia. The ideological militancy of both governments and their history of opposition to "imperialism" have drawn them together since the days of the Vietnam War, during the course of which Cuba strongly supported the North Vietnamese Government. The North Vietnamese military commander during that conflict, General Vo Nguyen Giap, was revered by the Cuban Government and visited the island on a number of occasions. Giap met with both Fidel and Raúl Castro during his May 1989 visit; he reportedly met several times with Raul Castro on an earlier visit in November 1988. Other high-level visitors included the Secretary General of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Nguyen Van Linh, who visited the island along with a high-level delegation in late Aprilearly May 1989. The President of Vietnam's Council of State, Vo Chi Cong, made a stopover in Havana in July 1989 en route from a Paris conference on Cambodia to Managua for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. A number of other members of the Vietnamese Politburo have visited Cuba as well. References to high-level Cuban visits to Vietnam appeared much less frequently, indicating a certain inequality in the relationship. The few Cuban visitors to Hanoi were received at a high level; President Castro's son, Fidel Castro Diaz-Balart, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, met with Secretary General Linh during a March 1988 visit. Melba Hernandez, Director of the Cuban Center for Research on Asia and the Pacific, met with Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong during a September 1985 visit.

The Cuban press reported a number of visits by Vietnamese military personnel, an indication of a significant security relationship between the two countries. In addition to the visits by General Giap, Defense Minister and Politburo member Le Duc Anh met with both Castro brothers in February 1990. Two Vietnamese major generals received the Che Guevara medal from Raul Castro in March 1988 in appreciation for their contribution to Cuban defense readiness. The Vice Minister of Defense, Colonel General Doan Khue, apparently headed the March 1988 military delegation that seems to have consulted on the island's military readiness. This comparatively high-profile defense relationship would be in keeping with widely accepted reports of Vietnamese military aid, arranged and coordinated by Cuba, to Latin American guerrilla groups such as El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and to the Sandinista government of Nicaragua in the late 1970s-early 1980s.

Cuban internationalist assistance in Vietnam has been considerable in the health and agricultural fields. The Cuban Government claims that this cooperative relationship began in 1973; other sources trace it back to 1968, well before the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. The major achievement in the health field was the Cuban-Vietnamese Friendship Hospital in Dong Hoi, built with Cuban assistance and staffed by a small Cuban medical brigade and a number of Cuban-trained Vietnamese health professionals. A number of poultry farms have been established in Vietnam with Cuban assistance. One such farm located about 70 kilometers northeast of Hanoi changed its name to "Granma" in 1987 to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of Fidel Castro's return to Cuba on the yacht of the same name. Cuban construction workers built these agricultural facilities, and at least some of the Vietnamese workers in poultry, dairy, and cattle-raising centers were trained in Cuba.

LATIN AMERICA

Since Castro seized power, Latin America has been a priority area for Cuba in terms of the Cuban commitment to "internationalist solidarity." During the 1960s, Cuba expressed this policy primarily through support for "armed struggle" in selected countries. After Cuba's subversive fiascos of the 1960s, Castro, under economic pressure from the Soviet Union, reduced his revolutionary activities in the region and began cultivating state-to-state relations. Castro did this by offering Cuba's "internationalist" assistance, such as by sending doctors and medical supplies to help in earthquake-recovery efforts in Peru (Cuba's first relief program for a non-Communist nation), signing assistance agreements with Guyana, undertaking construction projects in Jamaica, and trading with Mexico. Four Caribbean countries--Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago--established diplomatic relations with Cuba on December 8, 1972.

Following the overthrow of the Marxist regime of Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile in September 1973, Castro adopted a two-track strategy, whereby Cuba would continue to develop state-to-state relations in the region but covertly support select revolutionary groups in unfriendly countries, such as Chile. The agency charged with coordinating this covert program was the America Department, created in 1974 under the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and headed by Manuel Piñeiro Losada.

As a result of Cuba's goodwill efforts and Castro's diplomatic overtures, the Organization of American States (OAS) lifted its 12-year-old sanctions against Cuba in 1975; several countries--Chile, Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela--renewed relations. In the second half of the 1970s, diplomatic normalization, leadership of the Nonaligned Movement, and renewal of economic ties became important aspects of Cuban security and the policy of internationalism. In 1979 Cuba established diplomatic relations with St. Lucia as well as the New Jewel Movement regime in Grenada, which became an ally. Beginning in July 1979, when the Cuban-supported Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) took power in Nicaragua, the America Department's efforts were aided significantly in Latin America by the Sandinista regime.

Cuba's normalization campaign was disrupted at the start of the 1980s as a result of Castro's failure to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; Cuba's inept handling of refugee incidents involving the Peruvian and Venezuelan Embassies in Havana that led to the 1980 Mariel boat-lift; new U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba; the election of conservative governments in countries such as Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica, and St. Lucia; and Castro's reversion to virulent revolutionary rhetoric and continued support for "armed struggle." Mexico failed to invite Castro to the North-South Conference held in Mexico in October 1981.

After the failure of the so-called "final offensive" of the Salvadoran guerrillas in 1981, the revolutionary momentum in the region slowed, giving Castro another reason to reevaluate his emphasis on "armed struggle." The Malvinas/Falklands Islands War in 1982 gave Castro the opportunity he needed to break Cuba out of its diplomatic isolation in Latin America. During the brief war, Cuba improved its standing in South America and specifically its relations with Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela by joining them in siding with the right-wing military regime in Argentina.

By 1983 Cuba's close relationship with Grenada, its only remaining ally in the Commonwealth Caribbean, had created considerable tension in the region. Dominica broke relations with Cuba and, in October, joined other eastern islands and the United States in ousting the Cubans from Grenada. Suriname, which had hosted Cuban political and security advisers since establishing relations in 1981, simultaneously expelled the Cubans.

Following these setbacks, Cuba began to warn Nicaragua that it would have to defend itself in the event of similar U.S. military action. Cuba's military and security relations with Nicaragua became a growing point of contention in Cuba-Latin America relations. In 1985 Cuba belatedly adopted the peace process initiated by the Contadora Group (Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, and Colombia), which called for the removal of all foreign forces from Central America. Cuba supported Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sánchez's Esquipulas II accord for peace in Central America in 1987. While Cuba lauded Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama for having complied with Esquipulas II, it condemned El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras as U.S. lackeys. By late 1988, the Arias plan appeared to have stagnated, and Cuba's sincerity toward the peace process was being questioned. Bowing to regional pressure and growing financial constraints resulting from reduced Soviet economic support, Castro had by 1989 become somewhat more receptive to collaborating in the peace process, but remained ambivalent toward it.

In the second half of the 1980s, Castro cultivated his self-appointed role as revolutionary statesman, although he failed to rally regional and other Third World nations around his proposals for a debtors' cartel, a repudiation of the foreign debt, and a "new world economic order." The demise of authoritarian regimes and the transition to democracy in several South American nations gave Castro new opportunities to court the region and normalize relations with more countries, such as Bolivia, Brazil, and Ecuador. In 1986 and the first half of 1987, more Latin American official delegations visited Havana than in the previous 25 years of the Castro regime. In 1989-90 Castro attended presidential inaugurations in Ecuador, Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil, using the occasions to meet with other Latin American heads of state. Isidoro Malmierca, Cuba's Foreign Minister, indicated in October 1989 that Cuba would even be willing to rejoin what Castro used to call the "ministry of colonies," the OAS, if asked.

Cuba's "internationalist" assistance, especially medical aid, served as a key instrument in helping to revive diplomatic relations with South American nations in the late 1980s and to strengthen ties with Guyana, Mexico, and Nicaragua. By 1989 Cuba's State Committee for Economic Cooperation (CECE) maintained relations with 10 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, mainly in fields such as public health, education, agriculture, construction, industry, transportation, communications, sports, and trade. For example, the bulk of Cuban cooperation went to Guyana, Mexico, and Sandinista-ruled Nicaragua. In 1988 some 20 people from various countries in Latin America were studying at a journalism institute in Havana. In the past, thousands of Nicaraguan students had attended schools on Cuba's Isle of Pines.

In an effort to counter the U.S. trade embargo, Cuba devoted particular attention to developing and broadening trade relations with the region. In mid-1986, 10 years after it helped found the Latin American Economic System (SELA), Cuba took an additional step toward achieving its stated desire to incorporate itself into any process of integration with Latin America by winning acceptance as an observer to the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI). In 1988 Cuban trade with the region--primarily Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela--reached US\$600 million. Cuba signed several barter agreements with some area nations and encouraged efforts to develop joint ventures to replace imports or develop new exports.

In April 1990, Cuba had full diplomatic relations with 14 Latin American countries. In the Caribbean, Cuba still lacked diplomatic relations with several island nations, including the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The only South American countries not to have diplomatic relations with Cuba were Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Suriname. In Central America, Cuba also lacked diplomatic relations with Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, as well as with the new government in Panama. The unexpected appearance of democratic governments in Panama in October 1989 and Nicaragua in March 1990, as well as the transition to democracy in Chile in March 1990, left Castro, the only head of state still wearing a military uniform, the odd man out in Latin America.

Argentina

Diplomatic relations were re-established on May 28, 1973, and maintained even after the 1976 military coup. Following its support of Argentina in the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War, Cuba, with the help of a US\$600-million line of credit from Argentina, became Argentina's main trade partner in Latin America. The two countries established a joint trade commission and signed several commercial agreements in 1982-88 (e.g., financial, maritime transport). Scientific-technical cooperation began in 1984. A 1984 scientific-technical agreement between the two countries was renewed in 1986. In October 1986, in a visit of great symbolic importance to Cuba, President Raúl Alfonsín became one of the few Latin American democratic heads of state to call on Castro. In November 1986, both countries signed an agreement on the peaceful use of atomic energy, the first that Argentina signed with a Marxist-Leninist regime. In 1987, when rebellious right-wing military leaders defied Alfonsín's authority, Castro sent a letter of support to him. In the late 1980s, bilateral relations, described by the Alfonsín government as "excellent," consisted mainly of diplomatic, trade, and cultural exchanges.

<u>Bahamas</u>

Diplomatic relations were established on November 30, 1974, but remained low key, conducted through non-resident ambassadors. Relations became strained as a result of a

Cuban MiG attack on a Bahamian Coast Guard boat on May 10, 1980. After Cuba made financial restitution totaling US\$5.4 million and Castro formally apologized in 1982, relations returned to their usual quiet state. In an attempt to prevent further such confrontations, the Bahamian Foreign Affairs Minister visited Cuba in August 1985. At a follow-up meeting held in Nassau in March 1986, bilateral matters, including maritime boundaries between the two countries, interdiction of drug smugglers, and fishing rights, were discussed. The two countries exchanged ambassadors in May 1986.

<u>Bolivia</u>

Diplomatic relations were re-established on January 11, 1983. Relations improved steadily during the 1980s. They were briefly marred by an incident in October 1985 when Bolivian security agents erroneously raided and ransacked the Cuban diplomatic residences in La Paz. But the two countries signed consular, cultural, and scientific-technical and public health agreements in 1986. Cuba provided medical assistance to Bolivia, donating three Cuban-built and -equipped intensive care units in 1987 and one in 1989. Diplomatic relations were upgraded to ambassadorial level in October 1988. In December 1989, Angel Gustavo Brugués Pérez presented his credentials as Cuban Ambassador in La Paz. That month, an official Bolivian delegation visited Cuba at the invitation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), and a FAR delegation visited Bolivia at the invitation of the School for Higher National Studies. Visiting Cubans used the occasion to express Cuba's desire for increased bilateral cooperation.

<u>Brazil</u>

Full diplomatic and commercial relations were re-established on June 25, 1986 (bilateral trade began in 1980). Subsequently, bilateral exchanges, including ministerial-level visits, became frequent. Ambassadors were exchanged in October 1986, but only after Cuba replaced its first ambassador-designate, whom Brazil rejected. In the late 1980s, relations became relatively dynamic. Various bilateral cooperation agreements were signed in the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural areas. Cuba had little that Brazil wanted to purchase, however, and Brazilian exporters were wary about the need to provide Cuba extensive credit for any large-scale Brazilian exports. In early 1987, a memorandum was signed in the area of communication, providing for the possible supply of Brazilian communication and telecommunication equipment to Cuba, depending on Brazil's willingness to extend a line of credit. Brazil also agreed to help Cuba update its transportation system. A cultural cooperation agreement in the areas of education and sports and a protocol of intention for scientific cooperation, especially in key sectors such as biotechnology and informatics, were signed in early 1988. For its part, Cuba agreed to supply a rare Cuban vaccine against meningitis and other medical supplies, as well as equipment used to detect the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in blood.

Chile

No diplomatic relations existed in April 1990. That month, however, Enrique Silva Cimma, Foreign Minister of Chile's new government of President Patricio Aylwin, confirmed that unofficial talks had been held with Cuba and that consular relations possibly could be established by the end of the year. Relations had been severed since the overthrow of Salvador Allende (1970-73) in September 1973. Allende re-established full relations shortly after taking office on November 3, 1970. Castro paid a 25-day visit to Chile from November 10 to December 4, 1971, the Cuban leader's first trip to South America since 1959. Cuba's relations with the military regime of General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte (1973-90) were extremely hostile. In the second half of 1979, the America Department began to actively support the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Manuel Rodríguez Popular Front (FPMR), and the Chilean Communist Party in "armed struggle" against the regime of General Pinochet.

Colombia

Diplomatic relations existed between March 1975 and March 23, 1981, when Colombia suspended them. Although trade relations developed significantly in the late 1970s, Cuba reverted to subversive activities in Colombia in 1979, possibly in retaliation for Colombia's efforts to undermine the Havana summit of the Nonaligned Movement and to prevent Cuba's election to the United Nations Security Council. Official Cuban protection of a Colombian drug trafficking network is known to have begun in the summer of 1980. The purpose of the covert arrangement was to help finance Latin American guerrilla activities and to smuggle weapons to the 19th of April Movement (M-19) in Colombia. Various cooperation agreements were signed in 1980, but Colombia suspended diplomatic relations on March 23, 1981, after Cuba admitted supporting a failed M-19 guerrilla landing on Colombia's Pacific Coast. Relations began to improve in the early 1980s. In November 1986, the Castro regime announced its interest in reopening diplomatic relations. In late 1987, an official Colombian commission recommended that the country renew diplomatic relations, although it should do so "without haste." In 1988 both governments decided to develop trade relations and also signed an air transport agreement. A visiting Colombian trade delegation was accorded a meeting with Castro in August 1989.

Costa Rica

Diplomatic relations did not exist in April 1990. Consular and economic relations were established on February 21, 1977, but Costa Rica suspended consular relations in May 1981 over charges of Cuban arms smuggling. In 1988 relations began to improve, and a Costa Rican legislator called for re-establishment of diplomatic relations.

Dominican Republic

The Dominicans had not resumed relations with Cuba by April 1990, preferring a wary and largely informal relationship. Informal bilateral contacts--mainly athletic, educational, cultural, and medical exchanges--increased during the 1980s. Although being

competitors in the world sugar market was not conducive to closer relations, when the United States reduced its sugar quotas in 1987, the Dominican Republic raised the possibility of initiating commercial relations with Cuba. In 1987 Cuba donated materials and labor to build a technical school in the Dominican Republic and provided some medical assistance. There were also some low-level official contacts.

Ecuador

Consular and trade relations were re-established on July 16, 1979, and diplomatic relations on August 24. Ecuador recalled its ambassador in February 1981 over the storming of its embassy by Cuban security forces and downgraded relations to chargé level that April, but then resumed ambassadorial-level relations with Cuba on January 24, 1984. President León Febres Cordero (1984-88) surprised many by visiting Cuba in 1985. Relations were further strengthened with the visits to Cuba of an Ecuadorian parliamentary delegation and a group of university professors in early 1986. That March, when a leftist general led an uprising against Cordero, the Cuban media dismissed the event as a grab for personal power and praised Cordero as a modern conservative. On October 22, 1987, the two countries signed a commercial treaty granting each other most favored nation status. Cuba made further headway in its relations with Ecuador in 1988. In January Ecuador approved a technical, economic, and scientific cooperation agreement. In May Cuba sent a delegation of Cuban doctors to join the campaign against the dengue fever epidemic affecting Guayaquil. In 1988 the two countries signed cooperation agreements in the areas of industrial and energy production, health, education, culture, sugar factories, fishing, and construction. On August 10, Castro attended the presidential inauguration of Rodrigo Borja. Further agreements were signed in late September 1989 when the Ecuadorian-Cuban joint government commission was established.

El Salvador

Diplomatic relations did not exist in April 1990. Cuba has supported the Salvadoran guerrillas since 1979. Cuba paid little attention to El Salvador's guerrillas until after the Sandinista takeover in Nicaragua in July 1979. After the right-wing military regime was overthrown in a reformist civil-military coup that October, Cuba assisted the five Salvadoran guerrilla groups to unify into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The Cubans directed the major flow of U.S.-made arms from Vietnam to the FMLN between October 1980 and February 1981. Cuban support of the FMLN since 1981 has included weapons, advice, and medical assistance, as well as training of many FMLN members in Cuba. Although Cuba has not always denied its involvement in coordinating arms support of the FMLN, Cuba has long publicly denied that any Cuban civilian or military personnel have assisted the FMLN in El Salvador. Cuba has made no secret of its medical support of FMLN guerrillas. In 1988, 200 wounded FMLN youths were recuperating at the 26th of July Camp in Cuba.

<u>Grenada</u>

The two countries had diplomatic relations, with a non-resident Cuban Ambassador, only from April 14, 1979, to November 1983, when they were downgraded to chargé level; relations became inactive in March 1984. Shortly after the coup that brought Maurice Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) to power in Grenada on March 13, 1979, Cuba began supporting the new regime with technical, medical, military, and other assistance. Cuban assistance to the PRG regime quickly expanded to the areas of education, communication, sports, fishing, irrigation, and construction, particularly the building of an international airport and a powerful radio station. A secret Cuban-Grenadian military agreement for 1982-84 called for the permanent stationing of Cuban military specialists in Grenada and scholarships for military training in Cuba of Grenadians. Despite formal ties, however, relations were never especially close and were often marked by Grenadian resentment and suspicion of the Cubans. Cuban activities in Grenada came to an abrupt end with the joint U.S./Eastern Caribbean intervention in Grenada on October 25, 1983.

<u>Guatemala</u>

Diplomatic relations did not exist in April 1990. Cuba has long had ties with Guatemalan guerrilla groups. In 1980 the America Department assisted the four main guerrilla factions in establishing the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG). Cuba continued to promote unity among the URNG groups in the 1980s. In early 1986, Cuba welcomed the return to civilian rule in Guatemala, but informal contacts failed to progress enough to establish trade relations. A Cuban National Assembly delegation attended an inter-parliamentary union conference in Guatemala City in April 1988.

<u>Guyana</u>

Diplomatic relations were established on December 8, 1972. Cuban assistance began in 1974 with fishing, health, and civil aviation agreements. Relations deteriorated in 1980, however, when the head of the opposition Working People's Alliance, with which Cuba also maintained close relations, was assassinated. Relations improved in 1981 when Guyana turned to Cuba for support in disputes with the United States and Venezuela. By the late 1980s, Cuba was providing assistance in the sugar industry, forestry, agriculture, health, education, sports, light and food industries, mining, transportation, trade, and labor organization. In early 1986, about 33 Cubans were working in health-related fields in Guyana. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, who had maintained friendly relations with Cuba, died in 1986. Under President Desmond Hoyte, Guyana maintained its nonaligned status and its relations with Cuba.

Haiti

No diplomatic or trade relations existed in April 1990. Since 1960 Cuba has denounced the Haitian regimes but has made no serious or persistent efforts to overthrow them, other than training some would-be Haitian guerrillas. Cuba's only overt hostility since the 1970s apparently has consisted mainly of Havana Radio Creole broadcasts or propagandistic film-making by Haitians living in Cuba. In October 25, 1977, an accord delimiting maritime boundaries between the two countries was signed.

<u>Honduras</u>

No diplomatic relations existed in April 1990. Contacts have been rare since relations were severed in 1961. Some trade was exchanged in 1973-74. In the 1980s, Cuba characterized Honduras as the "beachhead of imperialism" in the region. Cuba helped to unite the three main Honduran terrorist groups in early 1983 and trained cadres in Cuba. In November 1989, a Cuban parliamentary delegation paid an official and reciprocal visit to Honduras.

<u>Jamaica</u>

Full diplomatic relations existed between December 8, 1972, and October 29, 1981. By April 1990, Prime Minister Michael Manley had not yet renewed relations, preferring a go-slow approach in keeping with the more conservative image that he hoped to project. As Prime Minister in the 1970s, Manley had maintained close relations with Cuba, angering the United States, which cut off aid to Jamaica. During that period, Manley allowed Cuba to undertake various internationalist programs in Jamaica, including construction, education, and medical projects, as well as the paramilitary training of Jamaicans in Cuba. A visit by Fidel Castro on October 16-21, 1977, reinforced the opinion of many Jamaicans that their island was becoming a surrogate of Cuba. Consequently, relations were a controversial issue in the 1980 election campaign. On taking office as Prime Minister in January 1981, Edward Seaga, a conservative who regarded Cuba's projects as interference in internal affairs, terminated Cuba's internationalist programs, expelled the 500 or so Cubans working on the island, and declared Cuba's Ambassador persona non grata.

<u>Mexico</u>

Mexico was the only Latin American country not to abide by the 1964 OAS embargo of Cuba. Relations traditionally have been warm. Although they deteriorated in the 1960s, relations improved considerably in the 1970s and have been mutually beneficial. Mexico's close ties have persuaded Cuba not to jeopardize them by supporting subversive groups, while at the same time Mexican cordiality has enhanced Cuban influence in the Third World and helped sustain the island nation through periods of regional isolation. In late 1971, an accord for direct bilateral trade was signed for the first time since 1959. A General Cooperation Agreement was signed in May 1978 (and has been renewed every 2 years), but trade never reached high levels, even though Cuba became a major supplier of sugar to Mexico. By 1984 there was only a "partial agreement" on trade relations. Although trade has remained highly unfavorable for Cuba, Havana has benefited from various areas of bilateral cooperation. In the first half of the 1980s, the two countries signed 36 conventions or accords of cooperation. By early 1985, they had collaborated on more than 800 scientific and technical projects. Cuba aided Mexican earthquake-relief efforts in 1985-86. Despite significant leftist gains in the 1988 elections, Cuba reiterated its continued support of the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), as evidenced by Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez's meeting in Mexico City with President Miguel de la Madrid in May 1988, de la Madrid's visit to Cuba that October, and Castro's attendance at Carlos Salinas de Gotari's presidential inauguration that December. Contacts in 1988 also included a commitment to strengthen economic and industrial cooperation, as well as other cooperative exchanges in the scientific, cultural, and educational areas. In October 1988, the Joint Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation concluded a plan for 179 projects through 1989 in fields such as fishery, health, and agriculture. They also signed exchange agreements in the areas of education, culture, and sports.

<u>Nicaragua</u>

Diplomatic ties were re-established, after a quarter-century interruption, on July 27, 1979, a week after the ouster of Anastasio Somoza Debayle's regime by the Cuban-supported Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In the late 1980s, bilateral diplomatic relations remained close and offered frequent contacts. In October 1987, Norberto Hernández Curbelo, an America Department vice chief, was named Cuban Ambassador to Nicaragua. Until the FSLN regime was defeated in the March 1990 elections, Cuba provided extensive support in the military, health, education, construction, agriculture, and scientific-technical areas.

After the U.S./Caribbean intervention in Grenada in 1983, Castro began emphasizing that Nicaragua was responsible for its own defense. Nevertheless, between 2,500 and 3,500 Cuban military and security advisers reportedly were working in Nicaragua under Major General Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez, operating at all levels of the government and Sandinista People's Army (EPS). But Cuba began withdrawing 100-member contingents in 1985 because of financial constraints on both Nicaragua and Cuba. President Daniel Ortega's assertion in March 1985, however, that the number of Cuban military advisers did not exceed 800 clashed with U.S. estimates. Cuba also contended that the figure was about 800. In any case, after the Sandinista electoral defeat in March 1990, Castro announced an end to military cooperation with Nicaragua. Havana news media reported that all the "Cuban military cooperation workers" were withdrawn on March 23. The only figure given, however, was that of 160 Cuban military advisers who departed in March. The number remaining was unclear.

The first Cuban medical personnel and emergency material aid arrived in July 1979. By 1984, 6,000 Cuban construction workers were reported to be in Nicaragua, working on projects such as clinics, hospitals, housing units, and roads. In March 1990, only about 300 medical and construction personnel reportedly remained in Nicaragua. Although most of the Cuban doctors reportedly had departed by then, a number of construction workers remained to complete their projects in the Caribbean city of Bluefields, devastated by Hurricane Joan in 1988. Cuba conducted a 5-year teaching program in Nicaragua from November 1979 to November 1984. Beginning with 1,200 Cuban teachers in late 1979, the number of Cuban teachers rose to 2,000 in the subsequent school years. By 1984 the Cuban teachers (unlike the previous groups, which included women and middle-aged men) consisted of almost all young men of military age. The rotating out of Nicaragua of 1,500 Cuban elementary teachers in August 1984 concluded 5 years of Cuban educational cooperation in that country. During that period, 5 groups totaling more than 5,000 Cuban teachers with an average age of 26 served in Nicaragua, where they reportedly had a mixed reception. Cuba subsequently limited its educational assistance to training Nicaraguans in Cuba. In 1984, 5,000 young Nicaraguans were studying in Cuba, 1,500 of them to become teachers. Nicaraguan students attended the Carlos Fonseca School and the Los Campos Children's Center on the Isle of Youth.

<u>Panama</u>

Full diplomatic relations existed between August 22, 1974, and March 1990, when Panama downgraded its relations. Cuba appointed its first ambassador in August 1977. By the early 1980s, Cuba maintained its second largest embassy in Panama City; it reportedly served as a focal point for Cuban coordination of revolutionary activities in the region. Official contacts and exchanges with the de facto regimes of General Omar Torrijos Herrera (1968-81) and General Manuel Antonio Noriega were frequent, but relations generally were based more on commercial than political interests. Cuba made extensive use of Panama to obtain high-technology products, thereby circumventing the U.S. trade embargo. Following his indictment in early 1988 by a federal grand jury in Miami for drug trafficking and racketeering, Noriega turned to the Cubans for help. The Cubans reportedly began advising Noriega on how to deal with the anti-Noriega clamor in Panama and assisting him in operating a secret arms airlift from Havana to several locations in Panama. After the U.S. military intervention in October 1989 and the ouster of Noriega, Cuba adopted a hostile attitude to Guillermo Endarra's government, which Cuba refused to recognize. Consequently, the Endarra government expelled the Cuban Ambassador to Panama, Lázaro Mora Secades, in late March 1990.

Paraguay

No diplomatic or other relations existed in April 1990. Paraguay broke relations with Cuba in 1959 after Cuba provided some support to Paraguayan extremists. From then until the overthrow of President Alfredo Stroessner in February 1989, Cuba and Paraguay were ideological enemies that frequently denounced each other. Stroessner's tight control of the country prevented any Cuban-supported subversion from arising and defeated the attempt by the pro-Soviet Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP) to organize guerrilla resistance in the mid-1960s. Cuba continued to maintain its usual party-to-party contacts with the illegal PCP. In 1987 Cuban media lauded the emergence of a new leftist broad front, the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP). When Fidel Castro met President Andrés Rodríguez informally in Brasilia in March 1990, Castro expressed interest in the situation in Paraguay

and in cooperating in the field of technical education, particularly in livestock breeding. Rodríguez later discarded the possibility that the contact could lead to preliminary talks for the resumption of diplomatic or trade relations, adding that any step in that direction would have to be carefully analyzed.

<u>Peru</u>

Diplomatic relations have existed since July 8, 1972. A major earthquake on May 31, 1970, gave Cuba an opportunity to cultivate ties by joining other countries in providing medical assistance to Peru. In the early 1980s, technical cooperation in various sectors was developed. Relations became strained when Alan García assumed office in 1985. Castro, who was not invited to the inauguration, conditioned Cuba's support of García on his ability to prove that he could deal with Peru's complex problems. The countries exchanged additional public insults on each other's positions on the foreign debt issue. In an attempt to mend fences, Castro gave moral support to García in a foreign debt dispute with the United States. Following high-level conversations in Havana in December 1985, the countries exchanged ambassadors. In late 1985, Cuba offered fishing assistance. In early 1986, a group of Peruvian sugar industry technicians attended a training course in Cuba, and a group of Cuban athletes taught an athletic competitiveness course in Peru. That year, the two countries signed economic cooperation agreements involving 26 projects.

Bilateral relations continued to reflect the rivalry between Castro and García. Relations fell to a low point in early 1987 over the issue of the three refugees remaining in the Peruvian Embassy in Havana since the 1980 events. Various cooperation agreements were made in the late 1980s in the areas of trade, fishing, agriculture, communications, and sports. Whether these cooperative activities would continue in the 1990s was uncertain. One of the two run-off candidates in the 1990 presidential elections, Mario Vargas Llosa, advocated reducing Peru's relations with Cuba. The views of the other run-off candidate, Alberto Fujimori, were unknown.

<u>Uruguay</u>

After Uruguay's transition from a military regime to a democratic government in 1985, commercial and cultural ties were re-established in April 1985 and diplomatic and consular relations on October 17. Commercial agreements were signed in May 1986 and March 1987, when a 5-year economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation agreement also was signed. In May 1988, the business sectors of both countries signed a protocol for an increase in bilateral trade. Bilateral relations were marred but not ended by a diplomatic incident in June 1988 that resulted in the Cuban Government's recall of its ambassador to Uruguay and his replacement with another, Abelardo Curbelo Padrón. In early 1989, the countries signed a commercial cooperation accord and an economic, scientific, industrial, and technological agreement.

Venezuela

In May 1989, the two countries re-established, for the second time, ambassadorial relations, suspended since 1980. Diplomatic relations initially had been re-established on December 29, 1974, after Venezuela began selling petroleum crude to Cuba. Venezuela played a key role in the OAS decision to lift its sanctions against Cuba in 1975, as Caracas had in the 1964 OAS decision to impose it. Bilateral relations worsened in the late 1970s, mainly because of Venezuela's refusal to expedite prosecution of three anti-Castro terrorists involved in the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner and procedures for asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy in Havana. Cuba closed its embassy in Caracas in January 1980 after a Venezuelan military court handed down an acquittal of four persons involved in the bombing.

The bombing issue stymied any improvement in relations until the second half of the 1980s, when trade relations developed significantly, rising to \$90-million worth in 1989. In March 1988, Castro received the President of the Venezuelan Red Cross, who expressed appreciation for the internationalist assistance provided by the Cuban Red Cross and lauded the exchange of Cuban and Venezuelan health specialists. That September the countries signed a cooperation agreement involving scientific, teaching, cultural, and sports exchanges. In January 1989, Cuba and Venezuela signed their first 3-year agreement for increasing bilateral trade. The two countries agreed that October to resume Cubana Airlines flights to Caracas, suspended more than 10 years earlier.

MIDDLE EAST

Cuba's contacts in the Middle East reflected its policy of support for militant "anti-Zionist" governments and subnational groups. In the late 1980s, the most active state-tostate relationship appeared to be that maintained with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen). Other prominent recipients of Cuban internationalist aid in the region were Algeria, Iraq, and Libya. Among subnational groups, Cuba provided recognition, aid, and support to both the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Polisario Front in the Western Sahara.

Cuban aid and assistance typically took the form of technical/professional training or the provision of Cuban personnel in fields such as health, construction, agriculture (including livestock husbandry), and education. In Soviet client states such as South Yemen, Cuba also assisted in the internal security area by sharing its expertise in the establishment and maintenance of political vigilance groups similar to the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). In the mid-1980s, Cuba reportedly maintained military missions in Iraq, Libya, South Yemen, and Syria. Information on military assistance, however, rarely appears in the Cuban press. Several references to Cuban training of Yemeni militia forces constitute the only mention of such activity in the Middle East.

Algeria

Cuba has maintained internationalist ties with Algeria since 1963. Algeria reportedly

served as a conduit for Cuban aid to the Polisario Front in the Western Sahara. Joint foreign policy pronouncements, such as that issued during President Fidel Castro's September 1986 visit, stressed this issue. High-level contacts such as Castro's visit (on the way back from the conference of the Nonaligned Movement in Harare, Zimbabwe) and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid's visit to Havana in May 1985 indicated a close and important relationship. Agreements between the two governments provided for "cooperation" in such areas as commerce, finance, health, and sports. The Communist Party of Cuba and the National Liberation Front also appear to conduct party-to-party relations separate from official relations.

<u>Cyprus</u>

Although Cuba did not appear to maintain extensive ties with Cyprus, the relationship was sufficiently close to warrant an official visit by Cypriot President Spiros Kiprianou in March 1987. Kiprianou was received by President Fidel Castro, and a trade protocol was signed during his visit.

<u>Iran</u>

Despite Cuba's early recognition of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the revolution in 1979, the Iranian Government did not open an embassy in Havana until 1984. Although contacts since that time appear to have been limited, Iranian representatives have been accorded high-level access, as demonstrated by Fidel Castro's personal conferences with an envoy from the Iranian Foreign Ministry in January 1989 (on the occasion of the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution) as well as with a delegation led by Iran's first deputy foreign minister in April 1988. There was no indication of technical or other exchanges between the two countries, however.

Iraq

Cuba's civilian assistance programs in Iraq date back to 1977; a military mission was established in 1976. Regular high-level contacts took place; in October 1988, Fidel Castro met with a special envoy from Iraq. Politburo member Jorge Risquet Valdes received Iraqi representatives on several occasions in the late 1980s. The two countries' intergovernmental commission has produced a number of protocols of cooperation, and in June 1989 the two countries signed an accord strengthening their ties of friendship and cooperation. Cuba has been particularly active in the health field. A Cuban health brigade has functioned in Baghdad since 1978; Cuba opened a children's hospital there in 1980; and at least 50 Iraqis had received medical training in Cuba. The Communist Party of Cuba and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party also conducted party-to-party relations.

<u>Libya</u>

Cuban ties with Libya have grown since Fidel Castro's lengthy (10-day) stay in that

country in 1977. Although Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi never reciprocated by visiting Havana, the two leaders met three times after Castro's 1977 departure from Tripoli: in 1978, after Castro's unsuccessful effort at mediating the Ethiopian-Eritrean-Somali dispute; in 1981, at Leonid Brezhnev's funeral in Moscow; and in 1986, at the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) conference in Harare. Despite much popular speculation with regard to a possible rivalry between the two revolutionary leaders, Castro and Qaddafi have not feuded publicly since 1973, when the latter questioned Cuba's qualifications for membership in the NAM based on the island nation's dependent relationship with the Soviet Union (Castro responded by describing the USSR as the "natural ally" of the nonaligned, as well as by severing Cuba's diplomatic relations with Israel, an action that endeared him to the Arab members of the movement).

Although it was not discussed in the Cuban press, Cuban military technicians apparently assisted the Libyan Armed Forces with the maintenance of their Soviet-made weaponry. In 1987 Cuba reportedly had several thousand military personnel in Libya. Both governments also shared a commitment to aid the Palestinian cause both rhetorically and materially. Numerous high-level contacts between representatives of the two governments took place in the late 1980s, some of which produced agreements on Cuban assistance in such areas as legal and judicial affairs, health, sports, agriculture, fisheries, trade, and food services. Cuban construction programs in Libya were particularly noteworthy. In 1988 more than 3,000 Cuban workers were reported to have been involved in construction projects in Libya. The construction of housing units and highways was also lucrative for the Cubans, as Libya was one of the few countries capable of paying for Cuban services in convertible currency.

<u>Morocco</u>

Morocco broke diplomatic relations with Cuba in April 1980 in response to Cuban recognition of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR), the Polisario Front that has engaged the Moroccans militarily in the Western Sahara since the mid-1970s. Cuban policy in this conflict diverged significantly from the official stance of the Soviet Union, which did not recognize the SDAR, maintained no overt ties with the Polisario, and conducted significant trade relations with Morocco.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

Cuba dealt with the PLO as it would with a sovereign state. Havana upgraded the PLO's political office to the status of an embassy in February 1989. The two parties signed cooperation agreements in the economic and scientific/technical fields in 1989. There were numerous high-level contacts between Cuban officials and PLO representatives both in Havana and elsewhere. Castro received a member of the PLO's Central Committee in February 1988; Cuban representatives met with PLO leader Yasir Arafat both in Tunis and Aden.

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen)

Cuba maintained its closest state-to-state relations in the Middle East region with the government of South Yemen. Internationalist ties between the two countries were well established, dating back to 1972. A Cuban military mission in South Yemen opened in 1973. Cubans assisted the South Yemenis in the organization of the Popular Defense Committees, neighborhood vigilance groups modelled on the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). The relationship between the Yemeni defense committees and the CDRs was an ongoing one; several articles in the Cuban press noted continuing ties between personnel and mass organizations in this area. A similar relationship apparently also existed between the Cubans and the Yemeni People's Militias.

Cuban assistance to the South Yemenis began in the health field, and these ties remained active throughout the 1980s. The school of medicine of the University of Aden was established in 1975 with the assistance of a Cuban medical teaching mission. Some of the 50 to 60 Yemeni doctors who graduated from the school each year after 1982 received further training in Cuba.

There was frequent contact between officials of the two countries. The Secretary General of the Yemen Socialist Party met with Fidel Castro in Havana in May 1988; in October of the same year, the Yemeni Foreign Affairs Minister was received by Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez. The mixed economic commission met annually to review economic ties between the two countries. Close party-to-party ties existed between the Communist Party of Cuba and the Yemen Socialist Party. The two governments signed numerous cooperation agreements in the late 1980s, providing for Cuban aid in such areas as health, transportation, fishing, light industry, trade, and education, as well as legal and judicial assistance. In 1988, 230 Yemeni youths were reported to be attending school on the Isle of Youth (this figure did not represent the total number of Yemeni students in Cuba, however). The "Radfann" school on the Isle of Youth (an institution possibly restricted to South Yemeni nationals) provided technical training in a number of scientific specialties. Hundreds of South Yemeni students had pursued degree programs in Cuban universities by the mid-1980s.

<u>Sudan</u>

An August 1989 visit to Havana by Colonel John Garang, head of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, an insurgent group affiliated with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, demonstrated Cuba's continuing support for this organization in its struggle against the government in Khartoum.

<u>Syria</u>

Close Cuban ties with Syria can be traced to the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, when the Castro regime dispatched military forces to the Middle East to bolster the Syrian war effort.

Although some friction developed in the 1980s over the issue of Syria's contribution to factional splits within the PLO-a development strongly opposed by Castro--relations were still described by both parties as "friendly" after a September 1988 meeting in Havana between Politburo member Jorge Risquet and a representative of the Syrian Baath Party.

<u>Tunisia</u>

Cuba maintained normal relations with the government of Tunisia. Hamed Karoui, Deputy to the Prime Minister and a high-ranking member of the ruling party of Tunisia (the Constitutional Democratic Rally), visited Cuba in June 1988.

Western Sahara (Polisario Front)

Cuba granted the Polisario Front a status similar to that accorded the PLO. This relationship was one of longstanding, however, as Cuba had maintained diplomatic relations with the Polisario (or the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic--SDAR) since 1980. High-level contacts appeared to be frequent. The last recorded meeting by Fidel Castro with a representative of the SDAR took place in Algeria in 1986. Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Raul Castro, however, received the Saharan foreign minister in November 1988, indicating an ongoing military/security relationship with the Polisario Front in its struggle with Morocco; Raul Castro had previously received the defense minister of the SDAR. Cuban internationalists served in the Western Sahara as medics and teachers. Significant numbers of Saharans traveled to Cuba for general education and/or technical training. In the late 1980s, a large contingent of Saharan students (1,200) was enrolled in schools on the Isle of Youth, while an even larger number (1,500-2,000) of Saharan "technical cadres" was receiving training.

Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen)

Cuba appointed an ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR--North Yemen) in 1983, as part of an effort to expand its Middle East ties by establishing contacts with moderate Arab states. The two countries had signed their first cooperation protocol in 1982, covering such areas as fishing, construction, trade, agriculture, education, tourism, and social services. Contact appeared to be minimal, although an October 1988 visit to Cuba by the Foreign Affairs Minister of the YAR produced a new cooperation agreement in the fields of education, culture, art, science, and sports.

APPENDIX

African Students in Cuba

Statistical Summary: Visits by Cubans to Africa, 1988-89

Statistical Summary: Visits by Africans to Cuba, 1988-89

Statistical Summary: Agreements Signed by Cuba and African States, 1988-89

Statistical Summary: Visits from Asia to Cuba, 1988-89

Statistical Summary: Visits by Cubans to Asia, 1988-89

- Statistical Summary: Agreements Signed by Cuba and Asian States, 1988-89
- Latin American Students Studying in Cuban Institutions of Higher Learning, 1977-84

Selective Cuban Trade Trends with Latin America, 1982-87

Cuba's Principal Relations/Cooperation with Latin America, April 1990

Statistical Summary: Visits from the Middle East to Cuba, 1988-89

Statistical Summary: Visits by Cubans to the Middle East, 1988-89

Statistical Summary: Agreements Signed by Cuba and Middle East States and Liberation Movements, 1988-89

	AFRICAN	STUDENTS	IN	CUBA
--	---------	----------	----	------

79/80	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88
592	1,114	1,352	1,335	1,552	1,836	1,966	2,687	2,844

Source: Comité Estatal de Estadísticas, <u>Anuario Estadístico de Cuba</u> <u>1987</u>, Havana, 537.

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STATISTICAL SUMMARY: VISITS BY CUBANS TO AFRICA, 1988-89

В С А D С Α В D Angola 5 5 ___ Malawi --------_ Benin ----_ Mali 1 _ ---1 Botswana _ -Mauritania _ ----_ _ Burkina Faso ----Mauritius _ ___ _ ----_ _ Burundi Mozambique 2 ----_ _ _ 2 Cameroon Niger _ _ _ _ ---_ ----_ Cape Verde _ _ Nigeria 1 -_ ----1 C.A.R. Rwanda -_ _ _ Chad Sao Tome/Prnp. _ _ _ _ _ _ Comoros _ ------Senegal ---_ ____ _ Congo _ ---Seychelles 1 ----1 _ ---_ Djibouti _ _ Sierra Leone _ ----_ -Equat. Guinea _ Somalia ----_ -------____ Ethiopia 1 1 South Africa ----_ ____ ----_ ----Gabon -------_ Swaziland _ _ ------_ Gambia _ _ ---_ Tanzania 1 ___ ___ 1 Ghana ____ _ ____ _ Togo _ --------Guinea ----Uganda 1 -------____ _ 1 ----Guinea-Bissau ----_ _ ----Zaire -----------_ Ivory Coast 2 1 _ ----1 Zambia _ ----2 Kenya Zimbabwe 3 3 _ _ -Lesotho ---Liberation Movements: _ Liberia _ ANC Madagascar ----SWAPO _ _ _

A = Military & Political

B = Economic

C = Cultural

D = Total

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STATISTICAL SUMMARY: VISITS BY AFRICANS TO CUBA, 1988-89

	A	В	С	D		A	В	С	D	
Angola	5	_	_	5	Malawi					
Benin	1		_	1	Mali	1	_	_	1	
Botswana	1		_	1	Mauritania	_	_	_	-	
Burkina Faso	2		-	2	Mauritius	-	-	-		
Burundi	1		_	1	Mozambique	2	_	·	2	
Cameroon	_		<u> </u>	-	Niger	_	_		_	
Cape Verde			-	-	Nigeria	1			1	
C.A.R.	-	-		-	Rwanda	-	-	. —	-	
Chad	_	-	· _	_	Sao Tome/Prnp.	. –	1	_	1	
Comoros	<u> </u>	_	-	-	Senegal	1	_		1	
Congo	1	_		1	Seychelles	-	_	_	_	
Djibouti		-		-	Sierra Leone	-	-	1	1	
Equat. Guinea		_		-	Somalia	·	_	-	_	
Ethiopia	1		-	1	South Africa		-	_	-	
Gabon	-		-	-	Swaziland	-	-	-	-	
Gambia		-	-	- .	Tanzania	2	-	-	2	
Ghana	1	_	_	1	Тодо		_	-	-	
Guinea	1	-	<u> </u>	1	Uganda	2	-	_	2	
Guinea-Bissau	1	-		1	Zaire	1	-		1	
Ivory Coast	-	-		-	Zambia	2	· -	-	2	
Kenya		-	_		Zimbabwe	_	1	_	1	
Lesotho	-	-	-		Liberation Movements:					
Liberia		<u> </u>	· _		ANC		-	-	-	
Madagascar	2	-	_	2	SWAPO	2		· <u> </u>	2	

A = Military & Political B = Economic

C = Cultural

D = Total

STATISTICAL SUMMARY: AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY CUBA AND AFRICAN STATES, 1988-89

	A	В	С	D		A	В	С	D
Angola	1	1	1	3	Malawi	_		_	
Benin	1	. –	~~	1	Mali	_			-
Botswana	_		-	-	Mauritania		_	-	_
Burkina Faso	-	-		-	Mauritius	-	. —	-	- .
Burundi	-	_	-	- *	Mozambique	2	-	-	2
Cameroon	···	. –	- .	-	Niger	-	- .	-	-
Cape Verde	-		1	1	Nigeria	1	—		- ,
C.A.R.		-	-	<u> </u>	Rwanda		—	-	<u> </u>
Chad	-		_	-	Sao Tome/Prnp.	-		_	
Comoros	-	-			Senegal	-	-		-
Congo	-		-		Seychelles	1	-	-	1
Djibouti	-	-		-	Sierra Leone	-	_	1	1
Equat. Guinea	-	-	-	-	Somalia	-	-		-
Ethiopia			1	1	South Africa	_			-
Gabon			-		Swaziland	_			- :
Gambia		-		-	Tanzania	-	1	-	1
Ghana		-	-	-	Togo	_	_	-	-
Guinea	-	-			Uganda	-	1	2	3
Guinea-Bissau	-	—	_	-	Zaire	-	_	—	<u> </u>
Ivory Coast	-	-	-		Zambia	-	1	1	2
Kenya	-	. –	_	-	Zimbabwe	_	1	2	3
Lesotho	-	·	-	-	Liberation Move	ement	s:		
Liberia	<u>-</u>	-		-	ANC		-	-	-
Madagascar		<u> </u>	-	-	SWAPO	_	-	-	-

A = Military & Political

- B = Economic
- C = Cultural
- D = Total

STATISTICAL SUMMARY: VISITS FROM ASIA TO CUBA, 1988-89

	A	В	С	D
Afghanistan	2	-		2
Bangladesh	-	-	-	
Bhutan	-	-	_	-
Burma	-	-	-	-
China	4	-	1	5
India	2	1	1	4
Indonesia	-	-	-	_
Kampuchea (Cambodia)	2	-	-	2
Korea, North	4	1	2	7
Korea, South	—		-	-
Laos	3	-	-	3
Malaysia		-	-	-
Maldives	-		_	_
Mongolia	4	1	-	5
Nepal	-	_	-	-
Pakistan	-	<u> </u>		
Philippines	-	-		_
Singapore		-	-	
Sri Lanka	2	-	-	2
Thailand	-		-	-
Vietnam	9	-	 .	9
			:	

A = Military & Political

B = EconomicC = Cultural

D = Total

.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY: VISITS BY CUBANS TO ASIA, 1988-89

	А	В	С	D
Afghanistan	2		_	2
Bangladesh	-	_	_	<u> </u>
Bhutan	_			.
Burma	_	_	_	
China	4	3	1	8
India	3	- -	· <u> </u>	3
Indonesia	-			· _
Kampuchea			_	_
i di	·			
Korea, North	2	1	1	4
Korea, South	-	- -	-	-
Laos	-	_	_	_
Malaysia	-	_	_	_
		•		
Maldives	_	_	_	_
Mongolia	1	_	_	1
Nepal	-	_	_	
Pakistan	1	_	_	1
				T
Philippines	_	_	_	_
Singapore			_	· _
Sri Lanka	-	_	_	_
Thailand	_	_	_	
Vietnam		1		1
		-		±
,	•			
A = Military &	Political			
B = Economic				and the second sec
C = Cultural				4 C
D = Total				
•				
				r í

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STATISTICAL SUMMARY: AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY CUBA AND ASIAN STATES, 1988-89

	A	В	С	D
Afghanistan	3	·	1	4
Bangladesh	<u> </u>	-		_
Bhutan		-	-	
Burma	-	-	-	-
China	5	-	1	6
India	-	1	1	2
Indonesia	_ `		- .	-
Kampuchea	-	. 		-
Korea, North	<u> </u>	3	. 	3 <i>i</i>
Korea, South		-	-	-
Laos	-	_	-	
Malaysia .	-			-
Maldives	-	· _		-
Mongolia	-	1	-	1
Nepal			-	
Pakistan	-		_	-
Philippines	- .	_	-	-
Singapore	-	-	-	-
Sri Lanka	1	- .	-	1
Thailand		-	. — •	-
Vietnam	. –	2	-	2

A = Military & Political

B = Economic

C = Cultural

D = Total

		OF HIGHER	LEARNING,	1977-84		
	<u>1977/78</u>	<u>1978/79</u>	<u>1979/80</u>	<u>1980/81</u>	1981/82	<u>1983/84</u>
MX/CA/AN	97	176	255	469	567	608
SA	203	407	375	376	377	362
·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·					
Abbreviat	ions:			• • •		
MX/CA/AN	= Mexico/C	entral Amer	ica/Antill	es		

LATIN AMERICAN STUDENTS STUDYING IN CUBAN INSTITUTIONS

SA = South America

Source: Comité Estatal de Estadísticas, <u>Anuario Estadístico de Cuba</u> <u>1987</u>, Havana, 537.

SELECTIVE CUBAN TRADE TRENDS WITH LATIN AMERICA, 1982-87 (in thousands of pesos)

	1982	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
AR	12,598	83,107	147,636	193,706	163,474	125,636
MX	59,679	40,219	83,416	79,034	31,396	74,334
PE	1,893	7,514	12,897	2,977	11,971	5,922
VE	1,879	7,809	9,478	13,585	12,234	20,295
AL	84,573	154,938	254,077	292,002	233,603	34,784
CA	1,457	887	3,405	5,226	3,740	6,730

Abbreviations

AR = Argentina

- MX = Mexico
- PE = Peru
- VE = Venezuela

AL = ALADI (Latin American Integration Association--Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración)

CA = CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market)

Source: Comité Estatal de Estadísticas, <u>Anuario Estadístico de Cuba 1987</u>, Havana, 418.

CUBA'S PRINCIPAL RELATIONS/COOPERATION WITH LATIN AMERICA, APRIL 1990

	Е	R	AG	AT	со	СМ	CU	ED	HE	LE	ST	TR	IA
AR BB BH	X X X			х			X X		х		Х	X	HE
BO	X			Х	Х	х	X X	Х	Х	х	х	х	uр
BR	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	HE HE
CH				21	71	25	А	Л	Δ	Λ	"A	Λ	пь
CO							х	Х				Х	
CS	•						X	X		х			
DR				х	Х		х	Х	х				CO
EC	Х				Х	Х	. X	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	CO,HE
ES													·
GR													
GT				Х						Х			
GY	х		Х	Х	Х		Х	Х	Х		X	Х	HE,CO
HA													
HO							Х	Х		Х			
JA		Х					Х						
MX	Х			х	x	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	CO,HE
NU	Х		Х	Х	X	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	AG,CO,HE
PA PE	X			77	37 .			* 2					
PL PN	Α		х	X X	X	Х	X	X	Х	Х	Х	Х	HE
ST	*		Λ	A			Х	Х					
TT	*						X X			r			
UY	х			х			X	Х		х	v	v	
VE	X			X			X	X	Х	Λ	X X	X X	
• • •	** <u>.</u>			21			Δ	Α	Λ		Λ	Λ	

Activity Abbreviations

- E = embassy
- R = relations but no representatives exchanged
- AG = agriculture
- AT = athletics
- CO = construction
- CM = communications
- CU = culture
- ED = education
- HE = health
- IA = Cuban internationalist assistance provided
- LE = legislative relations
- ST = science & technology (or technical exchange)
- TR = trade

*non-resident ambassador

STATISTICAL SUMMARY: VISITS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST TO CUBA, 1988-89

	А	В	С	D
Algeria	-		-	_
Bahrain				_
Cyprus	_	. 	_	-
Egypt	_	-	-	 '
Iran	2	. 1		3
Iraq	4	· ⊥	_	4
Israel	-	_		-
Jordan	<u>-</u>			_
bordan				
Kuwait	_	_	_	<u> </u>
Lebanon			; <u> </u>	_
Libya	4	_		4
Morocco	_	_	_	_ _
11010000				•
Oman	-	-	-	_
Qatar	-	-	-	-
Saudi Arabia		-	-	-
Sudan	-	-	-	- ,
Syria	1	-	-	1
Tunisia	1	-	-	1
Turkey	-	-	-	-
UAE	· <u> </u>		-	- * .
Verse Juck Dee	1			1
Yemen Arab Rep	1 1	- 3	- ·	1
Yemem, PDR	Ţ	3	-	4
Liberation Movements	:			
PLO	4	_		4
Western Sahara	5		-	5
				0

A = Military & Political

- B = Economic
- C = Cultural
- D = Total

STATISTICAL SUMMARY: VISITS BY CUBANS TO THE MIDDLE EAST, 1988-89

	A	В	С	D
Algeria		2	1	3
Bahrain	_		± 	5
Cyprus	_	_		_
Egypt	_	· · · ·	_	-
ngype	_	-	-	-
Iran	-	-	_	
Iraq	1	1	_	2
Israel	-	_	_	_
Jordan		_	<u> </u>	
		•		
Kuwait		· _	_	·
Lebanon	· _	· _	_ + +	
Libya	1	_		1
Morocco	· _	_	-	1
MOLOCCO	_	_	_	
Oman	-	_	_	_
Qatar	-	-	-	_
Saudi Arabia		-	-	_
Sudan	-	. –	_	
Syria		-	_	
Tunisia			-	_
Turkey	_	_	_	
UAE		_	_	
				_
Yemen Arab Rep	-	-	-	_
Yemem, PDR	3	-	· _	3
Liberation Movements:	• ·			
PLO	2*	_	_	2
Western Sahara	-	-	_	-
A = Military & Politi B = Economic C = Cultural	cal	[.]		

D = Total

* visits to PLO headquarters in Tunis

STATISTICAL	SUMMAR	Y:	AGREEMENTS	SIGNED	BY	CUBA	AND	MIDDLE	EAST
	STATES	AND	LIBERATION	MOVEME	NTS	, 198	8-89	İ	

	A	В	С	D
Algeria		1	1	2
Bahrain	_	-		2
Cyprus			_	
Egypt	_	_		_
пдурс		_		_
Iran	_		· _ ·	-
Iraq	1	2	-	3
Israel	_			– 1
Jordan		_	_	
Kuwait	_	·	1997 - 19	
Lebanon	_	-		_
Libya	2	_	_	2
Morocco	_	_	_	_
Oman	_			-
Qatar	-	-	-	
Saudi Arabia	-			-
Sudan	· -	_	-	-
Syria		<u> </u>	—	<u> </u>
Tunisia	-	· _	-	
Turkey	-		_	-
UAE		_	·	
Yemen Arab Rep		-	1	1
Yemem, PDR	7	3		10
	•			
Liberation Movements	5:			
PLO		1	. ·	1
	_	1	-	1
Western Sahara		-	-	— ·
A = Military & Polit	igal			
A = MIIItary & PolitB = Economic	TCAT		· · · .	
D - RCOHONIEC			1	

- C = Cultural D = Total

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