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Terrorism

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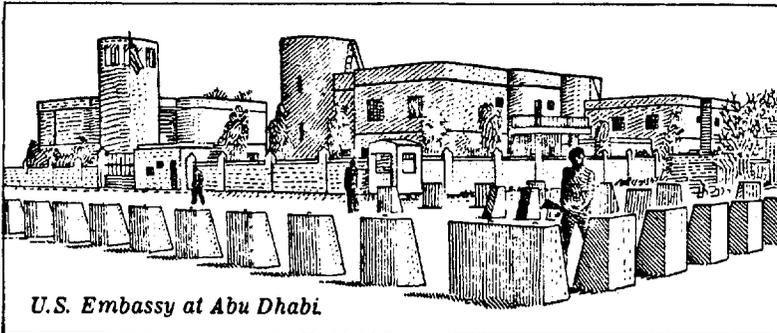
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WALL STREET JOURNAL 12 June 1984 Pg. 38
U.S. to Fortify Persian Gulf Embassies



U.S. Embassy at Abu Dhabi

By EDUARDO LACHICA
 Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The State Department is asking the Office of Management and Budget for \$165 million over the next two fiscal years to redesign or build anew six or seven embassies in the Persian Gulf, where U.S. diplomats are exposed to maximum terrorist danger.

The new security program began even before the latest tensions in the gulf from the Iran-Iraq war. In December 1983, the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait was wrecked by a terrorist who drove a dynamite-laden truck through the gates, killing three Kuwaiti employees and injuring 35 other persons. Around the world, the department has counted 45 separate acts of violence against its facilities and personnel since January.

Urgently needed security measures have turned some of the remaining gulf missions into veritable fortresses. The one in Abu Dhabi looks like something out of "Beau Geste," with armed sentries in parapets. Pillboxes guard the wall corners. "Dragon's teeth," or concrete barriers, keep motor traffic a safe distance away.

But this siege setting isn't how the U.S. government likes its overseas missions to look. "Ideally, our embassies should physically express the openness of American society," says Robert Lamb, assistant secretary of state for administration. "We can't conduct our business hiding behind sandbags and concertina wire. I'd hate to see us go the way of the Russians who build their embassies to keep their people in and other people out."

The department is inviting U.S. architects to submit designs that can accomplish the twin objectives of keeping its diplomats safe while maintaining certain aesthetic standards that the U.S. has set for its official buildings overseas.

Some architects, though, wonder whether this is possible. "The two aims are terribly irreconcilable. You can't have it both ways," says Edward Bassett, a senior partner of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill. The architectural profession is digging deep into its bag of design tricks but there's almost no stopping the trend to-

wards "building bunkers," he says.

Mr. Bassett, who has been advising the U.S. government on building design since 1947, says it's almost impossible to protect consulates that draw hundreds of visa seekers every day. What makes the problem more challenging is the extent of the threat. "Even our diplomats in friendly countries aren't safe anymore," he adds.

"With all the insanity afoot in the world, architects are resigned to building castles again," he says. But even if he were to build a strongbox surrounded by 20-foot walls, that still couldn't protect against "a nut carrying a bomb in a second-hand Cessna."

Some ideas that have been passed on to Mr. Lamb's office, however, could improve the security of embassies while retaining an illusion of openness. These include:

- Constructing the buildings on ground higher than street level if climate and the need for public access require an open layout. The higher elevation could prevent truck-bombers from crashing into the walls.

- Raising grassy mounds around the buildings to provide similar protection while giving the grounds a neat landscaped look.

- Planting shade trees with dense foliage to block the view of important offices from the street.

- Fencing the property with iron grill-work and firethorn shrubs. The layout is decorative but the thorny bush and the high fence could slow down an intruder long enough for security personnel to react.

The State Department is also experimenting with new ballistics-proof building material and high-technology surveillance. Much of this work is still secret.

Stuart Knoop, a vice president of Oudens & Knoop Architects, notes that designers are increasingly attuned to security needs. "We've a rich market in the corporate world," he confides. "Some buildings designed for the oil and auto industries are made to keep out industrial spies."

Mr. Knoop is advising the State Department on finding new embassy sites. For

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
 18 June 1984 (12) Pg. 16

One reason U.S. officials are reluctant to send more Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Persian Gulf nations threatened by the Iran-Iraq War: They fear security is so lax in some areas that the sophisticated weapons may fall into the hands of terrorists who would use them to shoot down civilian airliners.

reasons of economy and convenience, the department uses many rented properties overseas. But the security threat is giving the department a new incentive to acquire its own sites and build on them. The Beirut Embassy that was blown up in April 1983 with the loss of 47 lives was ill-suited for security. It was originally an apartment building.

Little can be done about the historic buildings that U.S. diplomats occupy in London, Paris and Ottawa. "They are just too valuable to be ripped apart and rebuilt," Mr. Knoop says.

Mr. Lamb says the department can't afford to relax. "The kind of threat keeps changing," he explains. In the late 1960s, terrorists targeted ambassadors and other principal officers. The Foreign Service reacted by armoring ambassadors' cars and providing them with bodyguards. In the early 1970s, America's enemies switched tactics and started mailing letter bombs to embassies. That threat was curbed, but later in the decade mob violence became the major threat. U.S. missions in Tripoli, Islamabad and Tehran were overrun and illegally occupied.

U.S. embassies now are easier to defend against mob attack. Some 1,200 Marines help guard overseas missions, and the department is negotiating with the corps to augment this force. To prevent the capture of diplomatic secrets, paper files are being converted to computer memories that can be easily destroyed in the event of an embassy seizure.

But with the early 1980s came the truck-bombing threat. The Beirut and Kuwait embassies were the major casualties.

"We can counter each threat as it emerges but we can't tell what our enemies will think of next," Mr. Lamb admits.

Security doesn't come cheap. "We're already spending nearly 12% of our entire administrative budget for security," Mr. Lamb says. The department already is authorized to spend \$175 million for that purpose for the next fiscal year starting Oct. 1. That's 25% more than similar provisions for the current year, Mr. Lamb adds.

WASHINGTON POST 10 June 1984 Pg. 26

7 Summit Nations Express Resolve On Terrorism, Dealings With Soviets

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

LONDON, June 9—The western democracies patched up their political differences today and issued declarations opposing international terrorism and expressing "solidarity and resolve" in dealing with the Soviet Union.

But both statements were blandly worded, and some diplomatic sources said they represented a mild setback for host Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on terrorism and for President Reagan, who had pushed for a firmer statement on East-West relations.

On terrorism, the six industrialized western nations and Japan meeting here at their annual economic summit accepted U.S. and British contentions that state-supported terrorism is an increasing problem. The declaration said the assembled nations "viewed with serious concern the increasing involvements of states and governments in acts of terrorism, including the abuse of diplomatic immunity."

This abuse has been a special British concern since April 27, when a British policewoman was killed by shots fired from the Libyan Embassy. Britain and Libya subsequently broke off diplomatic relations.

But objections from the French, and to some degree from the Italians, apparently blocked British proposals to exchange intelligence and technical information about terrorists, pass new legislation dealing with international terrorism and agree to expel or exclude known terrorists, "including persons of diplomatic status involved in terrorism."

All of these ideas were included in the seven-point declaration on terrorism issued today but the statement referred to these points not as agreements, but as "proposals which found support in the discussion." The international leaders also discussed preemptive acts to prevent acts of terrorism, sources said, but issued no declaration because the is-

sue is considered too sensitive for public discussion.

The French, who receive significant amounts of oil from Libya, reportedly expressed the view that any public statement could serve as an invitation to acts of terrorism. But they agreed to the compromise statement announced today by Thatcher, in which the seven nations "expressed their resolve to combat this threat by every possible means, strengthening existing measures and developing effective new ones."

On East-West relations, the United States salvaged portions of a proposal that it had unsuccessfully sought to append to a British-sponsored Declaration of Democratic Values approved yesterday.

The single-page statement today said that the aim of the allied nations was "security and the lowest possible level of forces."

"We wish to see early and positive results in the various arms-control negotiations and the speedy resumption of those now suspended," the statement said. "The United States has offered to restart nuclear arms control talks, anywhere, at any time, without preconditions. We hope that the Soviet Union will act in a constructive and positive way."

A senior U.S. official said today that West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Thatcher had been supportive of Reagan in private discussions when the U.S. president said that continued deployment of the missiles was necessary unless the Soviets were willing to negotiate their removal or reduction.

At a news conference following release of the statement, Thatcher said, "It is the anticipation that we will complete the two-track decision on NATO [for negotiation and deployment] and deploy the missiles we agreed to deploy."

The East-West statement also contained a phrase proposed by Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau saying, "We believe that East and West have important common interests in preserving peace . . ." It

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WASHINGTON POST
10 June 84 (11) Pg.1

U.S. Builds 3rd World Arms Aid

Defense Planners Emphasize Role Of 'Special Forces'

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration is systematically laying the foundation within the Pentagon for increasing military involvement in Third World conflicts, according to budget documents and interviews with current and former officials.

The new emphasis in many ways recalls the early 1960s, when President John F. Kennedy commissioned the Green Berets to stop what he called "the Communist tide" in poor countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Once again, the Defense Department is beefing up its Green Berets and other "special forces," troops trained to kill guerrillas and to teach other armies to do the same.

The increased U.S. role in what the Pentagon calls "counterinsurgency," which has been advocated since 1982 in classified defense documents, also is reflected in the types of ships and weapons being purchased, the network of overseas bases and military facilities being formed, the increase in U.S. military training overseas, the administration's legislative proposals to lift restrictions on such training and the record U.S. share in the Third World arms market.

Fueling the new emphasis is the Reagan administration's conviction that President Jimmy Carter concentrated too heavily on European and South Korean defense while neglecting what one former top official called "the nibbling and erosion at the edges." Fred C. Ikle, undersecretary of defense for policy, said in a

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ARMS AID...Continued

recent interview that the current administration took office amid "growing concern in this country with the spread of the communist empire into various outposts."

Top officials agreed that their policies echo those of the Kennedy administration in many ways, but they said they have placed more emphasis on training others to resist guerrilla movements than on using U.S. forces. But if U.S. troops are needed, they said, the lessons of Vietnam will influence the troops' deployment.

"The military as well as the civilian side in the administration recognize the importance of having a coherent strategy of first, if at all possible, avoiding the possibility of U.S. combat forces being involved . . . and second, should it be necessary, to make sure that an intervention should succeed," Ikle said.

The emphasis on counterinsurgency has created some unease within the Pentagon, where generals who came of age in Vietnam question the usefulness of U.S. power in what they call "low-intensity" conflicts. Few seem to dispute the administration's characterization of Soviet aims—"to put the West's access to petroleum and other strategic raw materials at risk," one official said recently. But many ask how much the U.S. military can do in places like El Salvador.

Noel Koch, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger's top aide for special forces, said in a recent interview that there is a "shortfall . . . in doctrinal development" for guerrilla wars. The newly formed Joint Special Operations Agency—which will report to the Joint Chiefs of Staff—is moving to correct that problem, he said.

In the meantime, the administration is not waiting to demonstrate its resolve to be more active in the Third World:

- The Pentagon requested \$6.4 billion in foreign military aid this year, as against \$2.4 billion in 1980, according to Pentagon officials. Among the major recipients of U.S. assistance are countries such as Pakistan, which the Carter administration held at arm's length because of concerns about nuclear proliferation

WASHINGTON POST
11 June 1984 Pg. 2

Correction

A report yesterday on military aid to the Third World should have said that, according to Congressional Research Service analyst Richard F. Grimmett, the United States concluded a record \$14.9 billion in arms-transfer agreements to developing countries in 1982.

and human rights.

To ease the burden on poor countries seeking arms, the administration has offered grants instead of loans or has sought to ease lending terms. In 1982, it created the Special Defense Acquisition Fund, which stockpiles arms and equipment to allow quicker transfers, and in each succeeding year it has sought to increase the fund's size.

- In 1982, the United States transferred a record \$14.9 billion worth of arms to Third World countries, according to Congressional Research Service analyst Richard F. Grimmett. Last year the total fell to \$9.5 billion, but the U.S. share of the Third World market nonetheless rose from 32 percent to 39 percent.

"Carter believed that arms sales are basically immoral, and he discouraged official support," said retired Air Force Lt. Gen. James Ahmann, a Northrup Corp. executive who until 1982 headed the Defense Security Assistance Agency. "That negativism on trying to help our friends and allies has disappeared."

- To permit more U.S. military training, the administration has petitioned Congress with mixed success to scrape away what Ikle called "the barnacles that restrict our ability to help our friends in the post-Vietnam period."

The administration has sought permission to train foreign police and maritime forces; to send more than the current legal maximum of six military advisers to Tunisia, Lebanon, Yemen, Pakistan, Sudan, Honduras, Venezuela and elsewhere; to lower the amount it must charge for military training; and to send train-

SUMMIT...Continued

went on to endorse the "confidence-building" measures proposed by the United States that would improve communications between the superpowers and among their allies to reduce the risk of surprise attack and accidental war.

Thatcher issued a statement from the chair about the Iran-Iraq war that she said the other nations had agreed to, expressing the "hope and desire . . . that both sides will cease their attack on each other and on the shipping of other states," and urging respect for the "principle of freedom of navigation."

The statement voiced "deep concern at the mounting toll in human suffering, physical damage and bitterness." The formal communique pledged coordination of oil resources to deal with any shortages arising from the Persian Gulf war.

The communique also endorsed an international manned space station, which is planned by the United States, and took note of the "generous and thoughtful invitation" by Reagan to the other summit nations that would allow them to use the resources of this station.

"President Reagan's vision is a long-term partnership in the peaceful use of space—a permanent, fully international space station built by the United States together with its friends and allies, and used by all nations as an operating environment in which to work and learn," said a U.S. official.

ers to dictatorial countries like Uruguay that have been off limits.

"It's precisely by bringing these people into the United States and letting them see how a democracy manages its military . . . that you have a certain hope of affecting the political life in these countries," Ikle said.

- The Reagan administration has expanded previous plans to establish a network of bases and facilities around the world. The overseas military construction budget increased from \$1.79 billion in fiscal year 1981 to a proposed \$2.14 billion in fiscal 1985, with more increases forecast.

The increase partly reflects implementation of two Carter administra-

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tion plans, one for the Persian Gulf and one for stationing medium-range nuclear cruise missiles in Europe. But the Pentagon under Reagan has done more than Carter planned at the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and in Oman, Morocco, Iceland, Japan, Honduras, Turkey and elsewhere.

- The Army late last year won permission to create a new "light" division, designed for quick deployment to Third World hot spots. The Marines, the original Third World intervention force, have been strengthened and modernized. And the expansion of the Navy, particularly the reactivation of four World War II battleships that would be of little use in a major conflict with the Soviet Union, is intended to increase U.S. "power projection" beyond U.S. bases.

- The Navy's enthusiastic embrace of the cruise missile program under the Reagan administration similarly will expand the military's reach into relatively undefended countries. The Navy intends to buy more than 4,000 of the long-range, slow-flying cruise missiles at more than \$3 million each by 1992, including 3,200 in a non-nuclear version that would be of little use against the Soviet Union.

The missiles will "permit a limited, measured response as an expression of U.S. will and determination without jeopardizing aircraft or pilots," Rear Adm. Stephen J. Hostettler, director of the joint cruise missiles project, testified recently in Congress.

- The administration has reinforced its buildup with action: sending AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System aircraft) to Africa to respond to crises in Chad and Sudan, shooting down Libyan jets in the Gulf of Sidra, stationing Marines in Lebanon, rotating thousands of troops through Honduras, invading Grenada.

During the first three years of Reagan's term, the number of troops overseas increased by about 5 percent—from about 475,000 to almost 500,000.

- The administration has favored covert action in Third World coun-

tries, unsuccessfully seeking to repeal congressional restrictions on U.S. support for Angolan rebels and successfully seeking to finance Nicaraguan insurgents bent on overthrowing that country's leftist Sandinista government.

"The administration has tried to reduce the asymmetry, the extent to which the Soviet Union can use all means—terrorist, covert, arms shipments, what have you—to topple governments or support governments that are opposed by the people—while the United States would be left with a choice between vacating the field, abandoning the friends of democracy, or getting into an all-out conflict," Ikle said.

He was referring to covert war, but his comment also could be applied to the most dramatic aspect of the administration's preparations for the Third World: the revitalization of the Green Berets and other special forces that went into a decline after Vietnam. Koch, principal deputy assistant secretary for international security affairs, has been charged with strengthening the special forces to combat what he sees as Soviet-inspired insurgencies.

"I think Kennedy properly recognized that we were confronted with this kind of problem all over the world," he said recently. "Then the thing slid into what became Vietnam and sort of went to hell in a hand-basket, but it doesn't follow that the essential motive was faulty or the rationale behind it was faulty."

In the two years ending next Oct. 1, the number of special operating forces in the Army will have grown by almost 50 percent, from a little more than 4,000 to almost 6,000, according to Army officials. The Army is adding a third Ranger commando battalion this year and a new Green Beret unit with a forward-deployed battalion in Okinawa, similar to those already stationed in Panama and West Germany.

The Navy formed a new team of commandos, known as Seals, and now is modernizing the Seals' equipment and buying them "special warfare infiltration craft," Koch said recently. The Air Force agreed to buy 12 new MC130 Combat Talon airplanes, which can fly low at night and drop troops and equipment with

pinpoint accuracy. It was then told by Weinberger to buy nine more.

The potential use of these special forces is not limited to guerrilla wars. The forces also are trained to defeat terrorists and to infiltrate enemy lines in conventional wars, blowing up radio stations, organizing fifth-column resistance groups and sabotaging command centers.

But they are being touted above all for their usefulness in fighting guerrilla wars and in teaching armies in Central America and elsewhere how to defeat guerrilla movements.

"If we send in the 82nd Airborne or the Marines, we have taken over the war," Ahmann said. "In low-level conflicts, whether that will be really effective is questionable . . . You need to help the indigenous forces do the job better and win the population over, and for that you need guys trained to think about the three guys or seven guys creeping around at night trying to kill each other."

Koch has urged Congress, the public and skeptics within the Pentagon to support more special forces. He frequently cites Soviet "Spetsnaz" special forces to make his case. "The threat posed by these forces—including the threat to the continental United States—is real, grave and too slowly being recognized," he testified in Congress recently.

In response to prodding from the top, the Army in 1982 formed the 1st Special Operations Command to coordinate its special forces activities. The Air Force followed suit with its 23rd Air Force last year. Then, at the beginning of 1984, the Joint Chiefs created the Joint Special Operations Agency to coordinate all special forces activities and, reportedly, to manage the top-secret commando unit that draws people from all four services.

Despite the new structure, many generals would prefer to plan for larger, World War II-style conflicts "which tend to be cleaner," Ahmann said. Koch has complained in testimony that the services are stingy with promotions for special-forces operators.

"It's a small constituency, and the conventional military is somewhat suspicious of it, in many cases for very good cause," Koch said in a re-

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NEW YORK TIMES 8 June 1984 Pg. 1

U.S. Military Creates Secret Units For Use in Sensitive Tasks Abroad

The following article is based on reporting by Jeff Gerth and Philip Taubman and was written by Mr. Gerth.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7 — The Defense Department has created several secret commando units in recent years, and they have tried to rescue missing Americans in danger spots abroad, participated in the invasion of Grenada and supported Central Intelligence Agency covert operations in Central America, according to Administration officials and members of Congress.

The development of the elite units, which has extended the military's traditional concept of special forces, has raised concern in Congress, some lawmakers say. They say the worry is that the units might become a uniformed version of the Central Intelligence Agency and be used to circumvent Congressional restrictions and reporting requirements on intelligence activities and the use of American forces in combat operations.

But a senior intelligence official denied that such a risk existed. He said that although the new special operations forces constituted a resource for intelligence operations, any such use of them would be directed by the C.I.A. and properly reported to Congress.

Some of the units were created to fight terrorism but have acquired broadened mandates and training for missions against insurgencies in developing countries in Central America, Africa and Asia, according to the Administration officials and members of Congress. The training and activities of the units are highly classified.

The growth of the units, Administration officials said, stemmed from a general concern at senior levels in the Government that the United States needed to improve its ability to use specialized forms of force in situations in which the open exercise of power and the deployment of large numbers of men and weapons would be politically unacceptable.

In a few instances, including operations in Central America, these new units have worked in conjunction with C.I.A. covert activities, but they are not officially considered intelligence organizations.

Some of the Congressional committees that have jurisdiction over intelligence and military matters, including the Armed Services and Intelligence

committees in the House and Senate, are seeking clarification from the Defense Department about the role of the new units and their relationship to laws and regulations governing intelligence activities.

Maj. Gen. Wesley H. Rice, the director of the Joint Special Operations Agency, which provides high-level Pentagon planning and coordination for the units, told a House subcommittee in April that he did not view his organization "as an agency of interest to the intelligence oversight committee." His remarks disturbed some of the members and staff of the intelligence committee, which has been trying to look into some of the organization's activities.

'Trying to Learn More'

Senator Joseph R. Biden, Democrat of Delaware, a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, said in an interview: "We are aware of the existence of the special operations units but not sufficiently informed about their activities or their connection to intelligence operations. We are trying to learn more."

Much about the units remains secret. The Defense Department refused to provide information about the organization, training or activities of the groups, and the military officers who direct them declined to be interviewed.

But interviews with current and former Defense Department and intelligence officials, members of Congress and staff members of key Congressional committees, disclosed these details about the new units:

¶ They operate under the direction of the Joint Special Operations Command, centered at Fort Bragg in Fayetteville, N.C. The command was created to coordinate United States counterterrorist activities in the wake of the failed 1980 mission to rescue Americans held hostage in Iran. The command, which is headed by Brig. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes, has a separate budget for the development and procurement of special assault weapons. It has a core force of elite troops who can be quickly supplemented with more traditional commando units from the military services, including the Army Special Forces, better known as the Green Berets.

¶ The special operations units and the command structure above them have provided limited resources, both equipment and personnel, to the C.I.A. for its covert operations in Central America, according to an American official

ARMS AID...Continued

cent interview. "It basically conflicts with standard doctrine, and there's a certain amount of discomfort that goes with that."

But retired Adm. Robert L.J. Long, who headed the Pentagon investigation of the Marine headquarters bombing in Beirut last October, said the military will have to adjust to "low-level" conflicts.

"The United States as a superpower has become increasingly incapable and impotent at this low end of the spectrum," Long said in a recent address. "This administration recognized that our problem is something more than countering the Soviets on the plains of Germany.

"It's only been recently that the true meaning of regional confrontation has been understood," he added. "This is an area we're going to hear more of. The interests of the United States and the free world are clearly at stake."

familiar with the operations. Under the terms of a secret 1983 memo to President Reagan from Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, the Pentagon pledged to provide a wide range of logistical support and manpower to assist C.I.A. covert operations in Central America, including support of Nicaraguan rebels. The Senate and House intelligence committees are investigating whether this Pentagon support allowed the C.I.A. to circumvent restrictions, including a \$24 million ceiling, on support for the rebels this year.

¶ Some of the special operations command units played a key but still largely secret role in the American invasion of Grenada last fall, according to American officials. The units, including Navy Sea Air and Land teams, known as SEAL's, infiltrated Grenada during the predawn hours before the landing of Marines and Army Rangers. They successfully carried out one action, safeguarding Grenada's Governor General, Sir Paul Scoon, but failed in two others, including an effort to knock the Grenada radio off the air, according to a Congressional report. At least four men were killed in these operations, which remain officially classified.

¶ The command's units tried to find missing or captured Americans in Lebanon in the last 18 months and assisted in the 1982 search for Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier, who was held hostage by Italian terrorists. As the Government's primary counterterrorist strike force, the units under the special operations command have been deployed in other unspecified situations around the

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

SECRET UNITS...Cont'd

world when American citizens were involved in airplane hijackings and attacks on American embassies or diplomats and will be involved in protecting against terrorist attacks at the Los Angeles Olympics.

One unit, identified as Navy SEAL Team Six, based at the Little Creek Naval Amphibious Base outside Norfolk, Va., operates amid extraordinary secrecy. Its members dress in civilian clothes, are permitted to have long hair and beards, and train at civilian installations, including the Pinal County Air Park near Tucson, Ariz., which was a C.I.A. air base in the 1970's, according to former intelligence officials. When one team member was killed in a skydiving accident at the air park last year, his colleagues initially ordered doctors and nurses at St. Mary's Hospital in Tucson not to turn over the body to the country medical examiner for "national security reasons," hospital authorities said in a recent interview. Civilian skydivers at the air park were told not to take pictures of the team members, and employees were instructed not to record their names.

Pentagon Wanted Its Own Units

Intelligence officials said the Defense Department, impatient with the C.I.A.'s leading role in conducting covert operations, particularly paramilitary activities, has pressed in recent years to establish its own units capable of directing and carrying out such operations.

Starting in 1980, after the failure of the mission to rescue American hostages in Iran, the Army, under the direction of Gen. Edward C. Meyer, then chief of staff, created a small, secret intelligence organization called the Intelligence Support Activity.

The group was formed without the knowledge of the Secretary of Defense, the Director of Central Intelligence or Congress, according to intelligence officials.

Group's Original Mission

Its original mission, according to former Army officers familiar with its origin, was to collect intelligence to plan for special military operations such as the Iran rescue attempt.

Eventually, however, the unit developed the ability to conduct special operations and became involved in supporting C.I.A. covert activities in Central America, including aid to Nicaraguan rebels, according to intelligence officials.

In the last few years, the Joint Special Operations Command has evolved beyond its original mandate of countering terrorism to other kinds of special operations, according to American officials familiar with its operations. As one official described it, the command "has become mostly a nighttime operation, with its own weapons procurement and research, as well as communications."

Congress has carefully prescribed, through legislation and practice, the

NEW YORK TIMES 12 June 1984

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**Italy Opens an Inquiry
Into a Report on Pope**

RÔME, June 11 (UPI) — The Rome state prosecutor's office opened an inquiry today into how an American journalist obtained a confidential prosecutor's report on the purported Bulgarian connection to the 1981 attack on the Pope, the Italian news agency ANSA reported.

The journalist, Claire Sterling, cited the report in an article in The New York Times on Sunday.

The decision to conduct the inquiry followed formal protests today by Italian lawyers acting on behalf of Sergei

Ivanov Antonov, a Bulgarian airline official being held in Italy on suspicion of complicity in the assassination attempt.

The New York Times said Bulgaria recruited Mehmet Ali Agca for the attempt on the Pope's life as part of a plot to weaken Poland's Solidarity union movement. The same charge was reported earlier by NBC News.

WASHINGTON, June 11 (AP) — The State Department refused comment today on reports that the Italian state prosecutor had concluded that the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II in 1981 was part of a plot in which the Bulgarian secret service played a key role.

reporting and oversight responsibilities for covert operations conducted by the C.I.A. The Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980 requires the executive branch to keep Congress "currently and fully informed" about intelligence activities. In addition, a 1981 executive order on intelligence issued by President Reagan required agencies engaged in intelligence activities to cooperate with Congress.

Limit on 'Special Activities'

The executive order also limited "special activities," a synonym for covert activities, to the C.I.A. unless the President determined that another agency was better able to conduct such activities.

The order, however, did not fully spell out the definition of "special activities." National security experts and Congressional officials say there is some ambiguity over whether some types of commando operations carried out by the Pentagon would fall within the definition of special activities.

The staffs of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations subcommittee on defense have been seeking clarification about these issues from the Defense Department. Lawmakers and staff members said they were concerned about the somewhat ambiguous area — one staff member called it a "gray zone" — between military and intelligence operations.

These sources also say they worry about a situation in which secret commando operations unknown to Congress might lead to open combat, drawing United States forces into a wider conflict. Under the War Powers Act, Congress must be informed about, and in some cases ultimately approve, the use of American troops overseas in combat situations. It is unclear how the law applies to commando operations.

The Defense Department has responded to oversight inquiries by the Intelligence Committee, but officials

say the Pentagon is less cooperative than the C.I.A. in discussing its operations.

Representative Joseph P. Addabbo, Democrat of Queens, chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense, said he hoped the existing Presidential directives, coupled with assurances given to his subcommittee by Pentagon officials would provide guidelines for proper oversight. Mr. Addabbo and other officials said the assurances were contained in classified responses by General Rice, the director of the Joint Special Operations Agency, and other Pentagon officials to questions posed during and after the April hearing.

"Hopefully, we have the apparatus to know what they're up to," Mr. Addabbo said. He added that he opposed the creation of a uniformed C.I.A. "I think we have too much covert operations already, as it is," he said.

In a prepared statement in April before the defense subcommittee, General Rice said the Joint Special Operations Agency was organized to allow the Joint Chiefs of Staff to better manage special operations forces. The agency's organizational structure includes a research and development division to provide items for use in anti-terrorism, unconventional warfare, psychological operations and direct action activities, General Rice's statement said.

The organizational structure also includes a support activities branch which provides "sensitive support" to other governmental agencies, including personnel, training, logistics, operational services, cover and operational intelligence support, according to the written testimony.

The Pentagon's current budget request for special operations forces is about \$500 million, according to data introduced at the hearing.

Administration Debating Antiterrorist Measures

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5 — Three and a half years after announcing that combating terrorism would be President Reagan's first national-security priority, officials say a debate on the subject is still going on in the Administration and that it will be taken up at the economic summit conference this week.

The British are said to have drafted a tough statement designed to show that the seven leaders at the meeting that opens Thursday in London are determined to do something about state-sponsored terrorism. Another reason the statement was drafted, according to a key Administration official, is that "They think we're serious about pre-emptive military attacks against countries supporting terrorism and they want to try to head this off."

Two months ago, President Reagan signed a two-and-a-half-page decision memorandum that officials called a foundation for a policy but not specific guidelines for action or specific commitments of new resources.

As described by a range of Administration officials, the document approved on April 3 lists general principles — including efforts to "dissuade" countries from sponsoring terrorism and the right "to defend ourselves" if victimized. But there is no discussion of how to do this, and no definition of state-sponsored terrorism.

The Diplomatic Alternative

Nor did the document discuss diplomatic efforts to organize countries against state-sponsored terrorism, as was done a decade ago against hijackings, beyond calling for working "as closely as possible" with other nations. Officials said an obstacle to such efforts is the fact that many nations are reluctant to jeopardize economic ties with Iran, Syria, Libya and other nations, yet want to combat terrorism.

Instead, according to the officials, the President's memorandum raises a whole series of questions for further study — principally, what additional resources are needed to gather intelligence on terrorist activities and how the United States should respond to different kinds of terrorist attacks.

At the conference discussion on the subject, officials said the British are expected to take the lead. Officials described the French as hesitant about issuing a policy statement and the Italians as reluctant to get too deeply involved given their important trade relationship with Libya.

A senior official, commenting on some Administration-inspired news reports that there was now a new policy of taking pre-emptive and punitive action against terrorists, stated that the policy was essentially not new at all.

Cooperation With Other Nations

He said all it meant was that known

terrorists would be arrested and that Washington should cooperate more with countries that have intelligence on terrorists, such as Britain, West Germany and Israel.

Officials said the memorandum also stressed doing everything "legally." This word was added to the final document, according to the sources, even after virtually all those involved in the interdepartmental study rejected a recommendation by senior Pentagon officials to authorize "hit squads" to kill terrorists and after the Central Intelligence Agency succeeded in removing any language that might be construed as involving it in domestic spying.

Robert C. McFarlane, the national security adviser; Vice Adm. John Poindexter, his deputy, and other senior White House officials were said by knowledgeable officials to have fashioned the language of the document so that Mr. Reagan could be portrayed as taking strong action without his being committed to anything, especially anything that the Democrats in an election year could portray as recklessness.

'Crossing the Line'

The result, in the view of some in the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, is a document that means either "essentially doing better at what we've already been doing for several years now," as one said, "or crossing the line at some point with pre-emptive counterforce and military retaliation where hard evidence may be lacking."

The potential for just such actions in a second Reagan Administration is precisely what makes the document attractive to a number of high-ranking Pentagon civilians and several senior officials as well.

In a recent magazine interview, William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, cited Israeli action in striking back at countries that aid terrorist attacks and continued, "I think you will see more of that — retaliation against facilities connected with the country sponsoring the terrorists or retaliation that just hurts the interests of countries which sponsor terrorism."

Issues of Conscience

A close associate of Secretary of State George P. Shultz said the Secretary was "grappling with his conscience." The source said Mr. Shultz was in favor of using force, but was against what he said was the Israeli model of retaliating against the innocent along with the guilty.

This official said Mr. Shultz's thinking and that of the Administration would evolve in response to specific provocations in the future. "Some terrorist action will spark an Administration reaction," the official said.

To many officials connected with this issue, the President's decision

document represents at least a temporary halt to three years of bureaucratic drift and high-level inattention to a problem the Administration leaders initially called their highest priority.

Bombings in Lebanon

By all accounts, the twin shocks that energized senior officials were the bombings of the American Embassy and the marine compound in Lebanon. The latter was followed by a spate of alarming intelligence reports to the effect that terrorist groups — along with Iranian, Libyan and Syrian leaders — had come to the conclusion that terrorism was working, that it was the way to break American will.

Before a terrorist drove an explosive-laden truck into the Marine headquarters at Beirut's airport, killing 241 American servicemen, Congress and the American public were uneasy with the American presence in Lebanon. Afterward, as officials saw it, the political pressure to withdraw the marines became irresistible.

It was at this point that senior officials focussed on the interdepartmental studies that had been languishing for some time.

Achievements Listed

Since then, Administration officials maintained that three things have been accomplished: reorganization and new personnel that they hope will strengthen policy formulation and action; the reaching of an uneasy consensus about what is known and not known about the phenomenon of government-supported terrorism, and agreement on a series of small steps to improve coordination against terrorists within the United States and with other countries.

Officials said Mr. Shultz would soon name a new Director of the Office for Combatting Terrorism. Robert Oakley, a career diplomat and currently Ambassador to Somalia, will replace Ambassador Robert M. Sayre, another career Foreign Service officer. Mr. Shultz is said to hope that Mr. Oakley will energize what has been for many years a bureaucratic backwater.

The office was established about 12 years ago as a response to a series of international aircraft hijackings and is responsible for coordinating the activities of 26 different Government departments and agencies.

In January, the Joint Chiefs of Staff quietly established a new agency to coordinate special forces operations and war plans against terrorists. Called the Joint Special Operations Agency, it is headed by Maj. Gen. Wesley H. Rice of the Marine Corps.

The C.I.A.'s main unit is called the Global Issues Staff. Created about 12 years ago as part of the Administration's response to hijackings, it is a

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Terrorist Bill Called 'McCarthy Throwback'

Associated Press

Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) yesterday said a Reagan administration bill to combat terrorist groups would "trample on our human rights," and called the measure "a throwback to the McCarthy era."

While Metzenbaum told a Senate hearing that the bill was unconstitutional and unnecessary, even conservative Sens. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.), both supporters of the legislation, expressed concerns about its sweeping language.

The controversy was over one bill in a four-measure anti-terrorism package. It would allow the secretary of state to designate a list of international terrorist groups or countries, and subject Americans to prosecution if they provide active support.

In a provision that upset Metzenbaum the most, the bill would prohibit any defendant prosecuted under the measure to challenge, as part of his defense, the government's inclusion of a particular group or nation.

Hatch told two Justice Department witnesses that the

bill lacks criteria for the secretary of state to use when designating the terrorist groups.

"You would not be averse to putting standards in?" Hatch asked Mark Richard, deputy assistant attorney general.

"That's correct," Richard said.

Denton, chairman of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on security and terrorism, repeatedly assured Metzenbaum, "The chairman has no interest in trampling on the Bill of Rights."

Denton said the bill "needs some further polish," pointing out that it contains no requirement that the secretary consult with Congress before making his designations.

"We have no problem with consulting with Congress," Richard said.

An angry Metzenbaum said, "It's a throwback to the McCarthy era," referring to the late senator Joseph McCarthy's 1950s hunt for communists at the expense of Americans' civil liberties.

ANTITERRORIST MEASURES ...Continued

counter-terrorist unit today that serves as the focal point for agency intelligence collection, analysis and covert action.

Following the instructions of the new presidential directive, the interdepartmental group led by the State Department is now reviewing whether additional resources are needed.

In the course of the recent policy review, the officials said, members of the intelligence community generally shared the view that government-supported terrorism was now a clear and established fact that required special treatment apart from group or individual terrorism and that Moscow was at least indirectly involved.

View of Soviet Role

Few of the intelligence and policy-level officials interviewed argued that Moscow was actively controlling, directing or directly supplying terrorist activities. The prevailing judgment was that Moscow does not like to undertake high-risk ventures that it cannot control, and that such are the hallmarks of terrorism and terrorists.

Robert H. Kupperman, an expert on terrorism at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, summed up the view often heard inside the Administration: "The Soviets sup-

port a general destabilization program through terrorists, but they're not going to get very close" to actual terrorist operations.

In 1983, officials said there were 71 major terrorist incidents probably sponsored and supported by governments. The principal ones were said to be Iran, Syria, Libya, North Korea, and possibly Cuba and Iraq.

The evidence, which comes from a wide net of intelligence agents and paid informants and varies greatly in quality, is almost entirely circumstantial, but officials say they believe it is substantial and convincing nonetheless.

Four Bills Sent to Congress

The Administration's major move so far was to send four bills to Congress in April that are designed to help detect and prosecute those involved in international terrorism. The legislative package embraced prison terms and fines for people assisting terrorists, rewards for information, and language that would broaden existing laws against kidnapping, hijacking and sabotage. This was a direct outgrowth of the President's decision memorandum of early April.

The memorandum also directed a continuation and expansion of measures to protect American missions and people overseas and at home.

Intelligence operatives reported continuing efforts to coordinate activities with anti-terrorist organizations in other governments.

Consideration is also being given to amending the Vienna Convention of 1961. This set out procedures for diplomatic immunity. The idea would be to check presently immune diplomatic baggage for arms and explosives and to withdraw diplomatic privileges from countries supporting terrorism.

Practical and Moral Problems

Officials said that these represented all the specific ideas being discussed, and that further actions raise troubling practical and moral problems.

Some officials, for example, say they see real difficulties in the fact that the decision memorandum does not define terrorism, yet calls for condemning it in all its forms. These officials said it could be argued that Administration support for the rebels fighting the Nicaraguan Government or Afghan guerrillas could be construed as a form of terrorism. "One man's freedom fighter is another's terrorist," an official said.

Other officials took strong exception to this, arguing that there was an important difference between terrorism and insurgency. In general, they said that insurgent groups supported covertly by the United States did not engage in indiscriminate acts of violence, and that these groups posed an alternate leadership for a country.

To skeptical officials, this definition of insurgency could apply to guerrillas fighting the American-backed Government of El Salvador as well.

REAGAN EXPECTED TO BID ALLIES ACT AGAINST TERRORISM

President Reported Prepared
to Join Mrs. Thatcher in
Plea at Summit Talks

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, June 5 — President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher conferred today amid indications that they would press other Western leaders this week for a commitment to improve efforts to combat terrorism.

American and British officials said political issues in general could overshadow economic matters on the official agenda.

They said that during mealtime discussions the leaders would pay particular attention to relations with the Soviet Union and the crisis in the Persian Gulf resulting from air attacks in the war between Iran and Iraq.

Cooperation Is Sought

Mrs. Thatcher, the host of the economic conference of major industrial democracies, has been interested in a public statement condemning terrorism ever since a British police officer was killed in April by gunfire from inside the Libyan Embassy.

A senior Reagan Administration official said today that Mr. Reagan would join Mrs. Thatcher in trying to persuade other leaders at the conference that more can be done to share intelligence information on the whereabouts of known terrorists. He said there was also a need for Western countries to increase the resources used to combat terrorism.

Mr. Reagan, who arrived here from Dublin last night, spent the fifth day of his 10-day European trip largely out of public view.

He and his wife, Nancy, had lunch with Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh at Buckingham Palace and dinner with Mrs. Thatcher.

Frustration in Washington

An Administration official, discussing terrorism, said today that there was frustration in Washington about the lack of cooperation among Western allies even as terrorist acts have increased.

American allies, he said, are reluctant to share information with the United States because they prefer to act alone and because they fear that information given to Washington might be disclosed.

Because of objections from France and other countries, the official said, participants at the conference may well not say anything significant about terrorism even if informal agreements are reached. But he said Mr. Reagan hoped something concrete could be decided, even if it is not disclosed.

"We really want to get on with a process that leads to results," the official said, asking not to be identified. But he added there would be "no U.S.- or British-led harangue" on the subject.

French officials have belittled the idea of addressing terrorism in the elaborate surroundings of a summit conference and are considered likely to oppose any sort of public statement on the subject.

Mrs. Thatcher, meanwhile, was said by British officials to be interested in establishing a "diplomatic blacklist" prohibiting diplomats charged with harboring terrorists or other abuses from being allowed into other countries.

British officials said Mrs. Thatcher, who will determine the conference agenda, expects relations with the Soviet Union will also be reviewed by the leaders. She was said to have welcomed Mr. Reagan's conciliatory comments toward Moscow in his speech to the Irish Parliament Monday.

Presidential aides said Mr. Reagan was also pleased at the reaction to the speech. In it, he reiterated that he was ready to negotiate with the Soviet Union and suggested a new willingness to discuss the Soviet demand for a renunciation of the use of force by Western allies.

The initial reaction from Moscow to Mr. Reagan's speech has been negative. The Administration official who asked not to be identified said today that Mr. Reagan was disappointed but not surprised by the reaction. "It's consistent with what they've been saying for three or four months," he said, adding that the reaction was not "alarming."

In general, the official said, the Western allies have come to feel that the Soviet Union is in a state of leadership transition and introspection as it struggles over how to deal with the West. The Russians are also thought to be uncertain because of the American election, he said.

Soviet internal politics are expected to be discussed at the London meeting, the official said. But he added that he expected no change in the consensus that the West should not try bold initiatives now to revive the nuclear arms control negotiations that have been deadlocked and cut off.

Relations With Soviet Discussed

An American official said tonight

after the dinner between Mr. Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher that the two leaders had discussed relations with the Soviet Union at some length. He said they had had a talk that was "theoretical and theological" in nature on how to induce Moscow to return to nuclear arms talks.

The official said the two leaders both felt Moscow was now "frustrated" because of failures in its economy and because of renewed willingness in the West to rebuild its military.

On economic matters, Mrs. Thatcher has let it be known that she is increasingly concerned about high interest rates and budget deficits in the United States.

At a news conference last week, she suggested she would raise these subjects at the conference and also at her separate meeting with Mr. Reagan today. She told reporters that deficit spending and high interest rates violate the principles of "prudent banking."

A British official said tonight that at the dinner with Mr. Reagan, Mrs. Thatcher raised the economic issues but that there was no intention to "put the President in the docket" at the conference on the deficit or other such issues. He also said Mrs. Thatcher had thanked the President for his comments in Ireland this week denouncing terrorism in Northern Ireland.

The Prime Minister also discussed Central America with Mr. Reagan, according to the officials, and counseled "caution" on recent United States actions, in particular the mining of Nicaraguan harbors by insurgents acting with the assistance of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Little Criticism Expected

In general, British officials and aides to other participants at the meeting say they do not expect criticism of Mr. Reagan to be as strong at this conference as it has been in the past.

They say that Mr. Reagan long ago proved himself adept at parrying difficult questioning about the subject by asserting amiably that he is working hard to bring interest rates and deficits down and that in any case the world economy has improved greatly in the last few years.

Administration aides said again today that they expected very little trouble from allies at the conference, and indeed they view recent favorable economic trends as vindicating Administration policies.

In another development today, Secretary of State George P. Shultz met briefly here today with Defense Secretary Moshe Arens of Israel. Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said they discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf and Lebanon and other matters.

Mr. Speakes and other officials said that Mr. Shultz was to have met last week with Mr. Arens in Washington but that the meeting had to be put off because the Secretary was tied up with other matters. The spokesman gave no further details of the discussions.

WASHINGTON POST 6 June 1984 Pg. 18

Administration Hoping to Keep Pressure on Soviets**U.S. Seeks Allied Accord on Terrorism, Missiles**By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

LONDON, June 5—The Reagan administration, eager to obtain a show of western unity and keep pressure on the Soviets, is struggling to convince U.S. allies to reaffirm the basic goals of the Atlantic Alliance and also condemn international terrorism, according to U.S. and European officials.

These officials predicted that the six western industrial nations and Japan, which meet here this week at their annual economic summit, would reaffirm the NATO commitment to deploy intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe in an effort to convince the Soviets to return to nuclear arms talks.

But there was pessimism among U.S. and British officials on whether France and Italy would agree to public condemnation of "state supported terrorism." Officials say there is even less unity on U.S. policy in Central America, which President Reagan views as an essential element of U.S.-Soviet conflict.

Nevertheless, a senior U.S. official said that Reagan intends to press his views on Central America in private meetings later this week with the other government leaders.

This official, expressing growing White House skepticism that Nicaragua is willing to halt its "subversion" in El Salvador and move to peaceful resolution of differences with the United States, said that the primary accomplishment of Secretary of State George P. Shultz's visit to Managua Friday was to demonstrate that the United States is willing to talk to Nicaragua. The U.S. official described the statement issued by the Nicaraguan junta after Shultz departed as "deserving of the Pulitzer Prize in fiction."

The statement had emphasized that Nicaragua is willing to discuss U.S. security concerns, but insisted that a third nation participate in further meetings.

U.S. diplomats and State Department officials initially reacted favorably to the meeting and the communique, but officials traveling with Reagan have been cautious about the prospects for a breakthrough in the negotiations. Today's remarks were the toughest yet from a White House official.

On the terrorism issue a senior British official said tonight, "We most certainly intend to raise the issue of terrorism and have some very specific ideas, especially when they [the terrorists] operate under a diplomatic cloak, but I'm not able to say precisely what will come out of it at the summit . . . We're trying to open up the whole international approach."

The official said he believed that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would address the issue no matter what the other nations did.

The senior U.S. official called Thatcher "our ace in the hole," meaning that she could be relied upon to make a statement even if the other nations would not go along.

"The . . . president wants a full discussion of terrorism, including state-supported terrorism," the U.S. official said. "Clearly not everyone is prepared to go as far as we go."

The issue was discussed tonight by Reagan and Thatcher at a private meeting at 10 Downing St., but none of the U.S. officials accompanying Reagan, including national security affairs adviser Robert C. McFarlane, was present. White House sources were unable to say whether any agreement was reached.

U.S. officials say that even Thatcher is less concerned than the United States on the issue of "state-supported terrorism" the phrase the Reagan administration uses to describe international acts of violence fostered by Libya or Iran.

The British, spurred by the killing

of a London policewoman who was shot from the Libyan Embassy in April, would like the summit to reaffirm adherence to the 1961 Vienna Convention governing the privileges of diplomatic immunity. What they especially want is to prevent the assignment of diplomats to western nations who have been expelled from other countries for unacceptable behavior.

A senior U.S. official said that he expected, even if a public statement is not issued, that the seven nations would informally agree to a greater exchange of intelligence information and to the commitment of additional financial resources to combat terrorism.

On April 17, in the wake of the shooting at the Libyan Embassy here, White House spokesman Larry Speakes said, "Terrorism is a problem for all nations, and this government will work as closely as possible with governments—particularly other similarly threatened democracies—to deal with it."

On April 26, the president sent a package of four antiterrorism bills to Congress that would make the taking of hostages a federal offense, outlaw airline sabotage, provide rewards for information on terrorist activity and prohibit the training and support of terrorists.

On another issue, U.S. officials discounted a published report that the United States was considering sharing its strategic oil reserves with other western nations because of a threatened cutoff of oil supplies from the Persian Gulf. A senior official said that the only agreement the seven nations have at this point is that they would not go to the spot market to obtain oil because this would force a sharp increase in oil prices.

Washington Post London correspondent Michael Getler contributed to this report.

BALTIMORE SUN
24 May 1984 Pg. D-1

Graduates told of 'new strategy' for terrorism

By Michael J. Clark
Anne Arundel Bureau of The Sun

ANNAPOLIS — A lesson gleaned from the terrorist bombing that killed 241 Americans in Beirut last October has led to a "new strategy" of preemptive strikes against terrorist groups in certain situations, the chief of naval operations told a graduating class of 993 midshipmen yesterday.

Addressing the 134th graduating class at the U.S. Naval Academy, Adm. James D. Watkins said, "We cannot stand idly by and let any small group of fanatics bend the will and break the spirit of an entire nation. . . ."

The four-star admiral, a 1949 academy graduate who is the nation's top-ranking naval officer, said he helped devise a new strategy to combat terrorists following the bombing in Lebanon, and he came to the conclusion that "there can be moral justification to preempt a probable terrorist attack."

He cautioned that using military force against terrorist sites where bombs are made or against countries that supply materials and money to terrorists should be "a last resort" after diplomatic initiatives and political and economic sanctions are tried.

Before undertaking such a military attack, he said, the United States must believe there is "a reasonable hope of success" and "we must foresee more good than evil as a result of our actions."

Such a military action should have the goal of deterring aggressors from taking other actions against Americans, and "we should work to make terrorist acts so counterproductive and costly, or seem so costly, that potential perpetrators will think twice before conducting, or threatening to conduct, terrorist acts," Admiral Watkins said.

The graduation, staged on the football field of the U.S. Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium, was the prelude "to the main event ahead — that's the fleet," said Academy Superintendent Rear Admiral Charles R. Larson.

Among the midshipmen graduating yesterday before a crowd of 15,000 parents, friends and admirers, 811 were commissioned as Navy ensigns, 165 were sworn in as Marine Corps second lieutenants, four will become Air Force second lieutenants and seven foreign nationals will become officers in their countries' navies. Six graduates had physical disabilities which prevented them from receiving a commission.

The cost to taxpayers to educate each graduating midshipman was \$117,000, academy officials said. . . .

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U.S. found ill prepared for terrorism

By Bob Poos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Soviet Union's terrorism policy will "play an ever increasing factor" in Soviet-U.S. relations, and the United States is ill-equipped to deal with it," a retired senior Navy admiral states.

The Soviets' policies that result in confrontations and terrorism, "have remained remarkably stable over the years," he said.

The Soviets employ guerrilla warfare involving political or religious minorities and the United States, said the officer, who spoke at a seminar of the Hudson Institute on the condition that he not be named.

The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) and terrorist tactics in Lebanon were instances in which Soviet policy has been somewhat effective, he said.

The invasion will permit the Soviets to maintain a "high profile role in Southeast Asia, which they have no intention of relinquishing," he said.

Terrorist tactics in Lebanon were ultimately successful in forcing the U.S. military to retire from that country, he said.

One region, the speaker contended, in which the Soviets have only partly succeeded in establishing a presence is Southern Africa. The admiral did not say but it is general knowledge that South Africa is responsible for keeping the Soviets either out of or off balance in that area.

The Kremlin has learned the wisdom of "using surrogates or 'Paladins' as they're now being called and will continually grow bolder in using them," he predicted.

The United States must improve its special counter-insurgency forces "which have been neglected in the past" and upgrade its capabilities in human intelligence (HUMINT) gathering to cope with guerrillas, he said.

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Where Will Terrorists Strike Next?

As the Concrete Barriers Go Up All Over Washington, Terrorism Experts Say the Question No Longer Is Will Terrorists Hit Washington, But When and Where

By Bob Reiss

With mounting horror, Larry Smith viewed the destruction. Thirty minutes earlier he had been getting into bed at his Alexandria home when the phone rang. "There's been a bombing at the Capitol," the operator told Smith, the Senate's sergeant at arms. It was November 7, 1983.

Now, as he stood amid the rubble, he saw the Capitol—normally a symbol of solidity and permanence—as an "utter mess."

"I felt sick," he remembers. "I felt like someone had bombed my own home." The blast had exploded from behind a seat in the hallway outside the Senate chamber, shattering and blowing off the doors of the Republican cloakroom and the office of Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd 25 feet away. Debris flew into the face of the marble bust of Teddy Roosevelt. Glass and marble bits slashed and shredded portraits of Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun. Chandelier glass sprayed Adlai Stevenson.

The explosion was so powerful that it dispersed down three corridors, leaving a 250-foot path of destruction. "Anything that wasn't a wall gave," says Smith. "On a busy day, this corridor is so crowded it's hard to walk through. Had we been in session, we would have lost people, without question. People would have been blinded by flying glass."

Only a few days earlier, Smith had

presented Majority Leader Howard Baker and Minority Leader Robert Byrd with a study concluding that security in the Senate needed to be tightened. New measures had been scheduled to be presented to party caucuses three days after the explosion.

"I felt like I'd been waiting for it to happen," Smith says, "but it was difficult to sell that to members of Congress when nothing had happened yet."

Today the bombed corridor is closed to visitors. Almost 30 more metal detectors have been installed at the Capitol and nearby congressional office buildings. Women's bags are searched constantly. Color-coded passes are now required for people who work in the Capitol—red or yellow for staffers and aides, green for media, blue for lobbyists.

Bulletproof metal plates have been installed in the backs of the House members' chairs. Concrete barriers seal the parking lot. At night, after visitors have left, Capitol police regularly stage mock rescue attempts in the buildings.

But Larry Smith is still worried. Standing before the blast site, where a raised platform surrounds the damaged wall like three sides of a coffin, he is asked if he feels the new security precautions are adequate. He answers with an unhappy shake of the head: "I have a feeling it's going to happen again."

Smith is not alone. As the summer of 1984 approaches, legislators and law-enforcement authorities are occupied with anti-terrorist preparations as never before. Security armies are assembling at the sites of the Democratic and Repub-

lican National Conventions, as well as at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles and the World's Fair in New Orleans.

"Washington is a particularly good target," says Dr. Yonah Alexander, anti-terrorism expert and fellow at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. "There is no question that we will see more violence."

Says Michael Ledeen, a former special adviser to Secretary of State Alexander Haig and consultant on terrorism to the Pentagon, "The question isn't whether it will happen here. The question is why it hasn't happened yet."

And so in ways both subtle and overt, the expectation of terrorism incorporates itself into the lives of Washingtonians at all levels. The President issues a policy directive calling for an "active defense against terrorism," including rewards of up to \$500,000 for information on terrorists, as well as the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary squads. Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton introduces a bill that would make terrorism a federal crime punishable by death if innocent victims are killed. A new 50-man FBI "hostage squad" demonstrates anti-terrorist tactics for reporters at the Quantico Marine base. All four divisions of the armed services train troops to "cope with terrorist incidents within this country," says a Pentagon spokesman.

More signs: The Army commissions Dr. Robert Kupperman of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies to write a report on "low-intensity conflict," which is what social scientists call terrorism. EPA security personnel request a talk on explosives.

Bob Reiss is a widely published author whose upcoming novel, *Divine Assassin*, concerns terrorism in Washington.

and Lieutenant Jeff Altmire, who heads the bomb squad at Fort McNair, sends a staffer to pass out material entitled "Letter and Parcel Bomb Recognition Points." Chief James Powell of the Capitol police speculates that someday an iron fence may be necessary around the Capitol—the last fence was torn down in 1873. Pennsylvania Avenue is closed during an evening rush hour when three suitcases are spotted on the sidewalk near the White House. Only clothing is found inside.

The heightened awareness of terrorism is most noticeable at government buildings, from the White House, Capitol, and State Department, where concrete barriers have been erected to discourage car-bomb attacks, to the Pentagon, where tunnels under the building have been closed for security reasons. Now it is rippling outward, touching the everyday lives of many more Washingtonians.

Cab driver Tom Sahr complains, "I used to hang around the Senate parking lot and cruise for passengers. Now I can't get in." Chris Vestal, a newsletter publisher who reports on the Hill, says, "When I go to the Capitol, guards want to see my purse every ten seconds." A ten-year-old boy on the Washington-New York train asks another passenger, "You're from Washington? Will terrorists blow up the White House?" And Judith St. Ledger-Roty, an attorney, recalls a recent day when she walked by the Soviet Embassy on 16th Street, noticed a man talking to a guard at the gate, and thought about how easy it would be for a terrorist to attack the building. "It struck me," she says, "that suddenly there were thoughts in my everyday routine that terrorists can and do exist in this country."

"Terrorism begins with the perception that it exists," says Yonah Alexander. "If you think it's here, it's already altering your life." Larry Smith agrees: "The terrorists have had a degree of success. They're forcing us to conduct our lives differently."

As summer approaches, do Washingtonians occupy a twilight zone between terrorism as a form of nightly television entertainment and the real possibility of an explosion at Metro Center?

Terrorists have existed globally for decades without launching wholesale assaults on Washington. Why the big concern now?

The answer, experts say, lies in the evolution of terrorism itself. No longer a product of isolated attacks, terrorism is now recognized as an outgrowth of the last 30 years of superpower confrontation. It is the warfare of the future. The future is here.

For years, social scientists have said that in the nuclear age, the superpowers would avoid direct confrontation as too catastrophic. Instead, the major powers would support smaller countries in little "proxy" wars around the world. Now anti-terrorism experts fear the proxy wars will be carried back to Washington in the form of bombings and assassinations by terrorists doing the bidding of their governments.

The biggest concern of terrorist-

"The terrorists have had a degree of success," says Larry Smith, the Senate's sergeant at arms. "They're forcing us to conduct our lives differently."

watchers in the US is no longer the Weather Underground or other American radical groups, but pro-Khomeini Iranians and pro-Qadafi Libyans, many of whom enter the country across the Canadian border. Kupperman, as well as sources at the FBI and local law-enforcement agencies, confirms the presence of large numbers of them in this country. "For the first time," says Kupperman, "the infrastructure is here that will support a terrorist operation. No terrorism occurs without surveillance beforehand. I'm talking about serious professional, politically oriented groups that are well financed. "The suicidal drivers are only cannon fodder in these deals.

"My guess is you're going to see a bomb against the State Department. Assassination attempts against individuals are also likely," says Kupperman.

"In the nuclear age, the name of the game is not missile against missile," adds Yonah Alexander. "The name of the game is acts of terror conducted by dedicated small groups that are supported by governments."

The key phrase of the new terrorism is "supported by governments." Says Kupperman, co-author of *Terrorism: Threat, Reality, Response*, "In the mid-'70s and late '70s, there was a lot of state-supported terrorism. For example, the Soviets provided training, weapons, and forged travel documents to terrorists. Libya provided safe haven for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and encouraged Carlos (the legendary Venezuelan-born terrorist) to pull off operations. In no case did the country directly manage the event.

"But today you have state-managed

terrorism. Which means that a national-level intelligence agency, the Syrian or Iranian government, trains individuals, designs and engineers a bomb, does the counterintelligence work, executes an attack, and lies back and denies it. You can't deal with it in court, and you're impotent to deal with it directly."

The first two Washingtonians to die from state-managed terrorism were Orlando Letelier, the exiled Chilean defense minister, and Ronni Moffitt, a co-worker at the Institute of Policy Studies. In 1976 they were murdered by a bomb, later traced by the FBI to the Chilean secret police. Four years later, during the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, Ali Akbar Tabatabai, an anti-Khomeini Iranian, was gunned down outside his Bethesda home by a man disguised as a postman. The gunman escaped.

Asked if the United States also engages in renegade warfare, Kupperman responds, "Not as much as we used to," and criticizes the emasculation of the CIA during the Carter administration. But critics of the Reagan administration charge that covert training and aid to the anti-government *contras* in Nicaragua is as much a form of state-supported terrorism as Libya's backing of the PLO. They also contend that the covert wars are out of control and won't stop until the warring parties agree to ban support for terrorists.

In the meantime, the renegade war continues to escalate, which means the risks for the US are getting higher. Saul Landau, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies and a friend of the murdered Letelier, explains: "When the US government goes into the Middle East and the guns of the *New Jersey* blow away a village of Lebanese people or the CIA bombs or mines harbors in Central America, hitting at people who can't get back at you, sometimes the only response is terrorism," he says. "I consider terrorism a terrible thing. But if you operate a state as a terrorist entity and wreak terror on other people, it is ultimately logical that they're going to get back at you the only way they can."

That's in line with a recent statement by Iran's ambassador to the United Nations, Said Rajaie Khorassani. When asked if he thought Middle Eastern opponents of US policy would resort to terrorism in America, he said, "It depends probably on how far you go."

The purpose of most terrorist acts, however, is not retaliation for US foreign policy. Terrorism is an effective weapon for both pragmatic revolutionaries and fanatics. It provokes criticism of a government that can't protect its citizens from it. It focuses world attention on issues that otherwise might be ignored, particularly if it occurs in a city with the in-

ternational visibility of Washington. It can also legitimize, in some minds, the terrorists' position.

Considering the devastating weapons available, a small band of terrorists can cause extensive death and destruction, making them the great equalizer in confrontations between superpowers and weaker nations. Because media attention on terrorists is immediate and global, one well-planned act can have tremendous impact. And, points out Kupperman in his report to the Army, there is the matter of America's inexperience and relative naiveté when it comes to coping with professional terrorists.

"This nation, unlike others in the Western alliance, has no internal consensus on how to respond . . . and has no common philosophical basis for accepting the high costs, in lives, materials, pride, and power, of occasional failure in dealing with terrorism," he writes. "We have no internationally recognized commitment to firm retributive deterrence to such violence."

Asked what "no internal consensus on how to respond" means, Kupperman cites a lack of coordination and preparedness among military and law-enforcement agencies. To a foreign group aware of these problems, the US becomes a more attractive target.

A case in point: To combat the terrorism of the Red Brigades, the Italian government formed an anti-terrorist squad, which in 1978 alone tracked down and jailed thousands of suspected terrorists. By comparison, it was only recently that Ronald Reagan began pushing for the formation of the FBI and CIA counter-terrorist squads, a proposal that is likely to come under fire in Congress.

"Terrorists have not hit us yet because they are afraid," says Pentagon consultant Ledeen. "But [the US withdrawal from Lebanon] will encourage them. They will draw the conclusion that the best way to get your way with the United States is to kill a certain number of Americans, and after a while, the US does what you want it to do."

In a city hit by terrorists, fear can quickly spread outward to friends and co-workers of victims. Saul Landau remembers how his life changed in the fall of 1976.

Landau had arrived at work one September morning when his wife phoned. She told him that on her way down Massachusetts Avenue, she had witnessed the worst accident she had ever seen. "The car was still smoking. There were still flames, there was blood all over the place, she told me," he recalls. "She was so upset. I said, 'Well, I'm sorry. That sounds terrible.' We hung up."

A few minutes later, Landau received a call from the receptionist at the Institute



"My guess is you're going to see a bomb against the State Department," says Dr. Robert Kupperman of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. "Assassination attempts against individuals are also likely."

for Policy Studies. What his wife had seen was not an accident, but the aftermath of the murder of Landau's co-workers. The late-model Chevelle in which they were riding was blown up by a radio-detonated bomb as the car reached Sheridan Circle. Letelier's legs were sheared off in the blast; Moffitt drowned from blood dripping into her lungs.

In the days and months following the killings, as the FBI's investigation proceeded, fear stalked the Institute. "I was terrified," says Landau. "I learned to live with fear.

"When I put my key in the ignition sometimes, my hand trembled. I had to use my left hand to steady my right. I had the urge to check my car every day—and my house. Everyone at the Institute was terrified. If they had the audacity to kill in the nation's capital, half a mile from the White House, what wouldn't they do?

"There were other Chileans in the building—they were also exiles—including Mrs. Letelier. Several people urged the director to get the Chileans out of the building. Some fellows left. One said that when he signed up at the Institute, it wasn't a death trip he had in mind.

"I sat with my back to the wall looking at people coming in," Landau continues. "My sense of peripheral vision improved. I'm not saying there was any real danger. But we felt there was. What the bombing told us was that anybody could have been in the front seat with Orlando. It happened to be Ronni Moffitt. We had to understand that the mere fact of associating with someone could make you a victim of state terrorism."

Landau goes on. "There were threats, letters and calls—'You all deserve what that Commie spy got.' Click. Like many fellows at the Institute, I had dreams. People chasing me. I elude all but one. Or my house is surrounded, and I manage to figure out a way to escape, except there's always that one person left.

"The worst dream was right afterwards. It kept recurring. It was of Orlando as a ventriloquist's dummy. Sitting on somebody's legs, flopping. Smiling that dummy smile. Just the mouth opening, but no words were coming out."

Eight years later, Landau no longer has the dummy dream but says he occasionally has the dream about people chasing him.

Kirby Jones also learned to live with fear. Today he's a public-relations man at the World Bank, but in 1975 he was starting Alamar Associates, a firm that introduced American businesses to Cuba. That was also the year he interviewed Fidel Castro for CBS, helped set up George McGovern's trip to Cuba, and co-authored the book *With Fidel*. It was also the year the death threats started. "We're going to do to you what happened to Ché Guevara," a voice would say. Then the line would go dead.

Jones recalls how the FBI advised him to start his car every day. "They told me never to wash my car. If someone plants a bomb on your car, they can't replace the dirt. So if you have a dirty car, you can more easily check it out at night and in the morning.

"They said that when I start the car, I should always have the doors open. Many of the injuries come from con-

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Terrorism

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cussions. Open all the doors so the blast would go out, they told me. Keep your legs out of the car when you start it, if you can. And when you're starting it, put a briefcase between your chest and the steering wheel.

"The threats made me nervous, but there was nothing I could do about them. I remember a photographer came to the house for a magazine. I asked him not to take pictures of my kids' faces. Or if there was a knock at the door at night, a neighbor coming over unexpectedly, I'd worry about who it was."

The specter of terrorism extends beyond its impact on individuals. It can change the way a city lives. Michael Ledeen remembers what it was like to live in Rome during the Red Brigade's reign of terror.

"Rome is a city built around outdoor places. People gather in piazzas and talk and drink coffee and play. The first thing that happened was that people went indoors; the piazzas emptied out, mostly in the evenings, but also during the day. The second change was that an edge came over the city. In normal times, Rome is garrulous and friendly. But conversations became much shorter. You didn't wander around the streets as much. People tended to go outside, do what they had to do, and get in again. It lasted several years, until the Red Brigade was shut down."

I have my own images of how terrorism can affect a city. While researching a novel on terrorism, I traveled to Italy and Israel, two countries that are very familiar with it. Three scenes stick in my mind:

■ In Rome and Milan, soldiers with submachine guns guarded government buildings, synagogues, and a Greek Orthodox church. I noticed that the soldiers kept their fingers on the triggers at all times. But what struck me most was that pedestrians seemed to pay no attention. The scene was that normal.

■ In Jerusalem one afternoon, I sat on a bus-station bench. Suddenly, I noticed the passengers on my right scurrying away from the bench. Then those on my left. I looked up to see a soldier directing me away, too. A police jeep roared into the lot; the buses pulled away from the curb. I asked the soldier what was going on, and he pointed to a crumpled paper bag eight feet behind me by a pay phone. It was a plain brown paper bag, the kind you carry sandwiches in. There had been no bomb threat, but the mere presence of an unclaimed paper bag cleared the area. A half-eaten sandwich was found

inside.

■ The bus I used while in Jerusalem was the Number 18 bus. It travels from the student dormitories on the outskirts of the city past the Yad Vashem monument to Jews killed in World War II, through the downtown area and near the expensive La Roma Hotel and the Old City. Some of my relatives used this bus to get to school; a friend working on a book took it often while doing her research. While riding the bus, I some-

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get in again.**

times would imagine what would happen if a bomb went off in it, particularly at rush hour, when it was packed with shoppers, tourists, and schoolchildren. I visualized seats ripped from the floor, a child's shoe lying on the street. One day after I left Israel, terrorists blew up the Number 18 bus.

In one 24-hour period at the beginning of the recent Easter weekend, terrorist bombings shook two Western capitals. Here in Washington, a powerful explosive placed under a couch tore apart the officers' club at the Washington Navy Yard. No one was injured in the blast, which occurred shortly before 2 AM on Good Friday. A previously unknown group, calling itself the Guerrilla Resistance Movement, said the bombing was a protest against US policy in Central America.

Several hours later, a bomb hidden in a briefcase at London's busy Heathrow Airport was detonated by a timer, injuring 25 people, five of whom had to be hospitalized. An anarchist group called the Angry Brigade claimed credit for the blast, but British police continue to investigate links to Libyan terrorists.

The bombings were indicative of the levels of terrorism in the two cities. London has been the site of indiscriminate bombings, such as the one that rocked Harrod's, the famous department store, during the holiday shopping season last year. But so far, Washington has been spared the kind of wholesale violence inflicted on other cities.

In addition to the Capitol bombing, the FBI investigated four other terrorist incidents in Washington last year, all of which were directed against institutions rather than individuals. A group calling itself the Armed Resistance Unit took

credit for explosions at the National War College at Fort McNair last April and at a computer complex at the Navy Yard last July. An unknown Philippine terrorist group ignited two fire bombs near the front of the Philippine Chancery. In the fourth incident, the Jewish Defense League claimed responsibility for a bombing that caused minor damage at the Aeroflot office here.

Some terrorism experts contend that the threat from squads of professional Middle Eastern terrorists is being exaggerated, and statistics, at least, bear them out. Of the 31 terrorist incidents reported in the US last year, none were attributed to Libyan or Iranian organizations, according to the FBI. In fact, two-thirds of them were linked by the FBI to Latin American groups.

One expert who downplays the threat from Middle Eastern terrorists is Neil Koch, deputy assistant defense secretary, who is in charge of the Pentagon policy on terrorism. He points out that despite what most people think, terrorism is not a mindless activity; it's a strategic weapon based on calculated decisions. Government-sponsored terrorists, he goes on, would have to have a very powerful motivation to stage murderous attacks in America and risk US retaliation.

Other experts aren't as sure that an attack on a Metro train or National Airport or a department store is so implausible. That is clearly the trend of terrorism. Brigadier General P. Neal Scheidel, chief of the Air Force security police, recently said that five years ago, 80 percent of terrorist attacks were on property, and 20 percent were on people. "But now it's 50-50." Professional terrorists, says one law-enforcement official, know that blowing up empty buildings will get attention but that it is indiscriminate murder that causes terror, and maybe a re-examination of policy.

It is just that kind of terrorism that the administration's counter-terrorist strategy is aimed at. Reagan's policy directive, which will become a legislative proposal, supports the principle of striking at terrorists abroad and staging reprisal raids in response to terrorism here or against Americans overseas. It represents the first time the US has taken an aggressive anti-terrorist stance as a matter of national policy. That, in turn, raises the stakes in the renegade war. So law-enforcement agencies, from the DC police to the Capitol police to the FBI, continue to step up their anti-terrorist training.

On March 9, FBI Director William Webster unveiled the Bureau's new "Hostage Rescue Team" at Quantico. The squad, two years in the developing,

has trained with US military and European anti-terrorist forces. According to Webster, it is designed to deal with "a major-scale terrorist incident" and will be standing by at the Summer Olympics, the presidential nominating conventions, and the World's Fair.

During the demonstration for reporters, agents in black jumpsuits acted out scenarios. They slid down ropes from helicopters to "rescue" hostages in a mock bank. Marksmen with live bullets "killed" cardboard terrorists at the far end of a shooting range. It was a demonstration of what the FBI calls "surgical shooting," because sitting next to the make-believe terrorists was Assistant FBI Director Oliver Revell. In another scenario, agents broke into "Tire City," a roofless, seven-room "house" made of sand-filled tires. Once inside, they shot more "terrorists" and rescued more hostages.

Other preparations include "gaming," the acting out of terrorist incidents. "We have simulated hijackings," explains Wayne Gilbert, who is in charge of the FBI's terrorism section. "We might do it at night when planes are available. United Airlines might say, 'You need a DC-10? We have one sitting at Dulles until ten tomorrow morning.'"

Members of the squad are presented with different scenarios. In some, the terrorists claim to have a nuclear explosive. In others, an official of a big company or the government is held hostage. Or the agents are told that there has been an explosion.

"Sometimes the hostages are our own people," says Gilbert. "Sometimes they're from the military. Men and women. We brief them ahead of time to

In some scenarios, the terrorists claim to have a nuclear explosive. In others, an official is held hostage.

tell them what to expect. They're going to be treated badly; told when to go to the bathroom. They may be fed inadequately or get lousy food. They'll be harassed and shouted at. When there's a rescue, they have to be prepared for explosions, gas, and firing."

Were a terrorist incident to occur, the command post would be Room 5005 in the FBI Building, a quieter but no less

graphic embodiment of preparations in the war on terrorists. It even looks like a war room. Beneath clocks showing different time zones and across from maps of Washington and local airports are the two banks of desks of the Emergency Operations Center. The upper tier would be manned by the FBI's top people, such as Webster, Revell, or Gilbert.

The semicircular banks have direct lines to the White House, the US attorney general's office, the Pentagon, the State Department, and FBI field offices. There are computers on which agents can call up data on terrorist groups, plus police monitors, television monitors, and a glassed-in meeting room.

On a recent day, a prepared hijacking log could be seen hanging on the wall. Empty slots are to be filled in if a hijacking occurs. The slots are labeled "Scheduled route," "Air carrier," "Number of crew members," "Weapons," and "Demands." There is one other prepared log—it's for nuclear extortion.

Nuclear extortion is a major concern of the FBI. It has happened only once in the US—in 1979, when an employee at a nuclear plant in Wilmington, North Carolina, threatened to release uranium oxide into the atmosphere if he wasn't given \$100,000. He was arrested, but law-enforcement officials realize the potential for more incidents.

Playing a key role in any nuclear-extortion case would be a highly secretive group called the Nuclear Emergency Search Team (NEST). Technically under the jurisdiction of the Department of Energy, NEST is made up of energy-physicists, explosive and electronic experts, and other scientists and technicians. It was NEST members who, during the 1976 bicentennial celebration, drove around Washington in unmarked vans and checked radiation levels at federal buildings. A year earlier, NEST personnel dressed as businessmen conducted a radiation search at the Union Oil Company of California after a threat was received there. The detection devices were hidden in briefcases. In both cases, the team found nothing.

In addition to the bicentennial investigations, NEST has been used twice to check out nuclear threats in Washington. In 1976 they investigated a van parked outside the White House after someone received a tip that it contained a nuclear explosive. Inside they found a 50-gallon oil drum holding a ticking recorder. And in 1978 the team was called in when someone sent a package containing a brown substance to a congressional office with a note saying it was radioactive.

The substance was dirt.

Today, about 30 NEST experts work out of Andrews Air Force Base. In the event of a nuclear threat, they would be contacted by the FBI and would have to be ready to leave the base within two hours.

Even before the November bombing, Capitol police were staging their own terrorist scenarios in the Capitol at night when no tourists were around and Congress wasn't in session. Although authorities are reluctant to reveal details, at least one of the simulated terrorist attacks involved the seizure of the Senate chamber. As part of their training, members of the Emergency Response Team practice traversing the Capitol with ropes and swinging down on windows. "They're expert shots with special weapons," says Chief Powell. "They've done a lot of training in Maryland, away from the general public, to keep down panic."

The biggest attempt to coordinate hostage-situation tactics in Washington occurred two years ago when the DC police organized Operation Speelunk, built around the takeover of a Metro train. In this operation, an escaping bank robber took hostages on a Metro train, but the situation was similar to what it would be in a terrorist takeover. "We were trying to find out how well we could interface all the agencies involved," says Lieutenant George Bradford, who organized the scenario. In addition to the DC police, the FBI, Secret Service, transit police, the telephone company, PEPCO, the Department of Highways, and Metro officials participated. The operation would later serve as the model the various agencies followed in December 1982, when an anti-nuclear activist threatened to blow up the Washington Monument. He was killed during the incident.

The experts say that kind of coordination is crucial in dealing with urban terrorism. Kupperman, in his report to the Army, points out that "while amateurs may continue to rely on the time-tested tactics of terrorism like skyjacking, the imaginative professional terrorist has a number of avenues open for future attack:

- "Attacks on the infrastructure of metropolitan areas (electric or gas networks, communications, or computer facilities), with a level of disruption beyond the capabilities of the local police or the National Guard.

- "Threats to thousands of people with agents of mass destruction such as nuclear explosives, chemical, biological,

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or radiological weapons.

■ "Subtle exploitation of contentious political issues such as the anti-nuclear and environmental movements."

At the heart of any anti-terrorism preparation lies a dilemma: How do you balance security needs with the need to maintain a free society?

"What we're doing here is a balancing act," says Larry Smith, who, ironically, is sitting beneath a portrait of Andrew Jackson, the President who opened up the White House to three miles of hand-shaking visitors after his election. "This building must be open to the public. It's their building. They come to see their legislature at work."

Already there has been backlash to the security measures at the Capitol. Representative Don Edwards of California,

The conflict between security and freedom in itself represents a victory for terrorists.

chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, told his staff to refuse to provide any information other than name, employer, and Social Security number in filling out applications for the new security passes. He objected to requests that staffers also reveal weight, color of hair and eyes, and home address. Smith acknowledges that there has been friction between Capitol police officers and Senate staffers over the regular checks for passes. "We feel bad about it, angry," he says, noting that some security measures have been modified as a result of the complaints.

Says Steve Van Cleave, an Atlanta-based security consultant for multinational corporations, "In order to totally defend against terrorism, you'd have to hermetically seal the White House. When you deal with terror, you deal with concentric circles of defense, alert zones, something to cause a bomb to explode in the perimeter."

"All the advantages lie with the attacker in terrorism," he adds. "To defend against it, you'd have to form an environment that's totally unacceptable to people in a free society."

The conflict between security and freedom in itself represents a victory for terrorists. Writes Ray Cline, former deputy director for the CIA, "The first phase in terrorism . . . tends to erect an invisible barrier of noncooperation between people and their government. It announces to a nation and the world that war has been declared on the government by shadowy and dangerous opposing forces."

The media have their own role in all this. In articles like this one, the media "lend credence to a hypothetical situation," says Peter Caram, former head of the Terrorist Intelligence Planning Section of the Port Authority of New York.

"Since terror is aimed at the media and not the victim, success is always defined in terms of media coverage," adds political scientist Raymond Tanter of the University of Michigan. "And there is no way in the West you could *not* have media coverage because you're dealing in a free society."

Walter Laqueur, chairman of the International Research Council of the Cen-

"The media are a terrorist's best friend. Terrorists are the super-entertainers of our time."

ter for Strategic and International Studies, offers a more succinct appraisal: "The media are a terrorist's best friend. Terrorists are the super-entertainers of our time."

Critics of press speculation about terrorism in Washington point out that terrorism has historically been cyclical. They note that the Capitol was first bombed in 1915, that the group that claimed responsibility for the recent Capitol bombing linked themselves in their communiqué with Puerto Rican Nationalists who tried to kill President Harry Truman on November 1, 1950. And they generally agree with Chief Powell of the Capitol police, who says, "We aren't any more concerned today about terrorism than we were five years ago. We were always concerned, and that concern hasn't changed."

But the nature of terrorism has changed. And judging from the administration's counter-terrorist strategy, our approach to it is changing, too; now it is viewed more as a form of warfare rather than as street crime with political overtones. As terrorism spreads worldwide, there is, in the words of Ray Cline, "an increasing lack of distinction between war and peace."

And, says Dr. Kupperman, there may be a greater danger. "Contemporary terrorism has become a tactic of strategic value . . . with large-scale conventional or nuclear warfare the likely consequence of failing to cope at the molecular level of violence."

The freedom from terrorist attack that Americans once enjoyed is believed to be coming to an end. We need to learn more about a war in which we are targeted. Without information on the danger, there's no preparation. Without preparation, there's deadly surprise. □

Assassinations not forgotten

Security a fact of life in Washington

By WILLIAM JOHNSON
Globe and Mail Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The funereal procession of assassinated presidents - James Garfield, Abraham Lincoln, William McKinley, John Kennedy — gives an immediacy to security procedures in Washington that make them familiar facts of everyday life.

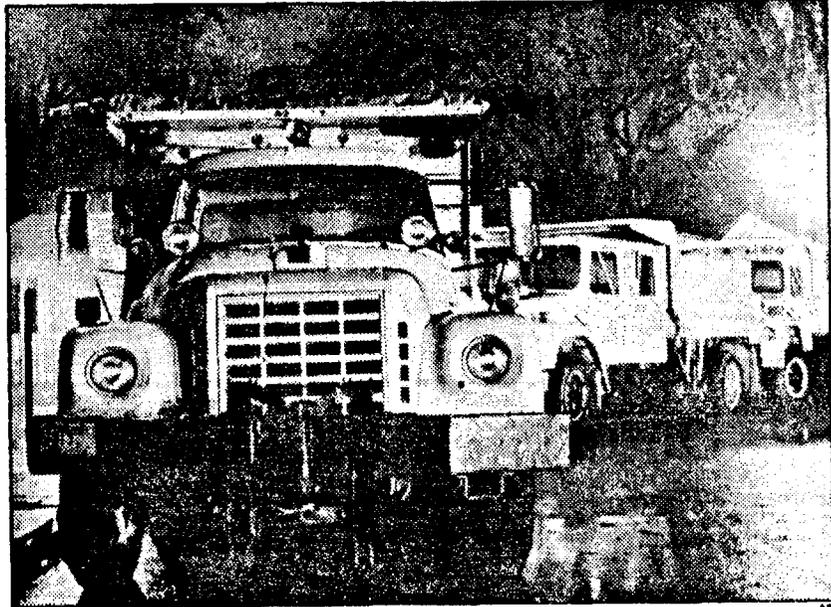
To approach the White House, domain of the President, or to enter the Capitol, seat of the Congress, one must walk through a metal detector frame, and one's briefcase, purse or bag must be searched. A tape recorder must be played for a security agent to demonstrate it does not disguise a bomb.

Most presidents in this century have been the objects of assassination plots. Ronald Reagan was three months into his presidency when he was wounded by a would-be assassin's bullet.

Last November, a bomb went off during the night in a Senate corridor. No one was injured, but the property damage was extensive. Since then, security procedures at the Capitol have been tightened further.

According to Deputy Chief Harry Grevey of the Capitol Police Force, the number of entrances to the Capitol were reduced from nine to two. The public is no longer permitted to drive through the grounds — access is allowed only by permit. The flow of traffic in and around the Capitol was rerouted, so it can be better controlled. Separate entrances were established for employees and the general public and the public is subjected to metal detectors, X-rays and searches of parcels and bags. Most corridors are off-limits. Journalists, employees and habitual visitors, such as lobbyists, must always display identification cards, which include a picture. This is true of most government office buildings in Washington.

Around the Capitol, the White House, the State Department and some other buildings, "flower



Dump trucks loaded with sand are parked near White House gate on earlier scare.

boxes" of whitewashed concrete were installed so as to make it difficult to crash onto the grounds with a truck or car, possibly loaded with explosives.

Asked yesterday about security procedures for the White House, a special agent in the Secret Service's Office of Public Affairs declined to describe any whatsoever. "If we discussed our procedures, they wouldn't be effective any more," he said.

But there have been published reports that ground-to-air missiles have been installed discreetly around the White House to protect it from possible air attack. On the ground, marked or unmarked cars and vans are always parked on the streets surrounding the White House. Some of them contain German Shepherd dogs, which will sometimes start to bark as one strolls past.

Getting a highly coveted White House press pass requires security clearance by the Secret Service that takes months and, according to a press officer at the State Department, costs the Government \$10,000 each time. A

foreign journalist also requires also a security clearance by the State Department at a similar cost. According to the same press officer, one police body will not accept the security clearance of the other.

Whenever the President — or even a presidential candidate — is travelling in public areas, the Secret Service can be rough and curt in ordering people not to move, and closing off elevators and corridors which will be passed by the person they are guarding.

In the age of terrorism, anyone and everyone must be considered a potential assassin.

WASHINGTON POST 1 June 1984 Pg. 1C

Capitol Securely Greeting Tourists

By Alison Muscatine
Washington Post Staff Writer

Stricter security measures put in place at the U.S. Capitol and congressional office buildings after a bomb explosion last fall have slowed the pace of the approximately 3 million people who pass through them each year and caused cabdrivers to grumble, but there is general acceptance of the inconvenience, according to security officials.

An intricate identification system now requires journalists, lobbyists and staff members to wear color-coded passes at all times and metal detectors are in use at every entrance to the Capitol and adjacent office buildings.

"The publicity is the biggest deterrent [against attacks]," says Jack Russ, the sergeant at arms of the U.S. House of Representatives, who oversees security of the House side of the Capitol. "And there has been so much publicity about it."

Harry Grevey, deputy chief of the 1,222-member Capitol Hill police force, said there has been no increase in the number of weapons confiscated since the tighter security took effect. About 125 weapons are confiscated each year, according to security officials, who said most of the weapons are taken from people who forget they are carrying a gun.

Most tourists are first-time visitors to the Capitol and are unaware that the security measures are new.

Groups of high school students loaded down with cameras can be seen patiently handing over their wares to policemen as they pass through metal detectors outside the House and Senate galleries, where picture-taking has always been forbidden.

Even at the main entrances of the Capitol, tourists seem willing to oblige police requests to search purses and pass through metal detectors.

"It doesn't bother me," said a man who came from Pennsylvania for the Memorial Day weekend with his family. "It's just like going through the airport."

The 20,000-plus people whose government-related jobs take them to the Hill and the 4,000 journalists who cover them are complaining less, according to police, about the inconvenience of purse and briefcase inspection at every entrance and the lines at the metal detectors, which have grown with the advent of the tourist season.

"Overall I think it's working fairly well," says Larry E. Smith, the Senate sergeant at arms. "There are occasional problems but there is a greater acceptance on the part of staff and lobbyists."

The stiffer security adds about 15 minutes to what used to be an av-

erage 45-minute tour of the Capitol, but most tourists have been very cooperative, according to Tom Nottingham, the Capitol's chief of tour guides. He said that tourism in the Capitol has dropped by about 10,000 visitors a month, but the decrease is not necessarily correlated to the delays resulting from increased security.

"Everybody is willing to conform because they know it is something that has to be done," Nottingham said, adding that most tourists have become accustomed to metal detectors and bag searches in airports.

After the November bombing, which caused \$265,000 in damage but no injuries, there were complaints about police behaving aggressively, occasionally even with members of Congress.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) was confronted by a police officer who raised his gun at him, and Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) was prevented temporarily from attending a GOP fundraising event in the Senate caucus room because a police officer did not recognize him.

"Generally, most senators have accepted our mistakes with a sense of humor and have been supportive of what we're trying to do," Smith said.

One congressional staff member said last week that the biggest inconvenience is that the new staff passes are too large to fit in a wallet and therefore "can't be used on weekends as identification for cashing checks."

The increased security included changing traffic patterns to direct the flow away from the Capitol, and requiring taxis to discharge passengers at the Capitol's side entrances. The taxi rules draw constant moans from cab drivers, who are given no time to linger and therefore lose chances to pick up new passengers.

Concrete barriers, which serve as flower pots and look similar to those now placed at several entrances to the White House, were installed to prevent terrorists from trying to ram the building with a truck bomb.

Bullet-proof metal was installed in

the backs of all chairs on the floor of the chamber in the House of Representatives.

Initially, the new security rules limited reporters' access to members of Congress outside the second-floor chambers, but that was changed after complaints to the sergeants at arms. Smith agreed to allow reporters in the corridor outside the Senate chamber, a favorite place to catch senators for comments after they vote, for a 60-day trial period. He said last week that the experiment had been successful and he sees no reason to discontinue it.

As for the Hill police, security officials say their training is adequate protection against terrorists and potential bombings. "We have one of the best bomb units on the East Coast," said one security official, asking not to be identified. "And we also have a great hostage negotiation team."

A team of specially trained dogs is used to sniff-search buildings for bombs before major events.

Security at the Capitol also had been increased following a 1971 bombing—again with no injuries. In 1975, a \$4 million surveillance system with 100 television cameras was installed throughout the Capitol and its subterranean walkways. At that time X-ray machines were placed at 10 entrances and there was a rule that briefcases had to be checked.

Hill deputy police chief Grevey said that additional security measures are going to be put into effect, but he would not disclose what they are.

Despite the new measures, some Hill veterans believe the system relies more on symbolism and publicity than on the efficiency of metal detectors and the identification passes.

"Frankly, I think it's a joke," said one Virginia congressional staff member who has worked on the Hill since 1969. "I could think of 10 ways to get into the building without a pass if I really wanted to."

The staff aide said the main improvement resulting from the new security system is that there are fewer "crazies coming by our office." His office is located near an entrance to Independence Avenue where several police officers and an X-ray machine are now located.

Exercise in terror goes well

City drills to be ready for anything at GOP convention

By Mark Edgar
Staff Writer of The News

CONVENTION CITY '84

The terrorist, threatening to disrupt the Republican National Convention, drove a phony ambulance into the City Hall plaza and vowed to ignite a stash of dynamite.

Police moved quickly to evacuate the plaza, filled with 2,000 anti-Reagan protesters trying to get closer to the RNC site at the nearby Convention Center.

Negotiations with the ambulance driver, who bragged that he had contaminated the water supply to the convention, lasted two hours.

The man failed to make clear his demands, and President Reagan was never in danger. Finally, after talking to the FBI, the man surrendered. Authorities found that the convention water had not been poisoned and that the ambulance had not contained explosives.

The Republican National Convention escaped a violent attack this time. But the episode with the terrorist was a fake, anyway — part of a drill Friday by the Dallas Office of Emergency Preparedness.

The city — in preparation to the Republican convention Aug. 20-23 — conducted the three-hour exercise with a slew of fake accidents, including hazardous waste spills, fires, traffic accidents and even a snake bite.

Dubbed "Operation RNC," the drill was aimed at putting Dallas agencies through simulated emergencies between 6 and 9 p.m. Aug. 23, as well as evaluating the success of the city's emergency plans.

Operated out of the Emergency Operations Center in the City Hall basement, the drill included more than 100 members of the police, fire, health and other municipal departments.

"The staff all performed in a superb manner," Assistant City Manager Levi Davis said.

Local reporters, although allowed to view similar exercises in past years, were excluded from much of the exercise Friday for "security reasons," Davis said.

About three dozen disaster workers were stationed in the office, surrounded by the usual city maps, phones, radios and weather radar screens and the not-so-usual signs saying, "THIS IS A DRILL."

John Pickett, coordinator of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, said the disaster office will be on a state of "increased readiness" around the clock during the convention.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency will provide high-tech communications equipment, and regional officials will be on hand to assist in a major accident.

To give the scene authenticity, the organizers set up a television set that briefly broadcast news reports by Ken Smith, executive producer of CityCable.

Protesters seemed to bear the brunt of the accidents in the first 30 minutes of the drill. The script — part of which was read by Smith in anchorman fashion — reported that, beginning on the second day of the convention, Tuesday, Aug. 21, two dozen convention demonstrators camping at Reverchon Park clashed with angry residents. Six homeowners and four protesters were arrested.

Davis said incidents with protesters made up only a small part of the beginning of the script.

Davis said the incidents were played at as true emergencies but none reached a crisis stage. No one died during any of the fake exercises.

But just to keep everyone off guard, one of the emergency

workers in the basement office suffered a heart attack during the drill.

He, of course, is fine.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
17 May 1984
Pg. 19D

Bomb scare interrupts drill at nuclear plant in Wash.

United Press International

RICHLAND, Wash. — A bomb scare occurred during a mock "unusual event" drill yesterday at the Washington Public Power Supply System's No. 2 nuclear plant, but the suspected bomb — found taped to an empty nitrogen tank — turned out to be electrical putty, officials said.

The discovery of the substance had prompted WPPSS to declare an "unusual event" in the middle of the mock "unusual event," which was called to test the ability of plant staff and local, state and federal officials to respond to an emergency situation.

WPPSS spokesman John Britton said the Richland Police Department's bomb squad had identified the black substance as duct sealant, or electricians' putty. "We don't know how it got there or who put it there," Britton said. "It's not something that's used on the outside of these tanks. We're investigating."

Police HQ a terrorist pushover—Rice

The headquarters of the Chicago Police Department is probably the least secure against terrorists of any major police headquarters building in the nation.

That warning was sounded by Police Supt. Fred Rice in letters sent to Cook County Board members Jan. 20.

Rice's letter asked that the five Circuit Court branches in the building be moved as part of a plan to tighten security by limiting public access to upper floors. But after four months, he has received no official reply from the board despite the urgent tone of his correspondence.

After obtaining a copy of the letter from a County Board source, we checked with Rice. He confirmed he'd sent it and had received no formal reply.

The letter notes, "As you may be aware, the emergency communication network for the City of Chicago, i.e., its lifeline, the 911 [emergency phone] system, is located in the James J. Riordan Headquarters Building, 1121 S. State."

In the letter, Rice observed



Art Petacque & Hugh Hough

that Chicago police are keeping abreast of the terrorism problem and the efforts of other departments to combat it. "In that light," the letter says, "the Chicago Police Department Headquarters facility is probably the least secure facility of any department of a major city."

The letter says the primary reason for the lack of security is "public accessibility" to the headquarters building due to the presence of the courts.

Rice's letter says the headquarters building was checked

on a floor-by-floor basis by "selected law enforcement administrators and individuals knowledgeable in building management." They recommended removal of the courtrooms. That recommendation was concurred in by the department's own Building and Safety Committee, which included First Deputy Supt. John J. Jemilo and Deputy Supt. Matt Rodriguez, the committee chairman.

The letter was sent after Jemilo and Rodriguez returned from London, where they exchanged information on terrorism with Scotland Yard.

Rice sent them to Britain to represent the department at the funeral of two police officers slain in a terrorist incident earlier this year.

FOOTNOTE: County Board Finance Committee Chairman John Stroger, reached yesterday, reviewed the letter and said the terrorism problem is so widespread he will consider making Rice's request a top priority.

The Review of the NEWS 16 May 1984

The Terrorist Threat to America

■ *Washington, May 6* — Assistant FBI Director Oliver B. Revell says that the Bureau is actively investigating 19 U.S.-based groups suspected of terrorist activities and is cooperating with foreign intelligence and law enforcement agencies to monitor 15 to 25 other terrorist groups on the international scene. Noting the difficulty in gauging the size of the terrorist threat, Revell says that "most often the groups are small, cellular, for security purposes . . . Terrorist movements are not mass movements . . . But the support apparatus can be extensive." He says that "the United States is the most vulnerable . . . country from the standpoint of size and constitutional guarantees. Internationally, we're the target of more

than 40 percent of all terrorist activities." Robert Kupperman, a terrorism expert at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, agrees that "this nation is extremely vulnerable, catastrophically vulnerable, to even a small terrorist attack. We are a nation of entwined networks and have little redundancy. If you hit three or four key components of the electrical power system you can knock out a section of the country for three to four weeks. There are no replacement parts . . . There are similar problems in natural gas delivery."

More Threats From Libya's Qaddafi

■ *Tripoli, May 2* — Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi threatens to hurt the United States and Britain for harboring opponents of his regime. At a news conference, Qaddafi says

that Britain and the United States are "harboring Libyan terrorists wanted by Interpol. Wherever we can hurt them, we shall hurt them. Every country has its sensitive spots." He accuses Britain of planting the weapons and spent shells found in a search of the evacuated Libyan Embassy in London and says that "this is barbarism that has no precedent. There is no comparison between the behavior of Libya and the behavior of the British, because we are civilized and they are barbaric, as is America." Qaddafi also says that he might increase aid to Irish Republican Army terrorists, declaring that "if Britain is dealing with masked terrorists and stray dogs who have escaped from Libyan law, how can we not be expected to meet honest and honorable leaders of the IRA?"

JAMES T. HACKETT

U.S. acts to combat terrorism aimed at Olympics, big events

There is a new fear in the nation's capital — the fear of terrorism in America. The question nagging government officials is whether the fear will become reality in 1984, when four major events present prime targets: the national political conventions in Dallas and San Francisco, the Los Angeles Olympics and the New Orleans World's Fair.

According to the FBI, much has been done in recent years to bring the problem of terrorism in the United States under control. The FBI has focused on those extremist groups that have been active in the United States, such as the Weather Underground and its various successor groups, pro-independence Puerto Ricans, anti-Turkish Armenians, Croatian nationalists, anti-Russian Jewish groups and anti-Castro Cubans.

Thus far, the problem has been far more serious abroad. There

FBI Director William Webster says the FBI and local police forces are getting terrorism under control.

James T. Hackett, a former Foreign Service officer and acting director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency early in the Reagan administration, is editor of the Heritage Foundation's National Security Record. This article is excerpted from the publication's April issue.

have been no incidents here with a large loss of life, and most domestic terrorist activities have been manageable. Testifying before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on Feb. 8, FBI Director William Webster said the FBI and local police forces are getting terrorism under control. He said the number of terrorist attacks was down from 51 in 1982 to only 31 in 1983, and he reported a drop in the activity of Armenian, Croatian and Puerto Rican groups, coinciding with a rise in convictions for terrorism.

Efficiency claimed

Webster likes to present a picture of FBI efficiency. He proclaims a reduction of terrorist activities in the United States, the readiness of the FBI's new 50-member Hostage-Rescue Team and the operation of a Terrorist Research and Analytical Center that tracks and assesses terrorist activities by computer. But Capitol Hill sources claim that the FBI always reports everything under control, while local police say the sharing of information is often a one-way street, with the FBI taking their information while providing them with little useful intelligence.

The local police also contest the FBI's rosy description of declining terrorism. They claim that FBI statistics do not include a number of explosions or other events that cannot clearly be classified as terrorism, but which the local police believe should be included in that category. The FBI considers such criticism inaccurate and unfair.

Critics claim that the FBI and CIA were emasculated by a series of demoralizing actions during the Ford and Carter presidencies, from which they have never fully recovered. The main criticism is directed against the so-called Levi

guidelines, issued in 1976 by President Ford's attorney general to establish procedures for the FBI to follow when conducting domestic security investigations. This was followed by the arrival in office of the Carter administration, which gave a higher priority to the protection of civil liberties than to the protection of the public from foreign subversive activities.

All behind them

But now the FBI and CIA claim that their difficult time after Watergate and during the Carter years is behind them. The Levi guidelines were clarified early last year by the issuance of new guidelines by Attorney General William French Smith. Under the new guidelines, the FBI says its Counter-intelligence Division is actively conducting broad-scale investigations and that the bureau is doing its job effectively.

There is still concern among FBI agents about the precedent set when the government prosecuted its own law enforcement officers. But President Reagan acted early in his administration to pardon the convicted officials, and this went a long way toward relieving that concern. The FBI now contends that its agents have nothing to fear if they

The Reagan administration is actively encouraging officers to investigate and pursue terrorists and subversives.

follow the current guidelines.

Important though these actions have been, more significant for U.S. police and intelligence services is the change in official atmosphere. One senior intelligence officer says it is clear to agents in the field that the Reagan administration is actively encouraging them to investigate and pursue terrorists and subversives, while the previous administration was so preoccupied with civil liberties that it actually sought to constrain police activities. Both the FBI and CIA

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Hard Line Urged on Global Terrorism

By Kevin Leary

Robert M. Sayre, the man in charge of President Reagan's get-tough policy against international terrorism, said in San Francisco yesterday that the United States must act more aggressively against terrorists or the problem will get even worse.

"What has become particularly disturbing in the past year is the extent to which states themselves have begun to use their intelligence services and other agencies of government to engage in terrorist activity," he told a Commonwealth Club luncheon.

Sayre cited the Soviet Union, Iran, Syria, North Korea, Libya and Cuba as nations that use terrorism as an instrument of international policy.

He said those countries provide training, arms and other direct and indirect support to "a variety of national and insurgent and separatist groups."

The soft-spoken, 60-year-old career diplomat apologized to his audience of about 300 for talking about the "down side of American foreign affairs" but said the problem is getting worse.

He blamed Syria and Iran for three major bombings in the Middle East last year, including the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut and the destruction of the U.S. embassies in Beirut and Kuwait.

"We have also been witness in the past weeks to the practice of terrorism by Libya against the people of London," he said, referring to the shooting at the Libyan Embassy in which a police officer was slain on April 17.

Sayre said the United States is the target of 40 percent of terrorist attacks. Last year, such violence claimed the lives of 269 Americans, including the 241 Marines in Beirut, which he said was more than in all the 15 preceding years.

Sayre said 52 percent of the attacks against Americans were aimed at diplomats, 6.5 percent at other government officials, 22.5 percent at military personnel and 18.9

percent at private businessmen. He did not account for the remaining attacks.

"There are other reasons why the events of 1983 were disturbing," Sayre said. "The accent was on killing people. Such imprecise weapons as vehicle bombs were used to produce large casualties."

Sayre was ambassador to Brazil before 1982, when Reagan assigned him the job of developing a counter-terrorist policy and of providing security for U.S. personnel at 257 overseas posts. Sayre manages a \$100 million annual budget in his job as director of the State Depart-

ment's Office for Combatting Terrorism.

Sayre urged his listeners to support the Reagan administration's anti-terrorist proposals, which include pre-emptive attacks and retaliatory action against foreign terrorists and \$500,000 rewards for information on acts of terrorism.

He said the hard line is necessary because "we must demonstrate that terrorism is not an effective way to conduct relations and that the price for such conduct is too high."

U.S. ACTS...Continued

claim they now have the support and authority they need.

In an effort to reduce the risk of international terrorism, to protect American citizens and property and ensure that the perpetrators of terrorist attacks are brought to justice, the Inter-Agency Group on Counter-Terrorism has proposed a package of five bills that the White House plans to submit to Congress. The proposals are:

1. The Act for the Prevention and Punishment of Hostage Taking. To amend the federal kidnapping law to provide federal jurisdiction over any kidnapping in which a threat is made to kill, injure or detain a victim to compel third parties to do or abstain from doing something.

2. The Act to Prohibit the Training or Support of Terrorists. To improve the ability of the Justice Department to prosecute individuals supporting, recruiting, soliciting or training terrorists.

3. The Aircraft Sabotage Act. This would tighten present law concerning criminal acts relating to aircraft sabotage or hijacking, to coincide with the International Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation.

4. The Terrorist Control Act. To make it a violation of U.S. law to conspire in the United States to commit acts of terror abroad. This would help the United States to prevent the international terrorist network from planning in the United States to conduct operations in other countries.

5. The Act to Provide Rewards for Information Concerning Terrorism. To authorize payment of rewards for information concerning acts of terrorism either in the United States or abroad.

There is general agreement that these proposals do not go far enough, and that the greatest need is for improved intelligence, especially human intelligence, and effective law enforcement coordination. Yet the critics have few specific practical proposals. The suggested legislation is at least a move in the right direction.

More important is to give the nation's intelligence and law enforcement agencies the high-level support and encouragement they need to carry out their often thankless duties effectively. Also, the military services must be encouraged to pay greater attention to the worldwide terrorist threat and to recognize it as a new form of warfare to be guarded against and combatted on a continuing basis.

The White House can increase its support for this effort by issuing guidance that makes unequivocal the president's commitment to protect the American people from the threat of terrorism and by directing federal agencies to take all legal steps toward that end. Congress can support the effort by promptly considering and acting favorably upon the White House legislative proposals, while assuring that proposal No. 4 does not make it illegal to provide assistance to the Afghan freedom fighters or any other anti-communist groups operating abroad.

Soviets had chance to help plan security

By Maline Hazle
Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — Top police department officials said Tuesday that the Soviet Union was invited to review and participate in security arrangements for the Summer Olympic Games but that Soviet officials ignored the overtures.

At one point last month, according to Chief Daryl F. Gates, the Soviets sent word they would meet with LAPD representatives, but police Cmdr. William Rathburn — who is heading LAPD Olympic security — waited four hours when the Soviet delegation was in Los Angeles and no one showed up to meet with him.

"I would suggest that if indeed they do believe there is some problem with security, they take me up on my offer," Gates said at a news conference held after the Soviet boycott was announced.

"That cannot be the reason," he said, "because security will indeed be adequate."

Gates said the Soviets were again invited to review security plans in a letter carried by Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee President Peter Ueberroth to a meeting of the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne, Switzerland, two weeks ago.

In the letter, Gates wrote, "I wish to personally invite any security officials, particularly those from the Soviet Union, to visit our Olympic Planning Group and review our entire security plan."

"We would, of course, be pleased to answer any questions and entertain any suggestions that might be made by those officials after they have reviewed our plan."

"There has been no follow-up nor any response to the invitation," said Cmdr. William Booth, chief LAPD press officer.

Booth said that Gates' invitation is still open and that police officials hope Soviet officials will change their minds.

The spokesman dismissed suggestions that an anti-Soviet group called Ban the Soviets Coalition had any real effect on the Russians.



Daryl F. Gates

... Open invitation

"As far as we're concerned, they're a small group of people exercising their First Amendment rights," Booth said. "It's doubtful that the mighty Soviet Union would be intimidated by such a small band."

The coalition itself took credit for the boycott.

"We did something," said Orange County author and advertising man David W. Balsiger, "and we did it without government endorsement... when everyone said we couldn't keep the Soviets out."

Nearly every Soviet statement expressing concern about the Olympic arrangements in Los Angeles mentioned the coalition or its activities.

On Tuesday, the Soviet National Olympic Committee (NOC) said that "extremist organizations" in this country, "openly aiming to create unbearable conditions for the stay of the Soviet delegation and for the performance by Soviet athletes, have sharply stepped up their activity, with direct connivance of the American authorities."

A month ago, when the Ban the Soviets Coalition announced plans for Russian-language billboards

with advice to potential defectors and information about 500 "safe houses" throughout Los Angeles, Soviet complaints reached a fever pitch.

The possibility that the coalition could spark at least some defections was taken seriously enough by local enforcement agencies that many officers were being given special instruction for handling defectors during the Games.

The special instruction is just one aspect of what has been a massive, five-year effort involving dozens of federal, state and local law enforcement agencies. During the Olympics, more than 50 law enforcement agencies — including the FBI, the California Highway Patrol and county sheriffs' departments — will be available constantly.

Although events will be held throughout Southern California, most of the major events will be held within the Los Angeles city limits. In addition, both Olympic villages fall within the LAPD's jurisdiction.

The city of Los Angeles has a \$22 million contract with the LAOOC to cover the city's Olympic-related costs, with \$15.7 million of that earmarked for security.

That security effort, Booth said, will rely on all 7,031 L.A. police officers. "Days off, vacations — all will be canceled," he said. "When we talk numbers, we're talking the entire LAPD."

With so many agencies involved, a battle for control of security was almost inevitable, and last month, the LAPD and the FBI signed an extraordinary document that essentially gave local police primary responsibility for the athletes' safety.

Both sides have been reluctant to release the document's full text, but as details emerge, it is clear that the agreement is broad and general, purposefully vague in certain regards and dependent almost exclusively on the good will of the two signatories.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
2 June 1984 Pg. B-1

INS Cites Terrorism Fear in Probe of Yugoslav Smuggling

By LAURIE BECKLUND, *Times Staff Writer*

U.S. immigration officials said Friday that they inaugurated a major undercover investigation into a Yugoslav alien-smuggling ring last year partly because they were concerned that the organization could have been importing terrorists to the United States for the Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

They said they are now satisfied that those fears were unfounded. But they are still puzzled over the complicated ethnic strife in Yugoslavia that may have helped spur the illegal immigration.

"The up-front concern was that this organization was to be used as a pipeline for smuggling in aliens from the Eastern Bloc in great numbers for terrorist purposes or perhaps for political embarrassment during the Olympics," said Mark Reed, assistant regional U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service commissioner for anti-smuggling.

"But our worst fears did not pan out. We have no reason to believe any of these people is a direct threat to our security. We do feel we shut off a very significant pipeline of illegal alien smuggling."

Twenty-nine suspects have been indicted in connection with the smuggling of Yugoslav nationals into the United States through Mexico, officials announced in press conferences in Chicago, San Diego and Los Angeles on Thursday.

They estimated that the ring brought in up to 175 aliens a month over the last 1 1/2 years through two pipelines, one leading to Chicago and the other leading to New Jersey.

At a press conference on Thursday, Harold Ezell, the Western regional commissioner for the immigration service, indicated that there were ulterior political motives behind the smuggling operation. Ezell charged that some of the smuggled aliens were "promoting communism in our own country." He declined to elaborate or offer proof.

Brian Perryman, the immigration service supervisor of criminal anti-smuggling investigations in Chicago, said Friday that the original concern about Communist ties stemmed from the fact that four of the aliens smuggled into the United States were "avowed Marxists."

The immigration service conducted a yearlong investigation into the smuggling operation, which included the use of at least

one undercover officer.

"But we found absolutely no information—and at no time did anybody in the ring indicate to our undercover people—that they were bringing these people in for political reasons," Perryman said.

Most of the aliens brought into the country appeared to be coming for economic and personal reasons, according to another immigration service official, based in New Jersey, who asked not to be identified.

He said many of those smuggled in had been working in West Germany but returned to Yugoslavia when they lost their work permits during a German recession. Unable to find work in their own country, they sought jobs in the United States.

Almost all the aliens smuggled into the United States were ethnic Albanian Muslims who came from a part of Albania that was added to Yugoslavia about 1913 as a result of the First Balkan War. Albanians living in that part of Yugoslavia have been protesting what they consider to be political repression by the Yugoslav government. Riots in the Albanian region in 1981 left nine dead and 600 jailed.

Some of the strife has boiled over into ethnic neighborhoods in the United States, particularly in the Chicago area, where one of the suspected smuggling ringleaders was located, immigration service officials said.

Oloman Selmani, 53, a restaurant owner identified by officials as an Albanian Muslim and the ringleader of the Chicago operation, had three loaded firearms with him when arrested, Perryman said. Several were armed.

The New Jersey operation allegedly was spearheaded by a Yugoslav emigre named Dragisa Terzioski, 45, a naturalized citizen who once had his own television show and frequently arranged U.S. tours for Yugoslav cultural and athletic groups. Officials claim that he booked most of the illegal aliens' arrivals through his travel agency in Paterson, N.J.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
11 May 1984 Pg. 21

Whether foreign nations like it or not, the FBI is making clear that official bodyguards sent to protect athletes at the Olympic Games will have to sit on their hands. FBI chief William Webster says local or federal authorities will handle any incidents.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL
8 June 1984 Pg. 1

FEAR OF TERRORISM at the Summer Olympics persists despite the Eastern-bloc boycott. The FBI claims it is worried that Moscow's KGB may somehow inspire violence during the games. G-men suspect that the Russians may believe that would justify their explanation for the boycott: that the U.S. couldn't protect athletes against attack.

Most Wanted Jobs

"If you wanted anything in the Yugoslav community, he was the *patron*," the New Jersey-based immigration service official said. He said most of the aliens who took advantage of the travel service "are just hard-working people who wanted jobs here." Investigators said they are still uncertain whether Terzioski, an ethnic Serbo-Croatian, was directly involved with the Chicago group.

None of the defendants nor their attorneys could be reached for comment Friday.

Terzioski's wife, a former actress, denied in a brief telephone interview that her husband had been involved in any wrongdoing and charged that the immigration service had misconstrued the immigration of the Yugoslavs. She said community members and family are making contributions to pay his \$1-million bond.

"My husband never did anything to anybody," she said. "If he did some mistake, if he did something to help, it's because of his crazy good heart, not because he's criminal. . . . The relatives come here, we sell the tickets to them. That's all."

Asked about any political motives for immigration to the United States, she said in broken English, "People come because have one brother there, one sister here, and they want, they desperate, to have families together."

SOF FEATURE**KILLING
FOR THE
GOLD****Olympiad '84: Ominous
Parallels to the
Munich Massacre**by **Kevin E. Steele**

Photos courtesy of AP/Wide World

O430 hrs., an hour before dawn. Darkness clung like a cloak to the new high-rise buildings that housed the Olympic athletes. Eight men, dressed in athletic garb and carrying athletic equipment bags, easily scaled the 6.5-foot security fence. Once on the other side, they quickly shouldered the athletic bags that contained the instruments of their trade — Soviet assault rifles, handguns and grenades — and hurried to meet their appointment with destiny. Gold medals meant nothing to them.

Twenty hours later a final body count revealed 17 dead — among them 11 Israeli athletes. Five of the eight terrorists were killed, along with one German policeman. How did this atrocity occur, and why was it allowed to happen?

This was the infamous "Munich Massacre," carried out by the Black September faction of the PLO during the 1972 summer Olympic Games in Munich, West Germany. The televised drama that unfolded that September day ranks with the dark days of Dallas in 1963 as a vivid, step-by-step portrayal of murder and mayhem indelibly etched on our consciousness.

Random and senseless acts of terror continue to this day. The terrorists themselves are not important, nor are their warped beliefs and perceptions of injus-

tice levied against their causes. It matters not what breed of rabid dog bites, only the pain and death that follow. The presence of terror, and the means by which it is inflicted on innocent citizens, should be all that concern us.

Why is the Munich Massacre important today, 12 years later? Haven't we learned how to cope with terrorism? Or are we victims of the complacency bred by the successes at Entebbe, Mogadishu and London? Certainly we know how to combat these vile creatures who prey on innocent civilians — *or do we?*

Los Angeles is about to host the 23rd Summer Olympiad. What security precautions have been taken to safeguard both the athletes and the spectators, and have the Olympic organizers learned the tragic lessons of Munich? Unfortunately, it seems they haven't. Let's review the 1972 Olympics and the events that led up to the slaughter at Furstenfeldbruck Airbase, then compare these to the security arrangements made for the L.A. Games. The ominous parallels are all too evident.

The West Germans welcomed the 1972 Olympic Games as a chance to set the record straight, and to exorcise the specter raised by the 1936 Games hosted by Adolph Hitler as a propaganda extravaganza to prove the invincibility of the Aryan race.

A new Olympic Village was constructed in Munich (ironically the birthplace of National Socialism) where the athletes could live and compete in the spirit of sportsmanship and harmony. Security precautions were made, to include the 6.5-foot chain-link fence that ringed the village perimeter. Checkpoints were established at all village entrances, and the original intent was to restrict entrance. However, the press complained of these "Gestapo" tactics, and the village was opened for all. (Once again the general press rears its ugly head.) The police presence was intentionally downplayed, to prevent further references to German "militarism." The responsibility for village security was under the jurisdiction of the Munich police, under the command of Dr. Manfred Schreiber. An "easy and relaxed" atmosphere prevailed.

Eight PLO terrorists quickly infiltrated this "easy and relaxed" atmosphere with no difficulty as part of the 30,000-worker contingent hired for the games. No background checks were made, and the Arabs did not attempt to hide their national origins.

On the morning of 5 September, the eight terrorists disguised as athletes met no resistance scaling the relatively low "security" fence. The building that housed the Israeli team was not locked, and when the murder team knocked on the doors of the Israeli apartments they were opened. Only when the barrels of the Kalashnikovs were visible to the Israelis did they expect the worst — and by then it was too late.

Within hours the Munich police were aware of the situation and had begun to take action. Under the orders of Schreiber, 600 policemen were alerted to cordon off the area with armored personnel carriers. A command center was established a short distance from the Israeli quarters, and Schreiber initiated the first discussion with the terrorist leader. It is at this point that the situation becomes interesting, and ultimately tragic.

If a single blame can be leveled on the handling of the Munich Massacre, it would have to be placed directly upon the German officials who allowed disorganization to rule the day. In 1972, there was no GSG-9 (although this debacle was directly responsible for its formation), no SWAT, no Delta Force. The responsibility for the use of force to free the hostages rested on the shoulders of not one but three individuals; their use of the decentralized police/paramilitary apparatus became their worst handicap.

Schreiber commanded the Munich municipal police who initially took charge of the situation as it unfolded. Later in the day, Schreiber was supposedly supported

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KILLING FOR THE GOLD...Continued

by units of the Bundeswehr under the control of Bruno Merk, Bavarian interior minister, and the Federal Border Police, under the command of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal interior minister. The ultimate failure of these units to successfully free the hostages rests on the fact that no single individual commanded and, rather than the typical German penchant for organization, disorganization characterized the remainder of the operation.

By late afternoon, the German authorities had decided that the terrorists would not be allowed to leave Germany with their hostages. The terrorists requested transportation for themselves and the hostages from the Olympic Village to the Munich airport, where a waiting jet would carry them to Cairo. The Germans granted the terrorist request, then began preparing an ambush for the terrorists.

During the day, intelligence reported that five terrorists had carried out the attack. Using this information, the Germans came up with a final plan they intended to implement. A bus would enter the Olympic Village and transport the terrorists and hostages to a field adjoining the village, where they would board two Bundeswehr choppers and be transported not to Munich airport, but rather to Furstenfeldbruck Airbase, some 20 miles outside Munich.

At Furstenfeldbruck, a Luftwaffe base, a Lufthansa 727 sat waiting. Unknown to the terrorists, the 727 held no crew, for the Germans did not intend to allow them to board the jet alive.

Atop the tower at Furstenfeldbruck, three German Border Police sharpshooters had taken up positions. Two additional marksmen were positioned on the airfield itself. Within 50 meters of the snipers' positions, the choppers holding the terrorists and hostages would land. According to the plan, the terrorists would be shot as soon as they exited the choppers and made their way to the waiting 727.

The sharpshooters were armed with bolt-action sniping rifles equipped with telescopic sights. Maximum range to their intended targets would not exceed 40 meters. However, by the time preparations had been made, darkness had fallen on the airbase, and the killing ground was crisscrossed by eerie and confusing shadows caused by the spotlights illuminating the area.

At the last minute, Bundeswehr officials offered the use of semiauto rifles equipped with infrared sighting devices. However, the police marksmen were not trained in their use, and turned down the offer. The stage had been set for the final option.

At 2235 hrs., three choppers approached Furstenfeldbruck and land-

ed. Two held the terrorists and hostages, while the third contained police and negotiators. By this time it was learned that the original intelligence was in error. Eight terrorists guarded the hostages — not five. This placed the police sharpshooters in a no-win situation, as it is tactically and practically impossible to simultaneously kill eight terrorists with five bullets. In the interim between firing the initial volley and reloading, something was bound to go wrong.

Four terrorists exited the choppers. Two approached the waiting 727, and two held the chopper pilots as shields. Satisfied with the 727, the two terrorists began walking back to the chopper. At this point the fire command was given to the sharpshooters. Inexplicably, only one round reverberated around the tense airbase, quickly followed by four more.

Two terrorists went down for the count in the initial volley, with the remaining six returning police fire. The nine hostages, still within the chopper and mute to the horror that surrounded them, were gunned down where they sat. A terrorist tossed a fragmentation grenade among the contorted bodies in the chopper for good measure. At the end of an hour-long fire fight, three additional terrorists were killed, and three eventually surrendered. The Munich Massacre had become reality.

The following scenario shows one possible replaying of the Munich tragedy.

Los Angeles, July 1984: The catering truck pulled up to the Olympic Village entrance on the Westwood campus of UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles). At 0600 hrs., the caterers were running an hour behind their routine schedule for the 0700 breakfast serving. As the truck stopped at the barricade, the uniformed policeman on duty heaved his middle-aged bulk from the chair in the guard-shack and approached the open window of the van.

The day promised to be a beauty. The early-morning fog normal for this time of year, hanging heavy and oppressive from Santa Monica to downtown, was missing — a warm Santa Ana wind had blown in overnight from the Mojave, replacing low clouds with brilliant stars.

As the guard reached for the caterer's extended I.D. card, a bleating BMW horn on nearby Freeway 405 distracted his attention: Six 9mm slugs chewed their way through his thin uniform shirt and buried themselves in his chest. As the policeman slid to the pavement, the catering truck bolted through the barricade and roared into the Olympic Village, making directly for the apartments of the Turkish team.

Jumping the sidewalk, the catering

truck screeched to a halt beside the fire exit of the high-rise apartment building. The door to the building was locked, but a well-placed burst from the suppressed MAC-10 quickly gained them entrance.

A startled security agent in the building corridor reached instinctively for the holstered Beretta 92 under his jacket. Unfortunately, his effort was rewarded with another burst from the furious Ingram.

Five men entered the corridor behind the submachine-gun-wielding point man. Moving instantly to the pre-planned target, the point man took up a position beside the door of the Turkish suite, as a second man moved into position in front of the door. The point man squatted, waiting for the door-breaker to employ the cutdown 870 loaded with #000 Buck on the twin door hinges. At this point, the blast of the shotgun charges mattered little. As the door slid from the wall, the two men rushed in, quickly followed by their four comrades.

The six-man Turkish team was rounded up from their beds in moments. The Armenian terrorist team had accomplished their first objective. At 0608 hrs., a telephone call to the Olympic security building assured the officials that the Turks were being held hostage for crimes committed against Armenia in 1917.

As in Munich, preparations have been made to ensure the security of the L.A. Olympiad. But unlike Munich, the '84 Games will be spread over an immense area of Southern California, reaching over 200 miles from Santa Barbara to San Diego. Security will be provided by an army of uniformed and plainclothes police, in excess of 17,000 individuals, comprising over 100 different and overlapping jurisdictions.

Once again the question is asked, "Who is in charge?"

At the present time, Olympic security is being coordinated by the Los Angeles Police Department, under its chief, Daryl F. Gates. Actual day-to-day responsibility has been passed on to Commander William Rathburn. The Olympic Committee has also hired a former FBI agent as its security coordinator, Edgar Best. On top of these is William Webster, Director of the FBI.

Webster and Gates have been trying for quite some time to overcome the problem of decentralized leadership. In a *Los Angeles Times* article (6 January 1984), Webster said that he "... had no doubt that the FBI and the LAPD will resolve their differences over which agency will take the lead in responding to any terrorism within the city [read: LAPD's jurisdiction] during the Olympics." Both Webster and Gates have pledged to work together

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Dutch troopers manning security cordon around train held by South Moluccan extremists cluster around their APC, 31 May, some using optical devices to view the train.



Accompanied by two South Moluccan terrorists, negotiators Dr. Hassan Tan (second from left) and Mrs. Josina Soumokil (wearing light scarf) leave hijacked train near Glimmen, northern Netherlands, on night of 4 June 1977. Negotiators held lengthy talks with South Moluccan separatists who kept 51 passengers hostage. Train was hijacked 23 May on the line between villages of Assen and Groningen.

DUTCH DOCTOR

It's night in one of the great cities of Europe. The row houses in this once-prosperous but now slightly seedy district are bathed in harsh floodlights. Access to the street is barred, and combat-suited figures flit through the deep shadows to take up firing positions. Obviously, hostages have been taken.

But what of the actions that are closed to public scrutiny? The key elements that usually ensure a satisfactory ending to the siege? Who are the experts and advisers behind the scenes who manipulate the terrorists and make them receptive to negotiations? One of the first men on the scene is usually a middle-aged Dutchman. His coming excites no comment among the media gathered to witness the drama unfold. His photograph has never been published, he doesn't give interviews, and his address is a closely guarded secret. He, perhaps more than any man alive, knows the mind of the modern-day terrorist and the sinister men in the shadows who direct their actions. Police and intelligence agencies eagerly seek the advice of this

mild, bespectacled doctor of psychology. His handling of the South Moluccan train and the Hague Embassy sieges have given invaluable lessons to the strike teams that battle the web of international terror.

The scenario is distinctly different from a siege in which a criminal has taken hostages to try to escape retribution for some action. The political terrorist takes hostages to get a message across. He needs to legitimize his act and so must talk, which opens the door for a skillful negotiator to turn the tables and give the advantage to the security forces. The negotiator can also mentally prepare the terrorists for the violent intervention of the strike teams.

Among the first objectives of the good doctor is the establishment of an immediate dialogue. Without this nothing can be achieved. Before replying to the terrorists' initial statements, he must listen attentively. When responding, he must try to establish a basis of complicity between the terrorists and himself. He must never approve of their actions, but still make it clear that he and only he can help them obtain some of their legitimate grievances.

Before the violent intervention of the strike teams he must prepare the terrorists psychologically and work toward getting them to accept the idea that every man has the right to be tired, to be sick, that nobody can bear such an enormous burden indefinitely. He must try to get them to describe their physical ailments, to erode their feeling of invincibility and get them to sleep. This restores their mental rhythms and also creates favorable conditions for the attack.

For the hostages, the two most dangerous moments are the initial seizure when the terrorists are fired by an almost psychotic zeal and could massacre them without a moment's hesitation; and when the captors' position weakens and they are tempted to try some violent act to regain the initiative. It is at the latter stage that most lives are lost.

The negotiator must use an almost confidential tone to speak to the terrorists — almost like doctor to patient — with no bluntness or the slightest hint of threat. He must insist that the captors maintain discipline with the hostages and ensure that they remain unhooded: Eye contact is crucial. A man will kill someone whose eyes he can't see.

The negotiator must ease the terrorists into a climate of submission by establishing a routine, setting times for meals ("Do you want chicken or hamburger?") and deluging them with questions ("Leg or wing? Rare or well-done? Mustard or ketchup?"). These questions do not change the basic situation, but take the terrorists' minds off their obsession, put them back into contact with outside reality and weaken their will to resist. The doctor suggests sending food in on china, making the captors maintain standards of hygiene ("Be sure to wash the plates and utensils"). The terrorists are made to realize that objects are breakable — and also, unconsciously, that their hostages are fragile.

The doctor vetoes sending in playing cards or board games, to avoid disaster should a terrorist lose to a hostage. Instead, he recommends trying to build up the leader and perhaps allow him a small success to increase his standing in the eyes of his men. He is then less likely to resort to violent means to regain authority or make a point.

These are a few of the steps by which the Dutch doctor manipulates the terrorists to prepare them for the end.

— Roger Ingram

KILLING FOR THE GOLD...Continued

toward a "common agreement." So far as we know, none has been reached.

The FBI has also been hamstrung recently in the area of preventive investigations. In a suit filed in Federal District Court in Chicago by the ACLU and the Alliance to End Repression (a front for the U.S. Communist Party), Judge Susan Getzendanner issued an injunction which disallows implementation of new FBI domestic security guidelines initiated by Attorney General William French Smith in 1983. Under the new guidelines the FBI would have been able to investigate individuals or groups who advocated criminal activity or intent to commit a crime of violence. The outcome is that the FBI can investigate only committed crimes, not individuals *planning* to commit crimes.

Regarding security checks on workers hired for the Games, the police are permitted to instigate background checks, but are not allowed to take workers' fingerprints nor administer lie-detector tests.

In the event of an act of terrorism which involves the taking of hostages, exactly what would the response be? Well, we have several options.

One is the use of the LAPD SWAT Team. Another is the use of the L.A. County Sheriff's Department SWAT

Team. Another is the use of the FBI SWAT Team, and still another is the use of the one-year-old, untested FBI Hostage Rescue Team. Perhaps more "final options" than we need?

The police have been given the job of Olympic security and terrorist-action response over the military for a number of reasons, all of which seem to evolve around image rather than action. To quote FBI Director William Webster (op. cit.): "Because of the FBI's readiness, there is no need for stationing a special Army Commando team close to Los Angeles during the Games." Webster went on to state that the Army does not concentrate on training that will allow the saving of lives, and that the FBI team will provide a "... civilian response, not a military response." Unfortunately, this thinking echoes back to the Munich debacle.

Unlike Munich, the Olympic Villages in Los Angeles will be ringed with tight security — at least in the beginning. What will happen if the press complains again of Gestapo tactics? The two villages in L.A., one on the UCLA campus and the other

on the USC (University of Southern California) campus, will be surrounded by high-security, alarm-wired and electronically monitored fences. Entrance checkpoints will be guarded by armed police, and athletes and press will be required to



show a special photo I.D. which features an electronic bar code. Metal detectors will be set up at the village gates and will also be used at the entrances to all events. At least L.A. will not be as "easy and relaxed" as was Munich in '72.

However, even with the security precautions already under preparation, the most glaring error that persists is the lack of a centralized control over all security forces.

The Olympic officials are convinced that the proper response to terrorism is a police response. But do the police have the right background for the job? The effectiveness of the LAPD SWAT team is highly touted in law-enforcement circles — but is it for their response to terrorist activities, or for their response to drunk or drugged-out husband/boyfriends who threaten to kill their mates in a moment of insanity?

Professional terrorists are not momentarily insane. They are cold, ruthless killers who practice their trade on an international front. They consider themselves soldiers and "freedom fighters" — not criminals.

While the LAPD SWAT team may be good, I can only cite their performance against one terrorist group — the Symbionese Liberation Army in the famed shootout of 17 May 1974. In that fiasco, the SWAT team literally tore apart the

H&K MP5-toting agent runs to aid two colleagues in subduing revolver-armed "terrorist" and securing "hostage" during FBI training exercise geared toward the possibility of terrorist attacks at the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.

house holding the terrorists with uncontrolled gunfire, finally bringing the siege to an end with tear-gas cannisters that ignited the home and created a blazing inferno. None of the terrorists were captured alive. Is this what Webster terms a "police response"?

What steps could we take to augment current Olympic security plans? To start, a centralized command must be established. This centralized command should be capable of dispatching the correct response to any terrorist activity at a moment's notice. The commander should not be affected by local politics, nor be concerned with "public image." An impartial commander should be selected — and all local forces should be subjugated to his control. In short, the overall security commander should come from the ranks of the military — not the police. But then, I suppose "image" is far more important than innocent lives. ✕

SOF FEATURE**TOOLS
OF TERROR****SOF's Guide
to Underground Weaponry**by **Bill Guthrie**

FEAR is the first weapon, but after that guns are the tools by which terrorists move nations and men to act against their wills. Firearms of "liberation" organizations can be defined by necessity and taste (simple weapons are best — since many of the grunts in a terrorist "army" are qualified more by zeal than by experience — and certain weapons have emotional appeal) but the guns found most often are the guns that are available.

The distinctive banana-magazine outline of the Kalashnikov is the symbol of revolution even to those who have no idea what an AK-47 is.

Simple, rugged, relatively inexpensive and manufactured from Egypt to China, the AK may be the greatest small-arms contributor to world destabilization.

Some analysts believe total production of AKs and AK variants must be near 30 million. The older USSR-made AK-47, the newer AKM and the Chinese Type 56 are most numerous in terrorist weapons caches, but East German, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Yugoslavian, and North Korean versions can be found.

M16s are valued by many armies for mechanical simplicity, low recoil, accuracy, lightness, compactness and ease of training. All of these characteristics make them fine weapons for amateur and professional killers.

Colt claims that about five million M16s have been made in the United States and by licensees in the Philippines and South Korea, but there may be political reasons for not revealing a larger figure. Unofficial estimates of total production are double official figures. Our abandonment of about a million M16s in Southeast Asia has made a great contribution to the world terrorist

arsenal. Vietnam-issue '16s have been used in terrorist acts and communist insurrections from neighboring Cambodia, Burma and Thailand to Central America. The Irish Republican Army has received M16s from communist sympathizers, and IRA buyers have been in Vietnam to purchase U.S.-made arms and ammo from our old enemies.

The first rifle issued to use the AK's M1943 7.62x39mm cartridge was the SKS. Strong and simple, production figures are not available, but Pete Kokalis figures that 10 million must have been made. SKSs lack selective-fire capability, and are relatively unsuited to urban and jungle fighting. But they were made in East Germany, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and North Korea and are still found wherever communists are killing people.

Some have called the U.S. M2 carbine the original assault rifle. The M2 fired an intermediate round, was light and compact with 30-round magazines and it featured selective fire. Official production figures are in the 6,000,000 range and World War II spread them over most of the globe. Semi-auto M1s and full-auto M2 and M3 carbines have been taken from basements and bodies of terrorists from Ireland to Africa and from Vietnam to South America.

Since terrorist organizations do not have the same supply networks as an army, members of the same group may have different weapons. Czech vz.58 assault rifles are a good example. The Model 58 is visually similar but mechanically different from the AK, and parts are not interchangeable. It has the additional inconvenience of the capability of being misassembled, with potentially disastrous results.

Still, the weapon is robust, accurate, and mainly well-designed. Since it is something different, some people like it for that reason alone. One of the terrorist cells of the Japanese Red Army named itself for the

Czech rifle.

Submachine guns and machine pistols are light, small and lethal. Many millions of them have been made since World War I, and by no means are all of them accounted for by either Free World or communist states that made them. All makes appear in weapons captured from terrorists, from the latest UZI to the oldest Thompson or the most delapidated PPSH-41.

For power, compactness and shock value, hardly anything short of C-4 beats the MAC-10 in .45 ACP or 9mm Parabellum. Expensive on the open market and virtually non-rebuildable, the Ingram's high rate of fire (1200 rpm in .45) and small size make hit probability low at ranges beyond toe-to-toe. All that aside, it is available with an excellent Sionics silencer, is unbelievably concealable, and is very hard to argue with at very close ranges. Numbers are hard to get, since covert services are the governmental agencies that buy them and the manufacturing history is Byzantine. But they've been produced in some numbers for the last 17 years, were originally cheaply and easily available to civilian buyers, and have been purchased by more than 20 governments, including Yugoslavia.

The real sex-appeal weapon for enemies of order is the Czech Skorpion machine pistol. The Red Brigades of Italy are particularly fond of this 2.8-pound, 10.6-inch-long, folding-wire-stocked select-fire weapon. Available in .32 ACP (most commonly), .380 ACP, 9mm Makarov and 9mm Parabellum, the Skorpion is relatively controllable, highly portable and reliable. Originally designed as a police and vehicle-crew weapon, Omnipol (the Czech sales organization) has found good foreign markets, so the Skorpion is available all over Africa and throughout much of Europe.

Common handguns are most popular for terrorist operations. Pope John Paul II was shot with a Browning Hi-Power 9mm, and Walther auto-pistols are so popular (and illegally available) in Europe the Red Brigades have been nicknamed "P-38ers." Compact .38 Special S&W revolvers are also popular.

The world's terrorists have found other means when they didn't have guns — *plastique* in France in the '40s and industrial dynamite in Peru today — but firearms remain their most important tools. Other weapons, such as nuclear devices or toxins, might be more ideally suited for terrorist operations, but guns are compact, inexpensive, require little training or experience for basic use and are available all over the world. The great numbers of military weapons and the lack of control over dispersion in times of war define what firearms are available to terrorists. But whatever guns are found and wherever they are used, they are implements of slavery in the hands of terrorists as they are tools of freedom in the hands of informed citizens. ✕

SOLDIER OF FORTUNE July 1984 Pages 38-41

SOF FEATURE**DEATH
IN THE
AFTERNOON****Basque Separatists Wage Europe's
Longest War****Text & Photos by Adrian Wecer**

THE young Basque terrorist walked out of the apartment house on Calle Reina Cristina, heading toward his car parked a short distance away. He froze in mid-stride, slapped a hand to the side of his head — as if he had just remembered something very important — and keeled over. He was dead before he hit the ground.

The bullet that killed him had been fired by a fellow terrorist, an old friend of his hidden in the lobby of the building he had just left. It punched through a plate-glass panel on the exit door, drilled into the back of his head, spun around inside his skull a few times, and finally came to rest deep within the bloody mess that had once been his brain.

It happened at 7:45 in the morning, while dozens of people on their way to work casually watched from doorways and passing cars. Within seconds the lifeless body was dragged off the street into the back seat of a waiting automobile, which quickly drove off to dispose of it at some unknown location. But there was no need to hurry. None of the witnesses would have dared call the police to report the killing — not this one, anyway. And even if someone had, the authorities would certainly have taken their sweet time about coming out to investigate — if they decided to come at all. Getting involved in a settling of accounts between ETA gunmen did not exactly rate high on their list of choice duties.

The killing, which this reporter had been invited to watch and photograph from a nearby rooftop, took place

several months ago in the Basque provincial capital of San Sebastián. To be sure, it was nothing more than murder, plain and simple. But it was also the single most important political development in Spain's struggle against Basque terrorism in the last 15 years. ETA had gone to war against itself.

Earlier interviews with Basque political leaders and ETA militants — including the two who later invited me to that rooftop on Reina Cristina — provide us with a fairly clear idea as to how this situation came about.

According to these knowledgeable sources, *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA Basque Country and Freedom), the ruthless left-wing underground organization that has been striving for Basque independence from Spain through a bloody campaign of terror launched in the late '60s, had suffered a series of political and military setbacks over the past two years which have deprived it of its leadership, eroded the vast popular support it once enjoyed, and invalidated any claim to a just political cause it may have had.

The first of these setbacks occurred early in 1982 when José Martín Sagardea, ETA's top leader and principal strategist, was assassinated in a southern French sanctuary during a cross-border retaliatory raid conducted by members of an obscure extreme-rightist group known as *El Batallón Vasco Español* (the Spanish Basque Battalion). The subsequent capture and incarceration of his most trusted lieutenants by Spanish border police certainly didn't help matters any. It quickly transformed the organization from a highly disciplined urban-guerrilla movement, with brilliant military strategy and well-defined political goals, into a disorganized band of thugs desperately striking out at any target of opportunity for

mere publicity value. Given this situation, the second major setback was as predictable as it was unavoidable.

Horrified by the mindless slaughter that since June 1982 has claimed the lives of 14 military officers and more than 150 innocent bystanders, the Basque people began to deny ETA the unquestioned support they once offered so freely. The cities of Vitoria and Bilbao — alleged birthplace of ETA where militants were once openly paraded through the streets and hailed as heroes — have since become staging areas for massive rallies denouncing the depredations of this terrorist group. Recent outrages such as the killing of a baker (for delivering bread to the families of policemen during a strike), and the kidnapping and cold-blooded execution of an Army pharmaceutical officer (after the government had already met their outrageous demands for his safe release) triggered a nationwide protest the likes of which had not been seen in Spain since the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936. Thousands of people marched through the streets of every major city in the country to denounce the murders and to demand from the government in Madrid nothing less than the total extermination of these rabid killers.

The third and potentially most damaging setback was a decision by the Madrid government to restore to the Basque provinces the political autonomy revoked by Generalissimo Francisco Franco during the Civil War.

In 1937, the second year of the war, Franco suppressed the self-governing powers of Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya and Alava — the three provinces that presently make up the Basque region. They were officially proclaimed "punished provinces" for having fiercely resisted the onslaught of his rebel armies. His hatred for the Basques was so intense that he even went so far as to forbid them the use of their native language, Eskuara. People were forbidden to teach this ancient language, or even speak it in the privacy of their own

homes. To ensure compliance, Franco's political police often stopped Basque families on the street and questioned the children as to whether they had heard their parents speaking anything other than Spanish at home.

The Madrid decision to restore the rights of the local Basque government to levy and collect taxes, to establish its own police force, and to finance schools teaching the native language, met the home-rule demands of the moderate Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) which for years had been trying

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

DEATH IN THE AFTERNOON... Cont'd

to undercut ETA and all other extremists who believe that political autonomy can be had only through the warm barrel of a gun.

From the time the decision was implemented in 1982, ETA tried to show that it had not been seriously hurt by this or any other setback. More than anything else, it tried to show that it was still an armed political force that had to be reckoned with. Indeed, the ever-increasing number of indiscriminate killings attributed to the separatists in recent months, and the appalling savagery which has come to characterize all their actions, certainly gave that impression.

However, ETA defectors were telling a totally different story regarding the organization's strength and capabilities. They described a terrorist organization that had been forced to plan and direct its "struggle for independence" from the relative safety of a foreign sanctuary due to the fear its "freedom fighters" had of being turned in or even killed by the very people whose cause they claimed to champion. The organization was so reduced in numbers by internal strife and mass defections that their last *Asamblea* — a kind of Revolutionary Congress convened by the entire membership of ETA every few years in order to discuss and evaluate past and future strategies — was held in a shepherd's shack high up in the Pyrenees. Nothing larger was required, as only 47 militants showed up.

According to two former ETA gunmen who attended that *Asamblea*, a motion was presented to end hostilities if and when the Madrid government agreed to the following three conditions: first, that all "forces of occupation" such as transit patrolmen, national police, and all members of the *Guardia Civil* that normally patrol and protect Spain's foreign borders, be recalled from the Basque region; second, that the Madrid decision to restore self-governing powers to the Basque provinces be amended in such a way as to acknowledge the right of the Basque people to eventually obtain their independence and secede from the Spanish Union; and third, that the neighboring province of Navarre be acknowledged as part of the future Basque nation.

"That last condition," remarked one of the former gunmen, "was like the Armed National Liberation Front of Puerto Rico (FALN) promising to end their campaign of terror bombings in America if only the U.S. government agreed to grant the islanders their independence and recognized their right to claim New York as part of the future island nation."



BASQUE RESISTANCE

The history of Basque resistance to incorporation by neighboring national and ethnic groups is long and bloody. *The Song of Roland* tells of a treacherous attack on Charlemagne's rearguard at Roncesvalles by the Moorish army. It's a fabrication designed to save face for the French. Charlemagne's rearguard got wiped out by the Basques.

The Basques live in the Pyrenees in the border regions of Spain and France. Rejecting both cultures, they hold to their own ancient ways.

Eskuara, their language, is unrelated to any other European language. The Basques probably represent the aboriginal population of Europe.

Basques have settled in the United States, especially in sheepherding and farming areas of the Northern Rocky Mountain states.

Aside from their successes against the Franks, the Basques also invaded and occupied Gascony in the 6th century, and have fought, usually enthusiastically, in every war in the area since then, especially in the Spanish Civil War and World War II.

Of the total number of militants in attendance, the gunman recalled that 16 voiced their satisfaction with the gains already made by the PNV moderates and presented a counter-motion to end the armed struggle throughout Spain unconditionally. When their proposal was rejected, the group turned in their weapons and walked out. Another 12 also quit the gathering when their motion to abandon all attempts at a negotiated settlement in favor of escalating the violence was shouted down. This group did not turn in their weapons when they left. The remaining members, unable to get a consensus on their original motion, adjourned to their sanctuary in southern France where they now spend their time dodging cross-border raids by Spanish secret police and trying to figure out what went wrong with the revolution.

It is known that the dozen pro-violence extremists who quit the *Asamblea* are responsible for the current wave of indiscriminate killings sweeping over Spain. It is also known that their primary objective was, and still is, to provoke the Madrid government into declaring a state of national emergency and ordering a full-scale military intervention in the Basque provinces — a move that would discredit

PNV efforts and reunite the general population behind their extremist cause. They came close to doing just that a couple of times — so close, in fact, that by the end of 1983 they were publicly proclaiming themselves rightful heirs to ETA's name and cause. They had also augmented their numbers by forging a loose alliance with a group of free-lance murderers who called themselves the "Autonomous Commandos of the Revolution," the ones who actually carried out the hits and placed the bombs.

"They are like a pack of wild dogs that have been turned loose on the streets of our cities," explained the gunman with obvious distaste. "Their senseless acts have made a mockery of our cause and have brought nothing but shame and sorrow to our people. Shooting an innocent man while his children beg for mercy on television is not what this struggle is all about.

"We don't really know who these people are or what they stand for, but we do know who holds their leash . . . and we are going to stop them. That's a promise."

Early the next morning, standing on the roof of a building looking down on Calle Reina Cristina, I saw that same gunman fulfill the first part of his promise. ✕

U.S.-Mexico Border Won't Be Terrorists' Escape Route

By MARJORIE MILLER, *Times Staff Writer*

SAN YSIDRO, Calif. — Mexican and American officials are increasing law enforcement activities along the U.S.-Mexico border in an effort to ensure that it does not become a gateway for terrorists planning an attack on the Olympic Games.

On the Mexican side, Tijuana police have revamped a plan to seal off that city in the event a terrorist should attempt to flee south after an attack. Security agents have asked the Baja California state attorney general for permission to videotape all airport arrivals and to review daily the names and nationalities of people staying in Tijuana hotels.

On the U.S. side, Immigration and Naturalization Service agents and San Diego police have intensified training on terrorism and are paying closer attention to the origin and travel routes of foreigners detained for entering the country illegally.

On both sides of the border, police agencies are trying to improve binational communications, setting up a hot line between the San Diego and Tijuana police departments and installing two-way radios between the Tijuana Police Department and the immigration service.

'Intend to Be Prepared'

"We have no evidence of any problems. We anticipate no problems, but we intend to be prepared," said San Diego Police Cmdr. Mike Rice, who is heading the Olympic security operation in San Diego.

"We are looking into everything out of the ordinary," a San Diego police officer working on the binational security effort concurred.

That means investigating talk of 1,000 Iranians who were supposedly training south of Ensenada, word that a Puerto Rican independence fighter was headed for Tijuana and other such tips that arrive at police headquarters via anonymous telephone calls and letters.

None of those tips so far has proven valid, but the intensified scrutiny has resulted in confiscation of some firearms headed into Mexico.

World's Busiest Crossing

Trying to head off terrorists who might want to make use of the border here is an ambitious undertaking. Even on the calm days, the border is a maelstrom of activity. Every month, 3 million people pass through the San Ysidro Port of Entry, the busiest international border crossing in the world.

Thousands of others illegally cross the 8-mile-long border between San Diego and Tijuana. They pass through beaches, barbed wire, rugged hills and canyons, and many, if not most, are undetected by immigration agents.

"Our concern is that a terrorist group will use our border to cross into the United States," said Roberto Sanchez Osorio, a security consultant to the Tijuana Police Department. "There is a big concern too about what may happen if a terrorist group tries to use our border as a door to escape, maybe with hostages."

Under Mexican law, Sanchez Osorio said, it is a federal crime to enter Mexico after committing a crime in another country. So, if someone attacks the Games in Los Angeles and flees to Mexico, the problem becomes the responsibility of Mexican federal police. U.S. police agencies, of course, may not operate in Mexico.

Should terrorists head for the border, Mexican customs agents would immediately begin to halt traffic at the border, so it would back up into the United States. Tijuana police say they could have all highway exits from the city sealed within three minutes of notification, and then could blanket the hillside slums, downtown streets and beaches with patrols.

City and state police each will have an additional 15 patrol cars and 25 to 30 officers this summer who could be used for such an emergency operation.

But Sanchez Osorio noted that Tijuana is not a very good escape route for a criminal because, "there is only one road out to Mexicali (east). To the south, past Ensenada, it goes into the desert and you don't want to escape through the desert."

Collaboration is nothing new on the border, where

San Diego police have maintained communication lines to Mexico for the last 50 years. The San Diego Police Department, Sheriff's Department and California Highway Patrol all have liaison officers who make daily or weekly trips across the border to trade information with Mexican police on everything from stolen cars to fugitives.

So, much of the Olympic planning boils down to strengthening these relationships and working together more closely—such as trading telephone numbers they never got around to exchanging before.

More formally, the agencies plan to install a direct line between the San Diego intelligence unit and the Tijuana Police Department, which will serve as a command center for local, state and federal police in Mexico during the Games. To complete the communications chain, San

Diego police and sheriff's deputies will have a security post at Fairbanks Ranch, where one equestrian event is scheduled, and representatives in Los Angeles at the Olympics security coordinating center.

The Olympic security plan submitted to the Baja California state attorney general calls for increased surveillance along the south and eastern borders of the state and at bus stations, according to Sanchez Osorio. He said the attorney general has not made a decision yet on the plan.

The plan recommends that police take greater notice of the hotel guest lists that now are routinely submitted to them each day. The lists show the names, nationalities and previous destination of the guests.

Security Tightened

Police and customs officials say inspections already

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Israeli Inquiry for Benefit of Terrorists, Not Moralists

By ERIC M. BREINDEL

It is now official that two of the four Palestinian Arabs who hijacked a commercial bus in Israel in early April were killed after having been taken into custody uninjured—and not as a consequence of the Israeli army's successful assault on the hijacked vehicle. This is a matter of special concern to Israeli authorities for reasons generally ignored by the Western press.

A month-long inquiry into the incident by outside experts appointed by the Israeli Ministry of Defense was prompted by journalists' photographs taken during and immediately after an elite military commando unit stormed the bus and rescued the passengers.

The photographs, initially barred from publication by Israeli military censors, appear to show at least one of the hijackers—since identified by members of his own family living in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip—alive and seemingly unharmed after the raid.

At the time of the incident Israeli military spokesmen maintained that two of the hijackers were killed during the assault (as was one Israeli passenger). The other two, authorities insisted, died en route to a hospital of injuries sustained during the commando operation.

According to the official inquiry, however, the two Palestinians who survived the military action were taken to a nearby field for immediate interrogation and evidently beaten to death.

This disclosure, a direct result of Israel's decision to allow newsmen and pho-

tographers to witness the culmination of the hijacking incident, is a source of great distress to Jerusalem. But not because Israel may be excoriated for brutality toward captured terrorists in the editorial columns of leading dailies in Paris, London, New York and Washington. The Israeli government has far more immediate, and practical, concerns.

Israel has long upheld two principles with regard to terrorists and terrorist incidents. One principle frequently touted is Jerusalem's adamant and consistent refusal to negotiate with terrorists.

The second, which is seldom discussed or even noted, is Israel's willingness to allow terrorists who surrender before and especially during a terrorist operation to be taken alive and remain alive.

There is no death penalty in Israel for terrorists. And over time Israeli authorities have concluded that unless terrorists are offered an incentive to surrender they are likely to behave like kamikazes and seek to take with them as many of the civilian "enemy" as possible.

The number of potential hijackers and saboteurs who surrender in Israel immediately upon detection, events that take place so frequently that they are scarcely deemed worthy of press attention, indicates that those who are meant to understand Israel's willingness to spare their lives do indeed grasp that fact.

Of course, should Israel again be confronted, as it has been once in Lebanon, and as has the U.S., by Shiite Moslem terrorists who are willing to give up their

lives in order to ensure a successful operation, this "incentive" strategy will be of little help. The reappearances on the international scene of kamikazelike terrorists is an important development in international terrorism. But European-style terrorists, the Red Brigades in Italy, for example, as well as others, generally have proved to be concerned with remaining alive. They have tended to establish reasonably reliable escape routes, to disguise their identities and, when necessary, to endeavor to surrender unharmed.

Israel continues to be confronted with terrorists of the old school on a steady basis. Thus the present consternation in Jerusalem turns not only on a deplorable breakdown in discipline but also on anxiety that terrorists and would-be terrorists—rather than, say, the editors of the London Times—understand that what happened in the bus-hijacking case is an aberration.

The Israelis nurture no illusion that terrorism suddenly will cease someday soon. Thus for now and the foreseeable future it remains important that those who undertake to commit these murderous "political" deeds are aware, if only in the dim recesses of their minds, that even upon detection or capture death is not their inevitable fate. Israel wants its terrorist enemies to know that with surrender their lives will be spared as a matter of tactics, not morality.

Mr. Breindel is a Washington-based correspondent for a Public Broadcasting Service program.

Professor linked to terrorism jailed

A university professor alleged to have been behind much of the guerrilla violence in Italy in the 1970s today was sentenced to 30 years in jail on murder and other charges at the end of a trial of 71 persons here.

Toni Negri, a leftist political science professor at Padua University, fled Italy last September after being freed from jail because he was elected to parliament as a dep-

uty of the small Radical Party. He is believed to be in France.

The Rome court passed sentences totaling more than 500 years on 55 defendants on charges including subversion, setting up an armed band and illegal possession of weapons.

ESCAPE ROUTE...Continued

have tightened at the Tijuana airport, but that a videotape would give them a record of the 1,000 to 1,500 passengers who use the airport each day. About 40 flights enter and leave the airport daily, 19 of them commercial.

Police, customs and immigration service officials in the United States say they also are trying to increase awareness among their agents of potential terrorists.

Border Patrol agents in the Chula Vista Sector, where 43,000 illegal aliens are detained each month, are beginning to interview some of those detainees more

closely than usual, looking for anyone who, in the words of Alari Eliason, chief agent in charge of the Chula Vista Sector, "might fit the role of a terrorist."

Despite the preparations, police and immigration agents acknowledge that the United States is an easy country to enter. Much of the 1,933-mile border with Mexico is unfenced and easily penetrated.

"Obviously, if somebody wants to come into this country and do harm, they could probably do it relatively easily," Campbell said. "All you can do is the very best based on intelligence reports. You can't have an informant next to every burglar and nobody I know is standing next to a guy planning to blow up somebody."

JACK ANDERSON

Violent Leftists Aim to Terrorize Olympic Games

Intelligence reports warn that the radical Puerto Rican revolutionary group known by the dread letters FALN has set up mobile camps across the Mexican border to train terrorists for attacks on the Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Ominously, the reports also predict that the FALN's violent leader, William Morales, will soon be released from a Mexican prison and delivered into the custody of leftist authorities in the Tijuana area. That's as close to Los Angeles as he could get to set up terrorist headquarters without crossing into U.S. jurisdiction.

The Soviet grievances against the Los Angeles Olympics, meanwhile, will encourage the terrorists to strike all the harder, U.S. intelligence sources fear. The FALN is led by hard-line Marxists who ape the Moscow line and tend, in the way of young revolutionaries, to translate propaganda into violence.

This group is regarded by the FBI as the No. 1 terrorist threat to the United States, and Morales is this

nation's most wanted terrorist. According to an intelligence document, "the FALN has been responsible for over 150 terrorist bombings in the U.S. since its founding in 1973 . . . [It] has developed an extensive terrorist network stretching across the U.S. and into Mexico. Morales is also developing links with insurgent movements in Central America."

My associate Jon Lee Anderson spent most of a day with Morales in the maximum security wing of Reclusorio Norte, a model prison on the outskirts of Mexico City.

Morales is a determined revolutionary and Marxist zealot driven at once by idealism and hatred, a would-be usurper who justifies himself as the avenger of terrible wrongs. Yet he's the mere boss of a small gang who seeks to stir up a mass following.

"I am a member of a revolutionary movement which is at war with the United States government," he told my reporter.

Morales, 34, a slim man with a coffee-colored complexion, is shocking to look at. His mouth, chin and both hands were blown off in a bomb explosion at an FALN bomb factory in New York in 1978. He has a single digit that passes for a finger on each stump. It's all he needs, apparently, to feed himself and attend to his basic needs.

With these stumps, he escaped

from the fourth floor of a New York prison hospital.

Morales' dramatic escape occurred on May 21, 1979. He disappeared into the underground and, according to an intelligence report, "began operating between Mexico and the U.S." Police located his wife, Dylcia Pagan Morales, in Chicago and traced her incoming calls from Mexico.

The FBI tipped off the Mexican authorities that Morales was plotting to bomb a U.S.-Mexican legislative conference. This led to a shootout in the city of Puebla on May 28, 1983. Morales was captured after his companion fell dead in a hail of bullets. A police officer also died in the exchange.

Morales was sentenced to 89 years in prison, which would keep him out of circulation for a long time. But Anderson found Morales confident that he would soon be freed. Telegraphed my reporter: "U.S. lawmen, who want Morales extradited, might do well to worry that he could slip from their clutches in Mexico."

Not long after I received this report, my associate Donald Goldberg learned from intelligence reports that, indeed, Morales is expected to be handed over to leftist authorities in Tijuana. They are expected to give him free rein to direct the terrorist training in clandestine camps in northern Mexico.

TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL 12 May 1984 Pg. 1

Terrorism common: Kaplan

By JEFF SALLOT
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Every international terrorist group known is present in Canada, Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan said yesterday.

"I'm not saying their targets are in Canada," he said, "but they develop their activities and their

support for what they're doing in Canada."

Those activities include procuring arms, recruiting members and raising money, Mr. Kaplan told reporters.

The Irish Republican Army, the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Red Brigades of Italy are among the international terrorist groups that have operated in Canada, Mr. Kaplan said.

A great increase in terrorist activity — both international and domestic — is responsible for the rise last year in the number of warrants issued under the Official Secrets Act for national security wiretaps, buggings and other interceptions of private communications, Mr. Kaplan said.

In a report to Parliament on

Thursday, Mr. Kaplan said that he issued 525 warrants in 1983 for wiretaps, hidden cameras and electronic bugs in security cases — an 18 per cent increase from the previous year.

"In a few cases, advance intelligence gathered by electronic surveillance permitted us to head off some incidents in 1983," Mr. Kaplan said yesterday.

He said he couldn't recall the exact figures on terrorist incidents, but his office said later that there were 18 terrorist incidents in Canada in 1982 and 1983.

Among the incidents classified as terrorist acts were the bombing of an electronics plant that manufactures missile-guidance systems, the bombing of a West Coast video pornography store and the murder of a Turkish diplomat.

JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON POST 29 May 1984

**An Interview
In Mexican Jail
With a Terrorist**

This nation's most wanted terrorist, William (No Hands) Morales, is directing a guerrilla war against the United States from a Mexican prison cell. Intelligence sources believe his main target will be the Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

My associate Jon Lee Anderson recently spent a day with Morales in the "maximum security, highly dangerous wing" of the Mexican prison Reclusorio Norte.

Morales is a deceptively relaxed, soft-spoken man—congenial in repose, intense when animated—who routinely can give orders for shootings and bombings.

He learned his combat tactics on the streets of east Harlem, where he grew up; he picked up his politics from the radical movements of the 1960s.

Now 34, he has developed a smoldering hostility toward the society that spawned him, an animus so deep that he is willing to sacrifice his life in a futile struggle against the U.S. power structure.

Morales is startling to look at. His chin and mouth were disfigured by a

bomb that blew up in his face six years ago. The same accident left him with two stumps for arms, each with a single, grotesque finger where a hand should be.

The terrorist leader talked incessantly about "imperialist domination" by the western world. Yet his language was more street talk than Marxist dialectic. He left no doubt that he was more interested in action than theory.

Police reports confirm that Morales has managed to find plenty of action. As a leader of the Puerto Rican radical group known as FALN, he has been involved in shootouts and bombings. He made a daring escape in 1979 from a fourth-floor window of a New York prison hospital. The FBI has warned any agents who may encounter him: "Morales should be considered armed, dangerous and an escape risk."

In an earlier report, I cited intelligence warnings that the FALN has set up mobile camps just across the Mexican border to train terrorists for attacks on the Los Angeles Olympics and that Morales may be delivered into the custody of leftist authorities in the Tijuana area. This would put him as close to Los Angeles as he could get and still be in Mexico.

Morales has been locked up for killing a Mexican policeman in a gun battle; other charges could keep him

behind bars the rest of his life. Yet he seemed confident that he would get out. He hinted to my reporter Jon Lee Anderson that a political deal might be in the works.

Anderson is the first reporter cleared by the FALN to meet Morales.

The screening process was elaborate, beginning with a contact on the U.S.-Mexican border. Anderson had to make two trips to Mexico City, where he was put in touch with a Trotskyite politician.

Next he was cleared by a left-wing activist who once ran for president of Mexico. Finally, Anderson was taken to the prison by a woman who is one of Morales' lawyers.

FALN literature portrays Morales as a "political prisoner." He said all FALN members take an oath that, if imprisoned, they will declare themselves political prisoners. This means they can't request parole, which would imply that their crimes were nonpolitical.

Morales talked about his escape from U.S. custody and his subsequent capture in Mexico. He was approached, he said, by the U.S. Embassy. "Can you believe," he demanded, "they asked to see me when I first got here and offered to help me?" He was incredulous.

Footnote: Morales made it clear that his agreement to see my reporter did not mean he liked my column.

BALTIMORE SUN 7 June 1984 Pg. 4

'Journalist' is linked to Costa Rican blast

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica (AP) — The mysterious "Danish journalist" who vanished after a bomb explosion killed three persons at a May 30 news conference was in Central America for two months before the incident, Costa Rican immigration sources said yesterday.

A Swedish journalist who met him three weeks before the explosion told police the man spoke "very bad Danish, but very good Spanish."

The man called himself Per Anker Hansen, said he was a Danish reporter and was using a Danish passport.

The Danish consul general, Palle Paaby, said yesterday, "We do not know

who he is." Mr. Paaby said the passport had been stolen in 1980. The real Per Anker Hansen told reporters in Copenhagen he has never been to Central America.

Costa Rican authorities on Monday issued an international arrest warrant for him.

The bomb exploded shortly after Eden Pastora, leader of a Nicaraguan anti-Sandinista rebel group here, opened a news conference on May 30 at a guerrilla camp in Nicaragua, just across the San Juan River from Costa Rica. Mr. Pastora was among more than two dozen people injured.

The Costa Rican immigration sources, who asked to remain anonymous, said an incomplete computer record showed that a man using the stolen passport traveled by air between San Jose and Mexico City, but does not show whether he was going to or from Costa Rica. The passport also showed that he traveled to or from Honduras by air on March 26 and went to Panama overland on March 28.

It also showed that he crossed into Costa Rica by land at the Pena Blanca checkpoint April 14 and crossed over to Nicaragua via Pena Blanca on April 19.

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
May 1984 Pg. 18

CLIPPINGS

Diplomats & Terrorism

"Letters sent top Italian news organizations purporting to come from Red Brigades guerrillas today threatened the life of another U.S. diplomat in the aftermath of last week's killing of Leamon R. Hunt...." "The militarist wing of the Red Brigades claims the assassination of the dirty guarantor American general Leamon R. Hunt....The militarist wing has another American diplomat in its sights." "

Reuters, February 20

"[U.S. Consul General Robert O. Homme] was shot and wounded yesterday in the city of Strasbourg, and a little known group calling itself the Armed Lebanese Revolutionary Faction claimed responsibility. [He] was described as being in satisfactory condition....The group said Mr. Homme was 'already well known for his activities as a member of the CIA.' "

Baltimore Sun, March 27

"U.S. embassy officials said yesterday that they had run into a dead end in the kidnaping of diplomat William Buckley and now are considering moving the remaining personnel to a Marine-guarded compound. A Western diplomatic source who asked not to be identified said, 'Last night, several American civilian employees did, indeed, move into the compound....In Washington, the Reagan administration said it contacted Lebanese officials and Syria for help in finding Buckley, who was abducted at gunpoint Friday morning while leaving his West Beirut apartment. Three gunmen forced Buckley, 55, the first secretary of the embassy's political section, into a car in front of his house, not far from the U.S. embassy, and sped off.' "

Philadelphia Inquirer, March 18

"Secretary of State Shultz called in a panel of 23 experts and government officials yesterday for a private briefing on a topic that has plagued the recent conduct of U.S. diplomacy: international terrorism." "

New York Daily News, March 25

"The U.S. embassy [in Beijing] has received information indicating that Islamic terrorists have targeted the diplomatic

mission here for a bombing attack like those against the American embassy and U.S. Marine billet in Beirut. The bombing of the U.S. embassy in Kuwait December 12 and a recent warning by the mysterious Islamic Jihad organization has prompted tightened security measures at American diplomatic missions all over the world in the last week, including the Beijing embassy, which an American diplomat described as having 'the worst security of any embassy in the world.'...The information indicated terrorists have also targeted the U.S. embassy in Paris....Islamic Jihad...claimed responsibility for the October 23 suicide bombings in Beirut...and for the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut last April, which left 63 people dead....

"One embassy source, noting the British mission here has also taken security measures such as parking a truck around the clock behind the locked gates of their compound, was puzzled why the Americans maintain a truck blockade only at night."

*Jonathan Broder in the Chicago Tribune
January 3*

"Western embassies in East Berlin tightened security yesterday after six East Germans succeeded in leaving the country by staging a weekend sit-in at the U.S. embassy....The U.S. embassy, which normally admits visitors to its library and consular section without identity checks, moved its receptionist into an outer lobby."

*Baltimore Sun
January 24*

"Secretary of State George Shultz said: 'The cruel fact of the matter is that terrorism works. We have to arrange things so that it is a tactic that we are able to frustrate.' "

*Omaha World-Herald
March 13*

"Senior U.S. officials agree that the new anti-terrorism policy should have three basic components: protective measures, such as increased embassy security; better intelligence about terrorist groups and their operations; and more aggressive military and covert-action measures that can deter terrorists from attacking Americans."

*David Ignatius in the Wall Street Journal
March 12*

"It is time for the U.S. government to move decisively to protect its embassy employees in the world's areas of turmoil.

Security provisions should be realistically reviewed in these regions. Embassy staffs should be reasonably pared to those persons who are absolutely necessary. They should live under adequate protection of U.S. armed personnel....

"Even in quiet areas U.S. diplomats and other Americans need to be vigilant...In areas of turmoil, such as Beirut, it is essential not to be foolhardy. After the March 16 kidnaping, American diplomatic personnel living in civilian apartments were moved to a secure area to be guarded by American troops. They ought to have been there all along. As pointed out by Arthur Goldberg..., the State Department argument that protection of U.S. diplomats is the duty of the host government breaks down in areas where there is no effective government."

Christian Science Monitor, March 28

"Some embassies remain vulnerable. Only a 10-foot high iron gate separates the steel-and-glass U.S. embassy in Madrid from the main street—a mere 10 yards from the building. Missions in London, Vienna, and the Hague are similarly vulnerable."

Washington Post, December 13

"In the late 1960s, with the contemporary beginning of diplomatic kidnaping and attempted assassinations, the United States failed to establish a consistent policy for dealing with terrorism. For example, when our ambassador to Brazil, Charles Burke Elbrick, was kidnaped in 1969, the U.S. put pressure on the Brazilian government to accede to the terrorists' demand. The Brazilians complied and the ambassador was released unharmed....In 1973, eight Palestinians of the Black September Organization seized the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, and captured five U.S. citizens including our ambassador. Then President Richard Nixon, in an answer to a press conference question, declared that the United States 'will not pay blackmail.' The immediate result was the slaughter of the hostages."

The Bureaucrat, Winter 1983-84

"According to the information provided by antiterrorist specialists, we may expect stepped-up attacks on American diplomats and diplomatic facilities in the future. Even as the United States takes steps to safeguard its embassies, installing more sophisticated surveillance and communications and tightening perimeter security, terrorism has made a career in the Foreign Service riskier than ever."

John B. Wolf in Worldview

SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS-NEWS

29 April 1984

Playing embassy chess

It appears that Libya's leader, Moammar Khadafy, doesn't have enough to do in the day-by-day governing of his country.

In any case, Khadafy has taken up several exciting hobbies. One is attacking or otherwise alienating other countries.

The French, Jordanian and U.S. embassies in Tripoli have been attacked and most recently the British Embassy has been subjected to coercion.

The national territories of Chad, Egypt and Sudan have been attacked or threatened. Fourteen nations have suspended normal relations with Libya since 1980.

Terrorism is another active pursuit of Khadafy's. About the same time that he seized power by military coup in Libya in 1969, international terrorism was beginning to bloom. Khadafy bankrolled several major terrorist movements of both right and left extremists.

Meanwhile, Khadafy retains the initiative by pronouncing threats that attain worldwide notice.

An example occurred last month.

After Libyan aircraft attacked Omdurman, Sudan, the United States deployed two Air Force AWACS airborne control aircraft to Egypt. That was done at the request of the Sudanese and the Egyptians to assist in defending against further air attacks. Khadafy then threatened to shoot down the AWACS.

Last week, he announced a new program of expanded help to the Irish Republican Army. That move was related apparently to the recent act of terrorism carried out from the Libyan Embassy in London. In turn, that caused the British government to break relations with Libya.

The British attempted to adhere scrupulously to the norms of diplomatic behavior instead of breaking into the Libyan Embassy and colaring the murderer.

The particular point of international law involved is called "extra-territoriality." In simpler terms,



**Glen W.
Martin**

that is the immunity of foreign diplomatic people and real estate from specified local laws.

That principle has been evolving for many centuries and most recently was elaborated in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations in 1963.

The British decision to conform in this instance created a furor within their own government. It probably was a wise move, nevertheless, because Khadafy could retaliate against the British Embassy in Tripoli, with or without a pretext.

Beyond the trading of embassies, as rooks in a chess game, there is a mass hostage possibility on both sides. There are reported to be about 4,000 Libyans in Britain and 8,000 Britons in Libya.

There are also some hundreds of Americans remaining in Libya. They have not been harassed since the U.S.-Libyan diplomatic break a few years ago. Those British deciding to stay in Libya have that example in mind.

Let us assume that those conditions change — Khadafy does have, and seems to enjoy, the reputation of being unpredictable. Suppose the British citizens are abused. What next? Remember the Falklands.

First, it would be disadvantageous for Khadafy to withstand world opinion by interfering with an organized mass evacuation of the British residing in Libya. So evacuation is one possibility.

Second, however, British expertise in the Libyan oil fields would be missed, at least temporarily until some other country with petroleum expertise stepped in.

If events take that turn, the British undoubtedly would make an urgent plea for U.S. help. Remember

the Falklands. The main argument could be based on the importance of barring the way against Soviet incursions in Libya.

That brings up another possibility. Khadafy, at any time, could be in touch with Moscow to lay the groundwork for Soviet technicians to replace the British.

Egypt's late president, Anwar Sadat, considered Khadafy to be a madman. On the other hand, Khadafy is quite aware no doubt that it is just as dangerous (although more difficult) to grab a bear by the tail as it is a tiger. Letting go can be perilous.

Even so, the fact that it took the Kremlin one week to announce its position on the British-Libyan confrontation shows the probability of some Soviet-Libyan consultation.

British military action against Libya would be handicapped by Soviet support of Khadafy. The presence of 8,000 British subjects would also constrain British military operations.

In this column a little more than two years ago, a lesson from the Iranian hostage crisis was cited:

"To avoid or reduce the likelihood of losing American citizens to hostile capture and thereby preserve U.S. freedom of action, an evacuation of Americans from a foreign country (Libya) should be carried out expeditiously. . . ."

That is a lesson the British should ponder today.

Libya has the smallest military establishment of any nation along the North African coast, except for Tunisia.

Why then, Khadafy's continuous pushing, adventuring and threatening?

He has three aces up his sleeve. Militarily, he has the largest combat air force among those nations.

Economically, he has the basis for profitable international trade, i.e., products to export and money to buy imports.

Politically, he has honed terrorism into a feared international weapon of blackmail and deterrence.

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U.S. ON ALERT FOR IRAN TERROR WAVE

By NILES LATHEM and URI DAN

THE U.S. was on the alert today for a new wave of Iranian terrorist attacks on American military and diplomatic installations in the Middle East.

White House sources said the Iranians may unleash another campaign of hit-run violence to keep the U.S. out of the Persian Gulf war that continues to menace vital oil shipping lanes to the west.

The Iranian government-controlled newspaper Keyhan yesterday warned President Reagan that "the only thing he would be able to offer the voters" by intervening "would be the corpses of American soldiers."

The paper also urged Iran's air force to bomb power stations in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to force them to stop supporting Iraq.

These threats prompted Reagan to ask King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to let U.S. warplanes use airfields in his country if necessary.

U.S. and Israeli intelligence sources told The Post last night such preparations were necessary because Iran may launch a series of kamikaze attacks against Americans.

The sources predicted Iran wants to create another Lebanon crisis to prevent the U.S. from stepping into the Gulf war.

American military installations in the area are on top alert status, sources said.

U.S. and Israeli intelligence officials also fear that unless tensions ease soon, Iran may escalate its Persian Gulf attacks to include Saudi and Kuwaiti oil facilities.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are backing Iraq in the war and have helped the Iraqis ship their oil after one of its major

port facilities on the Persian Gulf was destroyed by Iran.

One Mideast expert told The Post last night that there is deep concern in the White House that Iranian pilots may begin attacking the Saudi oil facilities in Ras Tanura.

Officials say that the air defense system there "leaves much to be desired" and that it would take an Iranian pilot only ten minutes to reach targets on the Persian Gulf coast.

As fears of an escalating confrontation grew,

Reagan sent an urgent letter to Fahd, urging him to allow the U.S. Air Force to use Saudi air bases.

Officials said a decision has been made by the National Security Council to approve plans to send in as many as 150 F-15 fighters to a major air base near Dhahran, the oil center of Eastern Saudi Arabia, if the Iran-Iraq war continues to spread.

The planes would be flown by American pilots who would have orders to engage in direct combat with Iranian planes over the

Gulf if they refuse to heed warnings to turn away, sources told The Post last night.

Senior U.S. officials said that the White House made its first offer of assistance to Saudi Arabia about four months ago.

But the Saudi royal family has repeatedly refused to let the U.S. use its bases because of the anti-American sentiment in the Arab world.

The Saudis fear that an overt U.S. presence in the area would inflame the numerous Shiite Moslem communities.

Similar fears have been expressed in other Persian Gulf states which have large Shiite and Palestinian communities.

The Saudi government declared over the weekend that its air force would handle any escalation of Iranian attacks.

But Israeli and U.S. military analysts believe that the Saudi air force, for all its sophisticated equipment, is no match for Iran's fanatical pilots, who are battle-trained and also use sophisticated U.S. equipment.

BRITIS BOOT KHOMEINI HIT SQUAD

Post Foreign Desk

BRITAIN has kicked out four men believed to be members of an Iranian hit squad under orders to kill opponents of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Scotland Yard was tipped off about the killer team — an Iranian, a Moroccan and two Algerians — by a high-ranking Iranian naval officer who wanted to defect.

"The men were deported after the Home Secretary was satisfied that they were involved in preparing acts of terrorism and that their presence here was not conducive to the public good," the Sunday Times quoted a Home Office spokesman as saying.

No direct government comment was available immediately.

"Four men suspected of being members of an Iranian hit squad have been deported from Britain," the report said. "It is believed that they had been ordered to kill anti-Khomeini dissidents in London."

The Times said All Ghorbani Far, an Iranian, and Abdel Majed Chraibi, a Moroccan with French identity papers, were deported to France on May 17.

On May 18, two Algerians, Abdel Llad Djaffar and Hafid Regradj, were deported to Algeria.

The Sunday Times said Col. Vahab Zadegan, head of the naval section at the Iranian embassy in London, contacted British intelligence about the alleged hit men in February.

Zadegan stayed on the job until three weeks ago and now has asked the Home Office for British residence, the paper said.

"I am a nationalist, and although I think the country [Iran] needs our help, there is a time when you cannot safeguard your country by sacrificing yourself," The Sunday Times quoted Zadegan as saying.

"It is better to stay alive and follow your conscience."

WASHINGTON POST
19 May 1984 Pg. 4

Libyan Allegedly Sought Hit Man From FBI Agent

By Joe Pichirallo
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Libyan student arrested last week on charges of purchasing pistols equipped with illegal silencers asked an undercover FBI agent to supply professional hit men to "eliminate defectors," a federal prosecutor said in court yesterday.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Carol Amon also said that Bashir Ali Baesho, 36, a University of Maryland graduate student, had been implicated in efforts by Libyan government officials to purchase parts for C130 military cargo planes and had apparently been a middleman in an attempt by Libya to buy 30,000 machine guns.

Amon said FBI agents found copies of a C130 parts list last week in Baesho's car and in the apartment of Mathi Hitewesh, who was arrested with Baesho. Amon also said Baesho told an undercover FBI agent that "he was interested in eliminating defectors and asked [the agent] if he could do a hit in Britain."

Baesho and Hitewesh, 37, a Libyan graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, were arrested on charges of participating in a plot to purchase three .45-cal. pistols equipped with silencers from an FBI agent posing as an illegal arms dealer.

Baesho and Hitewesh pleaded not guilty to weapons-related charges yesterday in federal court in Brooklyn and were being held under a \$10 million bond each.

Richard C. Shadyac, a Libyan government attorney, said in an interview that Baesho and Hitewesh were charged only with weapons violations and that any other government claims about their alleged activities were "unsubstantiated."

Hitewesh, who has been in this country since 1980, is a member of the Libyan military, and the Libyan

WASHINGTON TIMES 1 JUNE 1984 Pg.6
Terrorism controls endorsed

MADRID — European justice ministers yesterday backed a proposal by Britain for action against foreign diplomats who abuse their diplomatic immunity and take part in terrorist activities in host countries.

The proposal was included in a general resolution calling for cooperation against terrorism and organized crime that was approved by the ministers at the end of a conference in Madrid organized by the 21-nation Council of Europe. It recommended setting up an ad hoc commission to urgently study the problems of terrorism and organized crime.

Britain's Home Secretary Leon Brittan had specifically urged European nations to bar diplomats expelled from other countries for links with terrorism.

NEW YORK NEWS
19 May 1984 Pg. 6

Can't close borders to Libyans: U.S.

By JOSEPH VOLZ
and BARBARA REHM

Washington (News Bureau)—Despite Libya's announcement that it would set up suicide squads to kill Libyan dissidents overseas, the State Department said yesterday it was not possible at present to close U.S. borders to all Libyans.

One official stressed that Libyan visa applications to travel to the United States were examined "very closely," but added:

"Those who qualify are getting them. We are trying to be as prudent as possible, but pretty significant numbers of Libyans are still coming into

the United States."

Officially, 1,722 Libyans, mostly students, were given visas to enter this country last year.

U.S. intelligence reports in the past have claimed that Col. Moammar Khadafy was sending hit squads to this country to kill American officials.

The FBI has not been able to pin down the reports, and there have been no attacks on American officials by Libyans.

An FBI official said that because Libya "has been identified as a state that sponsors and utilizes terrorism the FBI actively has been investigating terrorist activities by Libyan-sponsored groups and will continue efforts to discover these activities."

ACCORDING TO the official Libyan press agency, JANA, the Libyan government is setting up hit squads to kill dissidents overseas, presumably including the United States and Western Europe.

"The masses have decided to form suicide commandos to chase traitors, fugitives and stray dogs wherever they are and liquidate them physically and without any hesitation," a dispatch from Tripoli said.

In an unusually strong response, the State Department warned that the United States "is prepared to deal vigorously with any such acts in the U.S."

The plan to eliminate opposition to Khadafy followed last week's abortive uprising when 20 armed guerrillas fought with Libyan troops in an apparent attempt to assassinate Khadafy in Tripoli.

STATE DEPARTMENT spokesman John Hughes called the threats "another indication that Khadafy is prepared to use terrorism as an instrument of Libyan policy. Khadafy has a long history of supporting such acts of international terror—violence that has earned him the opprobrium of the international community."

government is prepared to post his bail, Amon said.

In another development yesterday, the State Department condemned threats by the Libyan government Thursday that suicide squads were being created to hunt down and kill Libyan dissidents abroad.

The U.S. government will "deal vigorously" with any such acts in this country, a department spokesman said.

Qadhafi's Not Always to Blame

By JERROLD D. GREEN

And AUGUSTUS RICHARD NORTON

By attempting to demonize Muammar Qadhafi are we not running the risk of canonizing him? Without a doubt, Col. Qadhafi, the unguided missile of the Middle East, is an attractive devil. His record is replete with involvement in international terrorism, anti-U.S. agitation, and gross disregard for the norms of acceptable behavior. His current outrage in London is only the most recent example of Libya's tendency to trample on the inviolable standards of accepted international diplomatic practice.

Yet to allow the form and flavor of Col. Qadhafi's actions to obscure their content has proven to be a dangerous and self-deceiving pitfall. Mr. Qadhafi may be a bad actor, but he is a "normal" political actor all the same. His goals are rational and self-evident—the pursuit of the Libyan national interest at the expense of those whom he views as his competitors. Given Libya's splendid isolation, the list of these competitors is very long indeed. The obvious ones include Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and Libya's immediate neighbors on all sides—Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, Niger and Chad.

But rather than directly challenging formidable states like Egypt, for example, Col. Qadhafi astutely prefers to mount challenges by proxy. To bomb Khartoum is to indirectly bomb Cairo. But why pick on the Sudan? Unlike many in Washington who still attribute Middle East dust storms to computers in Moscow, the colonel recognizes the challenges confronted by Gaafar el Nimeiri in his own backyard. Mr. Qadhafi does not create turmoil, he exploits it. Sudan is a country rife with ethnic and re-

ligious cleavages—the north, largely Muslim, and the south, predominately black African and animist, subsist in an environment of active hostility and mistrust. Col. Qadhafi's intervention may exacerbate the existing situation, but it also threatens to mask the very real contradictions that plague the Sudan and countries like it in the Third World. While the visitor to Khartoum is regaled with tales of Col. Qadhafi's barbarous challenge to Sudanese sovereignty, this sovereignty is being much more seriously eroded by the Sudanese themselves.

Although the road to Omdurman is littered with sightseers eager to witness bomb craters emplaced by a Libyan jet, the South continues to fester and Islamization is blithely pursued. An Islamic penal code will not bring an end to insurrection in the South, nor will curtailment of Libyan adventures. Rather, the situation demands the same type of resolution that has eluded the hapless Lebanese. Ethnic problems are political. They are elusive and frustrating. Looking for Libyan MiGs is far easier than sharing political power. But the stakes for which Gaafar el Nimeiri is playing demand genuine concessions and negotiations rather than demon-mongering and mythologizing. In a perverse sort of way, Mr. Qadhafi may have done the West a favor by highlighting a tenuous situation in the Sudan that will not go away. The tragedy is that we may be so incensed by the activities of this North African colonel that we end up perceiving the region in his terms rather than in a context that realistically reflects the situation on the ground.

Mr. Qadhafi's actions cannot be ignored. Given the will, there are remedies for the "Libyan problem," ranging from

heightening the country's diplomatic and political isolation to curtailing purchases of Libyan oil and restricting sales of irreplaceable oil-extraction equipment. However, Col. Qadhafi's penchant for exploiting existing social and political problems should not so infuriate us that they make Libya one of the centerpieces of American foreign policy. This fear seems reasonably realistic given the born-again prominence of terrorism in U.S. foreign policy formulation. That terrorism is never far from the utterances of policy makers in Washington reveals a sad tendency to substitute pot-boiler plots for the real world that is much more complicated than the terror-czar scenarios that seem to proliferate during electoral campaigns.

Terrorism is a significant international problem. But to elevate it to a position in which it is a primary determinant of our foreign policy benefits terrorists as much as those who rail against them. At a time when the American image in the Middle East is a source of derision and even contempt, it is doubly important that our policy reveals an interest in real problems and concerns rather than chimerical ones. Genuine problems like the plight of the Palestinian people, the future of Lebanon, the viability of Israel, the stability of Jordan, the Gulf war and Afghanistan deserve at least as much attention as the deadly mischief of the isolated Muammar Qadhafi.

Messrs. Green and Norton are political scientists at the University of Michigan and the U.S. Military Academy, respectively. Mr. Green recently returned from a visit to the Sudan. The opinions expressed are solely their own.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN 13 May 1984

Libyan threat to British expats

By our Diplomatic Staff

A LIBYAN newspaper, Green March, organ of the country's revolutionary committee, this week threatened violent reprisals against British people in Libya if the British authorities did not release a number of Libyan students being held in London and Manchester on charges of being involved in bomb attacks in Britain against anti-Gadafy Libyans.

At the same time the official news agency said that a terrorist gang which it claimed had British Government backing had been intercepted

after it had crossed the frontier into Libya from Tunisia. Two members of the gang were said to have been captured and one killed.

Green March is normally more hectic in tone than the other official newspapers in Libya but the fact that its pronouncements were given international publicity by the official news agency, Jana, seems to indicate a hardening of position by Colonel Gadafy, who at the time of the Libyan Embassy siege in London promised that the 8,000 British

people now in Libya would be completely safe.

The newspaper said that "If British courts bring false charges against Libyan students and tourists and imprison them, it will make the revolutionary committees react violently against English people resident in the Jamahiriya. If Libyan tourists and students studying in Britain are not released, the British Government will bear responsibility for any act the revolutionary committees carry out against the English."

Armed police guarded Manchester magistrates' court last week when three Libyans were remanded on bombing charges and there were similar precautions at Lambeth

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Libya May Resume Killings of Dissidents Overseas

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TRIPOLI, Libya—Libya is threatening to revive death-squad activity against dissidents living in Western Europe and the U.S., a prospect that is causing alarm among Western diplomats and business executives here.

In announcements broadcast over state-run radio and television over the past three days, the Libyan government said it is preparing to recruit and train assassination teams to eliminate all opposition to the regime of Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi.

The resumption of such suicide squads, after a three-year lull in attacks against dissidents abroad, appears to be aimed partly at avenging last week's fighting between 20 armed dissidents and Libyan security forces here in the Libyan capital. The fighting is believed to have been the biggest open rebellion in Tripoli against the Qadhafi regime since it came to power 15 years ago.



Muammar Qadhafi

Libya's determination to resume death-squad activity abroad threatens to worsen an already difficult relationship with Western governments doing business here. Many West European nations continue to resist calls by the Reagan administration for a political and economic boycott of Libya.

The U.S. itself may be vulnerable because, despite its boycott on Libyan oil imports, American companies still produce and market half of Libya's crude-oil output, estimated at 1.1 million barrels a day. In addition, European diplomats say there are nearly 1,000 Americans living in Libya, despite a Reagan administration ban on travel there.

Libya has in the past resorted to the arbitrary arrest of business executives living here to force the release of Libyans arrested abroad. This campaign of intimidation is widely expected to be revived if

death-squad activity resumes and some of the assassins are arrested overseas.

By all accounts, the severe reaction of the Libyan government to last week's fighting here is the most virulent campaign in years against opponents of the Qadhafi regime. Diplomats here believe that the government fully intends to liquidate all opposition, including dissidents who live in places such as Egypt and Sudan. The Libyan media also is openly calling for the overthrow of Sudan's president,

Gaafarel Nimeiri, whom Libya accuses of having helped train the dissidents involved in last week's fighting in Tripoli.

Internal Opposition

U.S. officials in Washington said that the fighting underscored what they considered to be growing internal opposition to Col. Qadhafi. At the same time, Britain's decision to sever diplomatic relations after a British policewoman was killed outside the Libyan Embassy in London indicates Tripoli's increasing political isolation.

Yet Col. Qadhafi apparently isn't worried that Libya's image abroad might be tarnished further by the revival of death squads. "I don't think he cares at all about world opinion," one Western diplomat here said. "This is an armed challenge. (Last week's fighting) has had too much attention here in Tripoli and he cannot let it go at that."

Col. Qadhafi also doesn't appear to be concerned that Western companies will pull out of the country.

Western European executives continue to populate Tripoli hotels because of lucrative business opportunities here. Although the country's oil revenue has plunged 50% since 1980 because of the world oil glut and lower production, Libya still has about \$10 billion in revenue a year from oil. That is more than enough to trigger competition among Europeans to sell goods to this country. Despite official antagonism toward the West, Libya has shown a distinct preference for buying Western goods and food.

West European diplomats here said they prefer to maintain relations with Libya as long as possible. "We don't want to push them to the edge as long as we can help it," one ambassador said. He added that unless there is flagrant resumption of killing Libyans living in his country, his government isn't prepared to heed the Reagan administration's call for an economic boycott.

"The Americans should practice what they preach first," the ambassador said, referring to the continued presence of some U.S. oil companies here, including Occidental Petroleum Co. of Los Angeles and Marathon Oil Co., a unit of Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel Corp. Both Exxon Corp. and Mobil Corp. have pulled out of Libya in the past 2½ years, although Mobil still is attempting to obtain compensation for its operations in the country from the Libyan government.

Libya appears to be making a broader more determined effort to train assassination squads than it did in 1980 and 1981, when dozens of Libyan dissidents were shot to death on the streets of London, Rome, Paris and other European capitals. Government broadcasts here described the

formation of "suicide incubators" to recruit and train volunteers willing to die in order to "exterminate the enemies of the revolution abroad and confirm that Britain and America will never be able to protect (dissidents)."

Such suicide tactics have been used by Iran and Syria, most notably in Beirut and Kuwait last year.

Mobilizing Support

Public support in Libya for the death squads has been mobilized through so-called peoples congresses, which have been held throughout the country to adopt resolutions calling for the elimination of Libyan dissidents abroad. The campaign has reached such a frenzy that most normal activity has stopped—many markets and other businesses have been closed—so Libyans can attend the congresses.

The government also has launched a media campaign detailing the alleged conspiracy that led to the fighting between dissidents and government forces last week. Libyan officials asserted that the 20 dissidents were funded and trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and British security forces with the connivance of Egypt, Sudan and "Arab reactionary regimes" to destabilize Libya with a campaign of bombing and armed assaults.

The alleged plot reportedly was uncovered when three infiltrators were caught at the Libyan-Tunisia border on May 6. One of them confessed that they were supposed to link up with a group of armed men holed up in an apartment building in central Tripoli. Security forces then raided the building, and at least 12 of the dissidents were killed.

LIBYAN THREAT...

Continued

when two others were remanded on charges of conspiracy to cause explosions.

Two British people are already in detention in Libya. No charges have yet been brought against Mr Douglas Leddingham, British Caledonian's manager in Tripoli, and Mr John Campbell, who works for an oil company.

Scotland Yard is believed to be close to naming the person suspected of killing WPC Yvonne Fletcher, who was shot from the Libyan People's Bureau in London. Commander Bill Hucklesby, head of the anti-terrorist branch, was reported to be confident that he would soon have enough evidence to name the killer.

Americans in Beirut threatened

From Inquirer Wire Services

BEIRUT, Lebanon — More guards were posted at the American University here as foreign teachers and U.S. Embassy workers were warned about a kidnapping threat from a fundamentalist Muslim Shiite group, sources said yesterday.

In eastern Lebanon, three Israeli soldiers were killed and two were wounded in an ambush of their vehicle near the Syrian-Lebanese border. The Israeli military command in Tel Aviv said the killers fired machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades as the patrol approached the village of Kamed el-Loz. The deaths brought to 14 the number of Israeli soldiers killed in Lebanon this year.

The threat to American University faculty members came from an Iranian-allied group called Hezbollah, or Party of God, and was transmitted from intelligence sources to the U.S. Embassy, according to university sources who asked not to be identified.

One said the communique from the embassy indicated that the kidnap operation was to be carried out by guerrillas, some with explosives wrapped around themselves, and "in case these elements are hit by fire, they and the people they have kidnapped will be killed by the explosion."

About 50 Americans and other Westerners are employed at the university.

U.S. Embassy spokesman John Stewart said, "I can confirm that there was an intelligence report that there was some sort of threat" against American University teachers "and other Americans."

Although no increased security arrangements were noted at the U.S. Embassy, which is already guarded by 100 Marines, a professor said extra guards were posted at faculty housing units on the American University campus.

He said that the embassy communique said the kidnap operation was to coincide with an "occasion of celebration" and that faculty members were advised against attending the university's annual "field day" of athletic contests on campus yesterday.

The threat to Americans in Beirut came at a time when many were already concerned about security in the mostly Muslim western sector of the city. Since the area was taken over by Muslim militias on Feb. 6, four Americans have been kidnapped.

Only American University engineering professor Frank Regier has been released. Still missing are Jeremy Levin, Beirut bureau chief for Cable News Network; William Buckley, a political officer at the embassy, and the Rev. Benjamin Thomas Weir, a Presbyterian minister.

Responsibility for the kidnappings

was claimed by Islamic Jihad, a shadowy Shiite Muslim movement that is believed to have ties to Iran.

Hezbollah, with headquarters in the Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon, supports Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and has militia units stationed along the Green Line, which separates the Muslim and Christian sections of Beirut.

The ambush of Israeli troops, confirmed by the Israeli army, occurred early yesterday near the Israeli-Syrian cease-fire line in the Bekaa Valley.

Three soldiers were killed and two were wounded in the attack. It took place in a region in which Israeli and Syrian occupation troops are positioned less than a mile apart.

The soldiers were traveling in two Jeeps when they were attacked south of the town of Kamed el-Loz, 20 miles southeast of Beirut, an Israeli government spokesman said in Tel Aviv.

Israeli forces occupying southern Lebanon have come under repeated attack since their invasion in June 1982 to drive Palestinian guerrillas from Israel's northern border. Syria has occupied northern and eastern Lebanon since putting down the 1975-1976 Muslim-Christian civil war.

Yesterday's deaths brought to 14 the number of Israelis killed in Lebanon this year and to 580 the number killed since June 1982.

OMAHA WORLD HERALD 16 May 1984



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HOSTAGE

The Ten Lessons of Lebanon

By O. H. Rechtschaffen

In assessing U.S. involvement in Lebanon the true significance is being obscured by the political turmoil surrounding the withdrawal of our Marines from Beirut.

Stripped of political demagogy, Lebanon is a classic example of what a recent Pentagon study called warfare "on the cheap." There are at least 10 lessons to be learned from the Lebanese experience:

1. The slaughter of our Marines in Beirut is directly attributable to our underestimation of international terrorism. Terrorism is not an aberration but "a new kind of warfare." Most terrorist attacks are planned, financed and coordinated by communist and Islamic governments as an instrument of national policy. The new strain of terrorism is no longer random, but carefully orchestrated. The Kamikaze-type assaults demonstrated that the attackers worked from detailed operational and intelligence plans.

2. For the Soviet Union terrorism is a low-risk operation that holds greater promise of accomplishing their goal of world domination than direct confrontation. Syria has become a Soviet surrogate and has apparently chosen the same path as Cuba did 15 years ago. The Soviet Union and radical Arab states have no interest in a unified Lebanon unless that country is under their complete domination. The ultimate outcome of this policy is fragmentation and division. The slaughter in Lebanon will not only continue but accelerate. The Christian population is in mortal danger and is already turning to Israel for protection.

3. Moderate Arab states do not dare to come to an accommodation with Israel.



Terrorist bomb destroyed most of U. S. embassy in Beirut. Official U. S. Marine Corps photo.

President Sadat of Egypt was gunned down. Jordan's King Hussein has been repeatedly threatened with assassination and war. Even Arafat has become a target because Islamic radicals consider him "too moderate." Terrorists have failed to destroy Israel but have succeeded in imposing a reign of terror over the entire Arab world.

Dr. Helms of the Brookings Institute correctly points out that "the greatest fear of the moderate Arab leaders is not that Iran will attack the oil fields with airplanes but that the Ayatollah Khomeini will undermine their political legitimacy."

Radical countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria and Libya are intent at spreading

their particular strain of Islamic extremism with fire and sword over the entire region. The perception that these countries could be persuaded to pursue policies of moderation is wishful thinking and dangerously illusionary.

4. Terrorism can be defeated as the Israeli pre-emptive strike of 1982 clearly demonstrated. As a result, the world's most violent terrorist group, the PLO, is in disarray. Unfortunately, misguided Western nations in coordination with leftist-oriented and communist governments coerced Israel into abandoning its imminent victory over Soviet-supported and Syrian-directed terrorism in Lebanon. The lack of support for a country that was

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Professor O. Rechtschaffen is professor and Chairman of the Public Justice Department at St. Mary's University in San Antonio. He was Associate Professor of Political Science at the Air Force Academy when he retired after 23 years in the Air Force. This is his second article for this report. He wrote on terrorism in the last issue.



TEN LESSONS OF LEBANON...Continued

American medical students greeted 82nd Airborne sergeant with relief when troop landed at Grenada to topple Soviet-backed regime. Courtesy of Defense Still Photo Collection.

willing to sacrifice its soldiers to eradicate the spectre of international terrorism in Lebanon resulted in the dispatch of U.S. Marines, with tragic results.

In an open letter to President Reagan (*The New York Times*, February 27, 1983) more than 130 retired generals and admirals correctly noted that "... Israeli ports and bases would be open instantly to U.S. forces in the event of a serious strategic threat to the Middle East. Israel constitutes the only U.S. ally capable of immediate parry to a serious thrust against free world interests in this theater. And, Israel's continued sharing of vital intelligence on Soviet operations constitutes the other essential element of U.S. security in the Middle East."

5. Terrorist tactics, as employed in Lebanon, permit radical countries to attack the free world in a manner if done overtly, would ordinarily constitute war and justify a military response under international law. As a result the U.S. must be prepared and willing to retaliate by bombing vital targets of nations involved in organizing terrorist outrages. According to Washington sources the Administration is now asking the Joint Chiefs of Staff to find military answers to terrorist attacks.

6. If the Beirut attacks are any indication, terrorists will be employing more lethal weapons in the future inflicting heavy casualties and causing massive destruction. A recent Pentagon study correctly points out that combating terrorism "requires an active policy. A reactive policy only forfeits the initiative to the terrorists." No precautions, regardless how elaborate, can assure complete safety if terrorists are willing to die for their cause. The best we can hope for is to reduce the potential destructiveness of terrorism.



A victim of terrorist kidnapping, Brigadier General James L. Dozier displays newspaper announcing his release by Italian forces. Courtesy Department of Defense Still Photo Collection.

7. Our experience in Lebanon is a dire warning that the U.S. must adopt new strategies and tactics to fight terrorism. The pre-emptive strike in Grenada and our support of counter-insurgency forces in Central America, Southeast Asia and Africa are the beginning of a long overdue change in U.S. policy.

8. The aborted Iranian rescue mission and the debacle in Lebanon also raise serious questions about the ability of the United States to conduct successful military missions. *U.S. News and World Report* (Feb 27, 1984) charges that "a confusing command structure . . . sometimes leaves everyone and no one responsible for the success or failure of a military operation." *Newsweek* (Feb 27, 1984) raises disturbing questions about the "absence of decision making" in Washington.

The United States must:

- Prepare "U.S. military forces to defend against and counter terrorism." (Pentagon Study, Dec. 1983)
- Streamline the military command structure.
- Increase the authority of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in order to reduce and eventually eliminate interservice rivalries in combat situations.
- Provide for a more integrated intelligence service.

9. Events since World War II — in China, Korea, Vietnam and now Lebanon — clearly demonstrate that American

military intervention will fail unless two basic conditions prevail:

- The clear and unequivocal support of Congress and the American people.
- A total commitment by the people of the countries under attack. We cannot and should not commit U.S. military personnel to fight the battles of other people who themselves are unwilling to make sacrifices and carry the major burden of such conflicts.

The only exceptions would be in cases where vital U.S. security interests are at stake.

10. A major terrorist objective is to create an atmosphere of chaos, confusion and fear. Regardless how intense and ruthless terrorism becomes, we must not panic. If we do, terrorists will have accomplished one of their major goals. In many ways terrorists are weak and vulnerable. Their defeats far outnumber their victories. Many groups like the Red Brigades, Baader-Meinhof, Turkish terrorists, the PLO and others have been weakened or neutralized. Terrorism cannot destroy a powerful nation like the U.S., but it may cause mass paranoia and give rise to a siege mentality. The success or failure of terrorism will be largely determined by the willingness of the free world to confront and combat it. A policy of appeasement, as events in Lebanon clearly demonstrated, will give impetus to an acceleration of terrorism on world-wide basis. □

Middle East Policy Survey

April 20, 1984

No. 102

*a confidential bi-weekly report from Washington and the Middle East***EXECUTIVE BRANCH****MOVING AGAINST IRAN**

Two recent National Security Decision Directives (NSDD) signed by President Reagan are seen as preparing the groundwork for a more confrontational US stance against Iran. NSDD 138, which underscores the Administration's renewed concern about "state supported" international terrorism is aimed at the two major practitioners of it, Iran and Libya, according to senior Administration officials. While Libya's role in international terrorism continues to be a source of major concern - as evidenced again this week by events in London - it is potential Iranian direct and indirect aggression in the Gulf arena that is of far greater concern to Administration policymakers.

Administration officials insist that NSDD 138 provides only an outline for a long-term effort aimed at confronting the growing terrorism problem. As such, they argue it should be viewed as separate and apart from attempts to counter Iranian military moves in the Gulf. However, they admit since Iran looms large in both NSDD's, it is a natural focal point of both. For example, the other earlier NSDD, which provides the basis for enhanced US cooperation with Gulf states, contains specific reference to the Administration's new anti-terrorist posture.

Moreover, it is the specter of possible military action against Iran that has caused a number of State and Defense Department officials to dissent from both NSDDs. "McFarlane and his people at the NSC are motivated by a desire for revenge against Iran," claims one State Department insider. Another argues, "They [the NSC] are looking for an excuse to take military action against Iran." In fact, according to aides close to George Shultz, the Secretary of State firmly sides with McFarlane in the latter's "get tough" approach with Iranian-backed terrorism. "I have no doubt that if Iran launched a terrorist attack against a US facility, both Shultz and McFarlane would recommend a military response," says one Shultz aide.

This aide traces Shultz' "profound change in attitude" to last April's terrorist bombing of the US embassy in Beirut. It was this attack more than the October bombing of Marine headquarters that affected Shultz' outlook. However, Shultz was further motivated when the French responded to the simultaneous attack on their military post in Beirut while the US did nothing.

To drive the point home within the State Department, Shultz had Ambassador Robert M. Sayre, Director of the Office for Combatting Terrorism, lecture a recent senior staff meeting on the perils of state supported terrorism. At the same time, key State aides began receiving daily terrorism reports which, according to Department insiders, mark the first time US intelligence on world-wide terrorism has been brought together in one place for their information. [Recent reports showing a direct link between Libyan strongman Qaddafi and a series of terrorist attacks in Britain have caused some State Department officials to question why London had not taken preemptive steps that could have averted this week's siege.]

Not surprisingly, these reports show preponderance of Middle East based terrorism. According to informed sources, recent reports have begun to relay information on terrorist training centers in Iran. This has buttressed the view already held by some State Department officials that a direct military response to an Iranian terrorist attack has become more likely.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 24 May 1984 Pg. 1

25 Indicted in Israeli Probe of Jewish Terrorist Group

By NORMAN KEMPSTER, *Times Staff Writer*

JERUSALEM—Twenty-five Israelis were indicted Wednesday on charges of murder, attempted murder, conspiracy to destroy religious shrines and a variety of lesser crimes resulting from a four-year campaign to terrorize and intimidate Arabs.

The national prosecutor's office filed the charges 27 days after police made their first arrests of members of a Jewish underground that operated primarily in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

Six of the suspects were accused of first-degree murder, which carries a maximum penalty of life in prison here. All 25 were charged with belonging to a "terrorist organization," an offense usually invoked by Israeli authorities against Arabs belonging to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Jerusalem magistrate who presided over the indictments refused to lift a court order prohibiting publication of the names of the suspects. However, the group is known to include several prominent West Bank settlers and at least a few high-ranking officers in the Israeli army reserve.

Rabbi Moshe Levinger, a leader of the 17-year campaign for Jewish settlement in the once all-Arab

West Bank city of Hebron, has been jailed since May 13 in connection with the investigation. It was not known if the charismatic Levinger is among those formally charged.

The Justice Ministry announcement said the suspects are charged with committing and conspiring to commit criminal acts with the aim of inflicting revenge on the Arab population and frightening it.

The case has touched off a bitter debate in Israel. Most government officials and many Jewish settlement leaders have condemned the actions of the underground. But other Israelis, including a deputy Speaker of the Knesset (Parliament) have argued that Jewish attacks on Arabs are a proper response to PLO-sponsored terrorist assaults on Jews.

At least some of the accused have announced plans to run for the Knesset in the July 23 elections on a ticket called "The Underground" as a test of public sentiment. The technique is reminiscent of one used frequently by the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland.

The murder charges resulted from a submachine-gun and hand-grenade attack last summer on the campus of the Islamic College in Hebron in which three students were killed outright and 33 injured. One of the wounded died later.

Other charges included planting bombs in the cars of three elected mayors of West Bank cities on June 2, 1980. Two of the mayors were maimed, and an Israeli policeman was blinded while trying to defuse the third bomb. The Maariv newspaper quoted unnamed suspects as saying they had intended to attack three other mayors but were unable to do so for a variety of reasons.

Targeting of Shrine and Mosque

Potentially the most serious charge is conspiracy to blow up the Dome of the Rock shrine and Al Aqsa Mosque on Jerusalem's Temple Mount. The site is considered the third-holiest in Islam, and any attack on it surely would have produced a wave of violence throughout Muslim countries.

The indictment accuses the suspects of stealing large quantities of arms and explosives from the Israeli army and storing them at various locations throughout the country.

In the Maariv interview, published just hours before the indictments were announced, the suspects said they formed the underground because they did not believe that the Israeli government was adequately protecting Jewish settlers against Palestinian violence. The suspects also said their activities were similar to the actions of Jewish organizations—including those once led by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and former Prime Minister Menachem Begin—that employed terrorist tactics in the fight against the British occupiers of Palestine before Israel achieved independence.

Some supporters of the suspects went even further. At a rally Tuesday, Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidov said, "We have to tear out the eyes and guts of the Arabs."

Speakers at the rally complained that the government has not taken adequate measures against Arabs who attack Jews, even though the rally was held one day after an Israeli military court sentenced four young Palestinians to life in prison and four others to terms of between 10 and 25 years for the murder of Aharon Gross, a 19-year-old Israeli religious student.

According to Wednesday's indictment, the suspects intended to avenge the killing of Gross, who was stabbed last summer in the Hebron marketplace, when they shot up the college in Hebron.

In a speech to the Knesset this week, Shamir assailed the underground as "a small group of people who were tempted into taking this crooked path."

"The Israeli government, and it alone, is responsible for Israel's security," Shamir said in rejecting the claim that the underground acted to protect Jewish lives.

Israeli guilty in bomb plot

United Press International

TEL AVIV — A member of an underground Jewish terrorist network pleaded guilty yesterday in the attempted bombing of five Arab buses in East Jerusalem a month ago.

Israel Radio said Noam Yinon, 27, a resident of the Keshet settlement on the annexed Golan Heights, admitted hauling explosives for the terrorists. He had been charged initially with attempted murder and sabotage.

The trials of 26 men also suspected of being members of the underground network were scheduled to start June 17, according to Israel television. Most of the charges involved a series of attacks against Palestinians in the West Bank in the last four years.

Yinon's trial was separated from the others' after an apparent plea bargain. He will be sentenced next week.

In a related case, an Israeli newspaper disputed Defense Minister Moshe Arens' statement that he had been unaware of the fate of two Palestinian bus hijackers who were beaten to death last month while in captivity.

The tabloid Hadashot and its photographer, Alex Levak, said Arens and aides were on the scene when the two Palestinians were led away alive before their death during interrogation.

"It can't be that they did not see what I saw," said Levak, whose photographs, suppressed by the censor for six weeks, broke open the case of the two Palestinians' deaths.

Levak's photographs, including one of a captured hijacker being led away alive, were published in Israel yesterday for the first time. They were taken the night of the hijacking, April 12. Many foreign newspapers, including The Inquirer, also published the photographs.

A sequence of six of Levak's photographs showed wounded Israelis taken off the bus, passengers leaving the vehicle, Arens flanked by his party, and the captured hijacker.

Levak said he took the picture series in less than a minute standing near the defense minister and his aides at the place where Israeli forces halted the hijacking, outside Deir El Balah in Gaza.

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL 9 May 1984 P11

Jewish terrorists use arms stolen from Israeli army

By MICHAEL WIDLANSKI
© Cox News Service

JERUSALEM — The stealing of high explosives, ammunition and guns from the Israeli army has reached epidemic proportions, according to Israeli officials, and this has been a major factor in the recent wave of Jewish terror aimed at Arab targets around Jerusalem and the Israeli-ruled West Bank.

Much of the stolen arms and ammunition, the officials said, also finds its way to the Israeli underworld where it often is used in violent crimes such as bank robberies and murders. In addition, the officials said, part of the stolen arsenal is sold to Arabs — even those who mount terrorism against Jews.

"They (Israeli criminals and soldiers) do it without sentiments," said a police investigator here. "They, even sell to Arabs, and they don't think what the results will be."

Senior officials in the Israeli police, the Ministry of Interior and the defense community confirmed that "thousands" of guns and hand grenades, plus "hundreds" of pounds of explosives had been stolen by Israeli soldiers since the beginning of Israel's war in Lebanon in June 1982. The officials said that stolen Israeli army weapons played a leading role in the attacks and attempted attacks on Arab targets in recent months, including:

- ✓ The attempted bombing in late April of several Arab buses here.

- ✓ The attempt earlier this year to bomb the Islamic shrine of the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount.

- ✓ The sniping at an Arab bus in the West Bank town of Ramallah north of here.

Four different Jewish groups, with differing levels of expertise, operated independently in these incidents, according to Israeli officials, but the group arrested some two weeks ago operated at the most sophisticated level.

Security officials noted that

among the more than 20 people arrested, there were a significant number who either served in select Israeli army combat units or as supply and engineering officers, thereby giving them easy access to Israeli army weaponry.

Court orders have prohibited the press from identifying those arrested, but the suspects are known to be leading members of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Golan Heights, territories captured by Israel from the attacking Jordanian and Syrian armies in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

"You wouldn't believe how much ammunition and how many guns are stolen from the army all the time," said Shlomo Efrati, a police investigator here.

"Every special investigatory squad I've been in has found large numbers of stolen weapons. In the case of the shooting of the Ramallah bus, they stole an M-16 (assault rifle) and filed off the (serial) numbers.

"The army unit (from which the rifle was stolen) hadn't done an inventory in more than three years," he said. "They didn't even know it was missing."

Officials said that the war in Lebanon had made access to Israeli army weapons especially easy.

"Wars cause the outflow and use of arms," said Yaakov Markovitz, the director of the Bureau of Police Affairs in the Ministry of Interior.

"Since the IDF (Israel Defense Forces, the army's official name) is a citizen army with large reserves, there is easy entry to arms supplies and even emergency stores," said Markovitz. He added that much of the stolen arms and explosives now find their way not only to Jewish settlers but to the Israeli underworld and even to Arab terrorists.

"There's no scarcity of arms for somebody who's willing to pay, and there's always somebody willing to sell," Markovitz said.

NEWSWEEK 11 June 1984 Pg. 52

ISRAEL

A Case of Terror for Terror

The photograph had been known to newsmen in Israel for weeks, although its publication was forbidden by the military censor. The picture, taken before dawn in the Gaza Strip, showed Israeli security men leading away a dazed but apparently uninjured Palestinian named Majdi Abu Jumaa. The guards had captured him during an assault on a bus that he and three other Arabs had hijacked. Two of the hijackers died in the gunfire. Abu Jumaa and another Palestinian survived. But a few hours later their bodies were turned over to relatives for burial. Israeli officials maintained repeatedly that the two men "died on the way to the hospital." But a commission of inquiry finally conceded that the terrorists were murdered. Security men led them into a nearby field for questioning, beat them—then bashed in their heads with a blunt instrument.

The gruesome story came to light last week when the Defense Ministry, after an eight-day delay, released a summary of the investigators' findings. No suspects were named in the heavily expurgated version of the commission report that was made public. But Maj. Gen. Moshe Bar-Kochba, head of the Army's southern command, received an official reprimand for failing to be at the scene where the killings occurred. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens condemned the bludgeonings as a "clear contradiction to the basic rules and norms incumbent on all, and especially on the security forces." He promised legal action would be taken against "those suspected of illegal acts or behavior."

Arens could eventually find his own reputation damaged by the hijacker affair. He was present when Israeli troops stormed the bus before dawn on April 13, killing a woman passenger and freeing 34 other Israelis who had been held hostage throughout the night. Israeli Chief of Staff Moshe Levy and two brigadier generals were with him. Arens insisted that he had left the scene without knowing that two of the four hijackers had been beaten to death. On Israeli television last week he said that "neither the chief of staff nor I was at the site when it happened. If we had known we would not have had to wait for a commission of inquiry in order to investigate these events." But the Tel Aviv tabloid Hadashot disputed Arens's story. Hadashot photographer Alex Levac—whose

picture of Abu Jumaa, suppressed by the censor for six weeks, had broken open the story—said he had been standing next to Arens and his aides when he took the photograph. "It can't be that they did not see what I saw," Levac said.

Whatever the case, about an hour after the assault on the bus, Arens told an Israeli radio reporter that "two of the terrorists were killed, and two others were captured." But for reasons that have never been explained, the Israeli military censor



Censored photo of Majdi Abu Jumaa: Covering up

held up the tape of the defense minister's remarks, and the interview was never broadcast. Instead, the Israeli Army spokesman issued a statement saying that the two had died "on the way to the hospital"—implying that they had died of wounds received during the rescue operation itself.

Hadashot had challenged that account from the start. After the two hijackers who had initially survived the commando assault were buried, Hadashot reporters showed Levac's photograph to the dead men's relatives in the Gaza Strip. The relatives confirmed that the man in the picture was Majdi Abu Jumaa. The other hijacker who had been captured alive was his cousin, Subhi Abu Jumaa. Both were 18. The relatives said that both bodies showed signs of severe beating. The Israeli military censor refused to allow Hadashot to print Levac's photograph of Majdi Abu Jumaa (the ban was finally lifted last week,

but with the faces of the security men blanked out) or the story confirming his identity. But The New York Times broke the censorship ban and described both the photograph and the disturbing questions it had raised about what really happened during the capture of the hijacked bus.

Even then, Israeli officials tried to keep the story bottled up. Arens urged Israeli editors to play down foreign press reports about the atrocity, on the ground they might jeopardize the lives of Israeli prisoners held by Palestinian guerrillas. He did not order an inquiry until 13 days after the killings. When two prominent Knesset deputies—Yossi Sarid of the Labor Party and Ehud Olmert of the Likud—demanded an investigation, Arens finally asked Meir Zorea, a reserve Army general, to conduct one. But when Hadashot broke censorship and reported Zorea's appointment, Arens ordered the censor to close down Hadashot's printing plant for four days, opened a police investigation against Hadashot editor Yossi Klein and banned distribution of the tabloid to Israeli military units—the most severe punishment ever meted out to an Israeli newspaper.

Polls: If the murders shocked sensitive Israelis, the affair did not set off much soul-searching. A straw poll in Tel Aviv—the point of origin of the hijacked bus—showed that 84 percent of those questioned regarded the murder of the captured hijackers as "acceptable." Only 10 percent found the incident "serious and worrisome," and a mere 6 percent thought it was "against the law." A subsequent poll among a broad segment of the populace indicated that 65 percent of the Israeli public saw no need for an investigation of the killing of the two Arabs and that 57 percent did not believe the results of the inquiry should have been made public.

The hard-line attitude revealed in those soundings coincided with a growing public backlash against the recent arrests of 27 Israelis accused of belonging to a "Jewish terrorist underground." The alleged extremists have been charged with a number of crimes against West Bank Palestinians, including the 1980 booby-trapping of the cars of three Arab mayors and a conspiracy to blow up the Dome of the Rock, one of the most sacred shrines in Islam. But last week Meir Cohen-Avidov, the controversial deputy speaker of the Knesset, voiced the sympathy that at least some Israelis feel for the alleged Jewish terrorists now on trial in Jerusalem. "My heart goes out to the detainees," he said. "These boys are the pride of Israel. They are the best."

That kind of extremist talk encourages violations of the "basic rules and norms" on which Israel has prided itself for so long. Until the bludgeon murders of the two hijackers, Israel was able to say that it neither tortured nor executed terrorists who surrendered. Now, Israelis have lost that moral high ground.

ANGUS DEMING with MILAN J. KUBIC in Jerusalem

Uncertainty is the best way to terrorize the terrorist

By Marvin Leibstone

THE anti-terrorism directive sent by President Reagan recently for implementation by our diplomats, spies and soldiers is vigorous, but will it have much impact?

The directive announces, in a straightforward way, that the United States will counter terrorism with pre- and post-operational strikes against perpetrators targeting Americans. That is, we'll use stop-'em-at-the-pass and an-eye-for-an-eye measures.

The president thus has put the world's 40-odd terrorist groups on notice. He also said earlier this month that America will take necessary military action to protect citizens here and abroad.

However, the policy ignores basic facts about terrorists.

For example, few care what any nation's counter-terror policy might be. Whether we train Green Berets, double the guard or impose sanctions makes little difference to those who use terrorism as a political tool. More than 500 Israeli counterattacks since 1970 have not stopped Palestinians from detonating bombs in Jerusalem.

Terrorists, like guerrillas, believe that as long as they can employ violence and scare their enemies into diverting resources, they are winning even if their side draws more casualties. Central to terrorist thinking, then, is faith in Syrian leader Hafez Assad's notion that Western powers are "short of breath." Assad believes he proved the point by sculpting a withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon with a terrorism agenda.

The theory is hardly new. It has roots in perceptions of America's departure from Vietnam, of Jimmy Carter's failed rescue mission in Iran, of the indecision in Washington's current Central America policy.

Not that we should put aside plans

to respond to terrorism with military force. But we should have a better understanding of how militancy affects terrorists.

Many terrorists delight in having industrial nations post security guards everywhere and block structures with concertina wire. This is propaganda for recruiting terrorists and for convincing the non-aligned that America is using Gestapo tactics.

And, now that the Reagan administration has, as Secretary of State George Shultz explains, gone from a passive to active anti-terrorist posture, perpetrators are likely to try forcing our hand in ways that can bring us much woe.

Causing governments to overreact militarily has been the most frequent terrorist ploy since the French revolution.

In effect, the we-dare-you anti-terrorism policy invites trouble because it ups the ante. More precisely, it fails to deter because one can't stop terrorism by putting up warning signs or applying spray as we do when battling insects. Consider the children and old men sent in waves by Iran against Iraq or the suicide attackers of embassies; they keep on coming.

And absent from Mr. Reagan's new policy of pre-emption and reprisal is the political climate present in, for example, Israel. That country is at war and hence has public support for aggressive action. The Soviet Union rarely experiences terrorism because it does not have free public opinion to hold back the most brutal counter-force.

No democratic nation can operate against the public will or sacrifice ideals to put a stop to terrorism. Therefore the Reagan administration must continue to deal with the problem in more ways than a military response: Neither non-military nor military counter-terror actions should be emphasized at the expense of the other.

Prior to the 1979 takeover of our

embassy in Tehran, few acts were perpetrated against Americans, mainly because Washington's anti-terror policy was unclear: Perpetrators had no idea what the response might be and shied away. Not many terrorists will take a risk against an unpredictable outcome.

Most studies of terrorism prove that events are calculated to exact a particular response. Hostage-takers know in advance how long some nations will negotiate before using force against them.

Yet to suggest that no policy is the best policy is unwise. Any formula allowing for the widest range of non-military as well as military choices seems appropriate.

Another point to consider is that organizations once purely terroristic and now testing legitimate political activity might, if convinced the United States intends to apply only military pressure against them, de-emphasize the political and return to pure terror.

Perhaps anti-terror policy should evolve from assessments of whatever terrible deed is being confronted at the moment. Certain hostage-takings are answered best via a paratrooper assault, others with lengthy negotiation, some by silence.

But if terrorist acts are a form of theater, and are started to obtain responses predestined by policy, then that policy is self-defeating. If you tell an anti-social person you will slap him if he slaps you first, you can count on him slapping you. Keep him in the dark about the consequences of slapping and he may not slap anybody.

We do not owe terrorists the benefit of our thinking. A policy that is comprehensive and allows for any and all sorts of reaction can boomerang in our favor — by terrorizing the terrorist with uncertainty.

• Marvin Leibstone writes frequently for these pages on national and foreign affairs.

Exclusive Interview with Claire Sterling

HUMAN EVENTS

21 April 1984 Pgs. 10-15

Why Is the West Covering Up for Agca?

Q. Ms. Sterling, could you give us a synopsis of the plot of your book?

A. The plot as I was able to unfold it—independently of what the judge in charge of this case in Italy, Judge Martella was doing—is this: that a young Turk in Istanbul, who was moving in the circles of a neo-Nazi, right-wing terrorist group called the Gray Wolves, was picked to be a professional hit-man. He was picked by a unique criminal band called the Turkish Mafia, which operates out of Sofia, Bulgaria, which, indeed, is under the direct control and supervision of the Bulgarian Secret Service.

Since the end of the '60s the Turkish Mafia, using a Bulgarian state corporation called Kintex, has been smuggling billions of dollars worth of weapons and other contraband into Turkey and the Middle East from Western Europe, and heroin from Turkey and the Middle East into Western Europe. Kintex is also a branch of the Bulgarian Secret Service.

The Turkish Mafia is the operating force in the mechanism of this plot. It used this Turk, Mehmet Ali Agca, who had a right-wing image, and it used other Turkish Gray Wolves, neo-Nazi Gray Wolves, who were scattered through Europe, to preserve and enhance this right-wing image, so that the attack on Pope John Paul II was made to look like a right-wing terrorist hit.

How did Agca become involved? He escaped from a military prison after being jailed for the murder of an important editor in Istanbul. His escape was arranged by two Gray Wolves leaders who were lieutenants of the Turkish Mafia. These two lieutenants then procured the false documents, perfectly counterfeited, which Agca used to travel through Europe, and they then got him over the Bulgarian border, got his fake passport stamped with suitable entry-exit stamps by the Bulgarian services and got him installed in Sofia.

In Sofia he met with the two major godfathers of the Mafia in the summer of 1980. He spent the entire summer there. One of them, Abuzer Ugurlu, is presently on trial in Ankara and has

Rome-based author Claire Sterling has written one of the most important books of the year—probably, in fact, in many years. Entitled *The Time of the Assassins* (Holt Rinehart and Winston), it explores in detail the plot behind the assassination attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's Square on May 13, 1981.

The identity of the man who shot the pope is well known by this time. He is Mehmet Ali Agca, a young Turk who has been described in much of the world's press as a rightist Islamic fanatic.

Ms. Sterling has demonstrated, convincingly, that he is no such thing—that, in fact, this image of Agca was based on disinformation put out by the Soviet KGB.

The real Agca, as Ms. Sterling shows, was a highly intelligent mercenary involved with the Turkish Mafia and, through them, with the Bulgarian secret police. The Bulgarians, of course, are totally beholden to the Soviet Union. Thus, the circumstantial evidence is great that the thread of the assassination plot leads ultimately to Moscow and the headquarters of the KGB—whose director at the time was none other than Yuri Andropov, who shortly thereafter became president of the Soviet Union.

The reluctance on the part of the Western press and intelligence agencies to face the facts in the Agca case con-

stitutes, in Ms. Sterling's view, a massive cover-up almost as disquieting as the plot itself.

Ms. Sterling was commissioned by the *Reader's Digest* to investigate the assassination plot against the pope, and the *Digest* was extremely generous in its terms, basically giving the author a commission to get to the bottom of the matter, whatever the cost. Sterling was a logical choice for such an assignment, having been based in Rome for 31 years and having already written a book, *The Terror Network*, which documented the rising tide of terrorism around the world—and also the role played by the Soviet Union in sponsoring it.

The *Digest's* faith in Ms. Sterling has paid off in an extraordinary book, thoroughly documented, riveting in style and startling in its conclusions—most notably for placing the ultimate responsibility for the shooting of the pope at the door of the Kremlin. (Interestingly, Paul Henze, a former analyst with Zbigniew Brzezinski's National Security Council, was commissioned by *Reader's Digest* to conduct a parallel, fully independent investigation of the case. His basic conclusions were the same as Ms. Sterling's.)

On February 14, ironically, the day of Yuri Andropov's funeral, Claire Sterling recorded the following exclusive interview for *Human Events* with James Roberts, former director of the White House Fellowships program.

now, just recently, admitted to having met Agca there and given him money. The other one, Bekir Celenk, was in Western Europe when this case broke. As soon as he heard that the Italian judge had a warrant out for his arrest, he fled to Sofia, where he is being sheltered at present. He's the one who was supposed to have offered Agca \$1.3 million to shoot the pope.

To summarize, Agca with the Gray Wolves, representing the extreme right, had the image of the right-wing terrorist hit-man. The Wolves were being run by this huge contraband ring, the Turkish Mafia, unique in the world in that it was really working for a Communist state corporation under the sponsorship of the Communist state of Bulgaria. And the two godfathers of

this Turkish Mafia, each Sofia-based, have in fact been working directly for the Bulgarian Secret Service: Abuzer Ugurlu, since 1954, when he was recruited, and Bekir Celenk since the middle '60s. All this is heavily documented in the book.

That's as far as I go in recreating the mechanism of the way the operation was mounted. My conclusion is that the Bulgarians would have had to have the instructions for this attempted assassination from the Soviet Union for several reasons, not just as speculation.

First, because Bulgaria itself has no evident motive to quarrel with Pope John Paul II. The Bulgarians don't have any problem like Solidarity; they

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

STERLING...Continued

don't have a restless Catholic population; they don't have any particular bone of contention or any grievance with the pope. On the other hand, they do have 400 agents of the KGB stationed in Sofia in various branches of their Secret Service, of whom 300 are stationed in the department having to do with Bulgarian espionage activities outside of Bulgaria, and every Bulgarian Embassy abroad has at least one such agent that reports directly to Moscow to the KGB.

So apart from any other consideration or speculation, it really would have been physically impossible for the Bulgarians to have mounted this operation using at least three Bulgarian agents directly who were running the hit-man Agca in Rome unless the Russians had given them the instructions to do this, which is my conclusion.

Now, apart from my own conclusion, I published much of this in an article that I wrote in the *Reader's Digest*, which came out at the end of August-September 1982, and in November 1982 the Italian magistrate investigating this case arrested a Bulgarian in Rome and issued arrest warrants for two other Bulgarians who had, by then, fled to Sofia, on charges of direct complicity in this case. He also arrested two Turks and issued arrest warrants for two other Turks on charges of direct complicity and one of those two Turks was this godfather Bekir Celenk who fled to Sofia where he remains to this day.

I had been forming a chain of circumstantial evidence that I had uncovered in a long nine-month investigation going through Turkey, West Germany, Switzerland, Austria and so on. Parallel to my own investigation was an official judicial investigation in Italy conducted by Judge Martella, in which by November 1982, he had identified seven people outside of Agca who were allegedly involved in the conspiracy. Four were Turks and three were Bulgarian.

The judge has now completed a two-year investigation. In mid-December he turned over several thousand pages of evidence to the state prosecutor in Rome, the equivalent of the attorney general's office, for review. The state prosecutor any day now will probably be issuing his formal recommendation for trial for the Bulgarian and the two Turks who are presently under arrest and the other two Bulgarians and two Turks who are wanted as accomplices.



CLAIRE STERLING

Then Judge Martella will have another month to hear any appeals from the Bulgarian's lawyers and then he will make the final ruling for trial and publish a thousand pages — roughly — of a report presenting the main evidence that he has gathered which in his opinion justifies sending these people to trial.

So what we have now is no longer me, as a reporter, saying that there was a Bulgarian connection in this case. It is a very upright judge of stainless reputation in Italy who, after two years of investigation, will be sending these people for trial on the charges that they were all participating directly in the plot to kill Pope John Paul.

Q. To say that there is not only a Bulgarian connection but also a KGB connection is a very grave allegation, as I'm sure you are aware, because it means that the trail goes directly to the door of Yuri Andropov. Ironically enough, we are conducting this interview on the day of his funeral. What you're saying, by implication, is that he really was responsible for ordering the assassination attempt on the pope.

A. Well, yes. Of course, he was head of the KGB when the attack was ordered. I believe that actually it might

have been easier for the West to handle this whole problem if the Establishment in the West had concluded from the start that he, alone, could not have initiated a plan of such dimensions, that a decision to assassinate someone as important as Pope John Paul, who heads the Roman Catholic Church, about a sixth of the human race, would have had to be made by the Politburo, headed at the time by Brezhnev, who was dead by the time Andropov then became the sensitive figure as the leader of the Soviet Union, itself. And in that case Andropov would have been a kind of senior civil servant, you might say, carrying out orders from the top.

I think that perhaps Western leaders might have found it easier to deal with what was coming out in this case if they had put it that way from the start. Now we have two dead Soviet leaders who might make it easier for us in the West to handle what is going to come out in the courts.

The original order would have had to emanate from Brezhnev himself, now dead, and it would have had to then be passed on for execution by Andropov, now dead. So you might say there is a relatively clean slate if we now find that the Italian court declares these Bulgarians guilty.

Any normal grown-up has to see that it's really not possible for the Bulgarians to have done this on their own, unless the Russians had told them to do it. And we can now say that all right, the two main characters, the main personalities in the Soviet Union who would have borne the direct responsibility for this, are now dead. So let's start again in discussing this kind of problem, of holding the Russians accountable with whoever now is leading the Soviet Union.

Q. So you wouldn't advocate any punitive action on the part of the United States?

A. No, I don't think we should try to take punitive action. I think the important thing is to first of all let the public know what is known to the governments of the West, not try to shield the Russians from public view, which has been done up until now, and not try to persuade the public that this was the act of a lone, crazy, gunman, a religious fanatic. He is none of those things and the court has already made that very plain in Italy.

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STERLING...Continued

We should at least allow a degree of public awareness of who was responsible and then say, "Well, we hold you publicly accountable," say that to the Soviet Union, when all the evidence is in. In which case, for one thing, the public knowledge of this Russian accountability is in itself a strong deterrent.

I don't believe that the Russians care one thousandth of a per cent for Western public opinion, but they do have to take that into consideration. Up till now the forms of surrogate warfare that have been used by the Soviet Union in attacking Western targets, primarily by providing weapons and sanctuary for terrorist groups carrying out such assaults on the West since 1958, have been concealed from public view as was what was known about Soviet responsibility in this regard. And that has encouraged them I think to ever bolder kinds of attack on the assumption that they were going to continue to enjoy the Western intelligence shield. I think the important thing to do now is to take the shield away, to remove it, and say from now on we know about this and we will be watching, and if you do this again we will have to hold you accountable and then we will have to see what form, what position, we will take.

This will have to be part of our bargaining package when we sit down with you to talk about anything, to negotiate anything. This is a form of warfare, and therefore we have to negotiate a peace settlement that can hold, understanding who the interlocutor is and what form of warfare he is waging.

Q. Another serious conclusion that you've drawn both in the book, and from what you have just said, is that Western governments—the intelligence agencies of various Western governments including our own—from the very outset of this incident tried to downplay Bulgarian-KGB connections and to cover it up. Do you have some documentation on that?

A. Yes. In my book, for example, I cite six major articles that appeared in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times in the four to five months following Judge Martella's arrest of the Bulgarian, Sergei Antonov, in November 1982. In these articles, unidentified but authoritative Western intelligence analysts are quoted as saying, first of all, that they suspected that Judge Martella had been a victim of disinformation planted on him to em-

barrass the Soviet Union. They were saying that he couldn't be going on any serious evidence, that he was being used to frame the Soviet Union.

Now this was a pretty shocking allegation at a time when nobody in the West knew what evidence he had, and because by law the Italian judge cannot reveal his evidence until the investigation is completed. Then we had the usual Western intelligence sources in London, in Bonn, in Washington and so on, make the allegation that Judge Martella had taken my article too seriously in the *Reader's Digest*, that in effect I had been telling Judge Martella what to do—which really is about as mindless as you can get.

Then we have a series of assertions that Agca was a known crazy. For example, this was stated by a source close to the CIA in an article in the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times. This was after the presiding judge at his trial had said that he had shown unusual psychic maturity and had uncommon gifts of mental equilibrium and was entirely sane, and exceptionally intelligent and so on.

So we had this information given from this unidentified but authoritative intelligence source in Washington saying he was a known crazy, so unstable that nobody would ever have hired him because he was bound to be caught. Then they would suggest, well maybe he was working for the Bulgarians but not for this reason. They did not hire him to do this. He might have been doing something else although they didn't say what. Or maybe some Bulgarians knew what he was going to do but didn't stop him. They didn't instigate him to do it, they didn't employ him to do it. Or, if the Bulgarians did, for some reason, let him do it, or knew that he was doing this, the Russians didn't know. And we continued to have this up until the other day.

The Washington Post has just had a series on terrorism which on the whole is quite a good series, at least on the Middle East terrorist scene, and at the end they quote an unidentified but authoritative State Department spokesman saying well, of course, it looks now as if the Italian courts are going to go to trial with this Bulgarian, which suggests that there may be evidence that will come out in this trial against the Bulgarian, which will involve the Bulgarians, but of course this doesn't mean that the Russians will be involved.

Well, you know, these are tales for children. I don't know who, really, can be deceived by this kind of inept effort to shield the Russians from something that anybody familiar with the structure of the dependent surrogate services in Eastern Europe to the KGB would just have to know is a fact.

Anybody in the State Department would have to know that it is not possible to separate the Bulgarians from the Russians in this connection. But this is the effort being made. Don't ask me to explain why. I don't really know the reason. I don't understand it.

Q. What do you think is the real opinion of the people in our government who are most closely involved, who have the most direct responsibility for this matter? I'm speaking of Secretary Shultz, Bud McFarlane of the National Security Council and the President himself. Do they believe the Russians are involved, or do they not believe it?

A. Well, not a single member of this Administration has conceded publicly that there may be any possibility of a Bulgarian connection—not one. This, in part, I believe—now that I've spent some time in Washington—can be traced to the fact that they are very badly informed by their own people abroad, by the intelligence-gathering agencies abroad and by our embassies abroad, who have simply not been telling them the ascertainable facts as any reporter could have gotten them. This has been furthered by reporting that is inexplicable in some of our most important press outlets and the media about how this case is going.

On December 21, for example, Judge Martella transferred this Bulgarian from prison to house arrest. Now the report that was issued by the wire services going out to the Western press said: Sergei Antonov has been freed from prison. But the judge's communique to the state news agency ANSA said we cannot concede liberty to Sergei Antonov because of the gravity of the charges against him—the exact opposite of what the wire services had reported. And the judge said well, you're simply transferring him to house arrest for health reasons.

Well, under house arrest he's had an armored tank stationed in front of the building, he's had armed policemen wearing bulletproof vests in the lobby and guarding the front and back entrances, and every three hours a police

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STERLING...Continued

contingent goes into his room to see that he is there. At the same time, the day he was transferred to house arrest, the state prosecutor reviewing the evidence in this case appealed to an emergency court, the Tribunal Liberty, to have him put right back in prison on the grounds that he might otherwise escape or be murdered, and that the gravity of the evidence against him again required his presence in prison.

And, in the middle of January, on the 13th of January, the Tribunal Liberty ruled that he had to go back to prison as a pre-trial precaution.

Now I keep in touch with Rome while I'm here in the United States so I know these things. But they have not been published in the American press at all. Apart from this one report that he'd been freed from prison. And I have discovered that truly, people genuinely believe in Washington that this Bulgarian has been freed, whereas the opposite is the case: He is about to be formally indicted and to have to stand trial for direct complicity in this case.

So I think that one of the explanations is that our government, our Administration, has been extraordinarily badly informed about what anybody could have reported more accurately who had looked at the ascertainable facts in Rome. Apart from that, I think there's been a deliberate effort by certain sections of the government not to take a public position that would concede any possible Bulgarian-Soviet connection because they consider it a destabilizing factor in the East-West power balance for the public to know such things. They think the public probably has a mental age of 12 and can't be trusted with knowledge of this sort.

Q. You think this tacit premise you are describing here explains the bad reporting as well as the silence emanating from the government?

A. I think the bad reporting has certainly been encouraged by the fact that when a Washington-based reporter who goes to a source he has known for some time as a reliable intelligence source, let's say, or a State Department source, and says well, what's the inside story, how do you all feel about this so-called Bulgarian connection and he's told by these people that it's a bunch of nonsense—well, obviously he would be inclined to believe what he is being told.

He is not in a position to go himself and investigate this case in Rome, and what he's read so far doesn't encourage him to believe very much in this connection, and he's told by the most authoritative sources who are commonly considered the most anti-Soviet sources you could find in the United States—the CIA, perhaps, or the Defense Intelligence Agency, or the National Security Council, or the State Department—that in their opinion there is no evidence for a Bulgarian connection. So of course he's encouraged to report this case badly.

Q. But all of our major newspapers and our networks have bureaus in the major European capitals. Is this the type of thing they are hearing there, as well?

A. I'm afraid that's the case, yes. Certainly our embassy in Rome has not contributed to a clarity of view in this matter, so far. That's putting it kindly.

Q. How did you get interested in his case? What made you decide to pursue it?

A. I've been a political reporter in Italy for over 30 years and I've been writing about terrorist problems, especially since I wrote *The Terror Network* in 1981, so I've been working on terrorist problems, specializing since 1978.

In my book, *The Terror Network*, I had a chapter on terrorism in Turkey which I had studied firsthand at some length in preparation for that book. I had a general knowledge of that situation, so it was a natural for me to go after a story like this. When it was clear from the time the presiding judge at Agca's trial in the summer of 1981 wrote in his written opinion that Agca was not a loner, not a religious crank, that he was perfectly sane and that he was a professional assassin who had been hired by a conspiratorial band, it seemed to me that this was an extraordinary, just a terrific, story for any reporter to look at.

Q. Some of your critics, or at least people who don't share your point of view on this matter, have discussed what they consider to be the contradictions in the testimony of Agca. What do you make of this?

A. You know, if you want to look for contradictions in anybody's testimony you can find them. In reality, when Agca was first arrested after he shot the pope, it was clear to the magistrates interrogating him, as they have all told me since that time, that he had been coached in how to handle himself under interrogation. His purpose was to diddle his interrogators, not to give them any information, and in fact for a year he did not give them any information; he made no confession.

And so he was throwing out every kind of wild statement in the book—such as that he wanted to kill the queen of England, and Simone Vial of the Council of Europe, and he discovered they were women and so he decided against it.

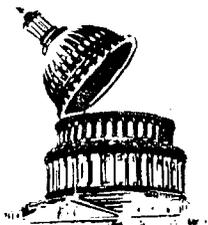
I mean he said a lot of crazy things, and he's not a crazy. We know he's not a crazy. And the judges interrogating him knew perfectly well he was not crazy. But he was throwing out so many different things that they could see no clear leads in the case and that was his purpose.

He only began to make a genuine confession in May 1982, after he had waited a full year for the Bulgarians to get him out of prison somehow. Surely he had the full expectation, he had had their commitment that they would do that, just as the Turkish Mafia had gotten him out of prison in Istanbul in 1979 on a murder charge because they persuaded him to take the fall for that murder and they promised to get him out and they did get him out. And so he assumed they were going to do it again, but of course Italy is a different situation. He was in solitary confinement as they could not get him out, so he began to talk.

From the time he began to make a confession in May, the judge waited from May until the following November to make his first arrest of a Bulgarian which means that the judge spent that time finding corroboration for Agca's confession. Agca had confessed, had identified these three Bulgarians from mugshots and said they were his agents running him in Rome, and since that time, since the Bulgarian's arrest, four appeals have been made by his lawyers for his provisional release on the grounds of insuf-

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From The Hopper

Pending legislation of special interest to Americans alarmed about Big Government.

■ HERE, from the congressional hopper, are some of the bills and Resolutions of interest to Conservatives:

Terrorism (S. 2469, introduced on March 22nd, referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee). Incredible as it may seem, terrorism as such is not a crime in the United States. President Reagan, in his State of the Union address on January 25th, mentioned the need for legislation to combat terrorism. As an important first step in that direction, Senator **Jeremiah Denton** (R.-Alabama), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, has introduced S. 2469 to make terrorism a federal crime and give the F.B.I. primary investigative jurisdiction over it.

The Denton bill defines "terror-

ism" as "the knowing use of force or violence against any person or property in violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any State, territory, possession, or district, with the intent to intimidate, coerce, or influence a government or person in furtherance of any political or ideological objective." Individuals found guilty of *committing* (or *procuring* the commission of) a terrorist act would face the death penalty (if the death of anyone resulted from the act) or imprisonment for not less than 20 years, or for life, or for life without possibility of parole.

Those found guilty of *attempting* to commit, or *threatening* to commit, an act of terrorism would also face

stringent prison sentences, as well as the death penalty should their actions cause the death of another person.

The Denton bill is carefully phrased to strike a balance between the need to punish terrorists and to



Jeremiah Denton offers bill to combat terrorism.

protect the constitutional rights of all Americans. The Senator is convinced that it effectively "addresses a problem in our society that we must clearly face and resolve as soon as possible. Terrorists must be put on notice that their activities are criminal and simply will not be tolerated by law-abiding Americans."

STERLING...Continued

ficient evidence, and four times different sections of the Italian courts have found that the evidence against him was strong enough to warrant his continued retention. So Agca *has* told lies as almost everybody does who starts out as a professional killer and begins to talk. You never get a straight story in 24 hours. Every judge who has handled these people says the same thing. Although he has surely told lies of one kind or another since he began to confess, the core of his confession has evidently been considered by the Italian judiciary as a whole involved in this case to be sound enough to warrant going to trial.

Q. A couple of weeks ago Pope John Paul met with Agca in his cell. It was a very dramatic meeting. Would you speculate on what Agca might have told the pope, and second, what is the

view of the Vatican as to the possibility of Agca being linked to the KGB in this matter?

A. I don't really know what they talked about. The pope said that was a secret and it was going to remain a secret and I think it will. But the pope did say when he came out of that meeting that he has full confidence in this penitent, Agca, which really was taken to mean in Italy that what he was saying, in effect, was, "I believe Agca is sincerely repentant." The implication of that is that if he is sincerely repentant, his confession to the judge involving the Bulgarians has credibility. It doesn't necessarily mean that every word he says is true, but that essentially it has credibility.

This at a time when there is a tremendous campaign going on conducted along parallel lines by the Russians and Bulgarians on the one hand and Western spokesmen on the other hand to deny Agca all credibility, and I think

that the pope was therefore giving him strength.

Q. What is the view of the Vatican as you understand it as to the culpability of the KGB?

A. There are clearly divided views in the Vatican, and understandably so. There are many forces in the Vatican that prefer not to have this case go any further because of the enormous complications it could have for them with what is called the church's silenced churches in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, where conditions have always been very, very difficult for the church to operate at all.

On the other hand, there are certainly forces in the Vatican that believe that justice must be pursued in this case, that it should be left to the Italian courts, that the courts should be free to process this investigation to the end, that it's morally unacceptable to do otherwise. ■

Victims of the 'dirty war'

NEW STATESMAN

4 May 1984 Pages 8-10

Kidnap plots, assassination, forgery, lethal incompetence, even 'political' psychiatry . . . A former Army intelligence office in Northern Ireland reveals the inside story of the Army's 'dirty tricks' department in Ulster — in the first of a series of reports by Duncan Campbell

A FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICER who served in Northern Ireland in 1974 and 1975 has revealed details of 'dirty tricks' by the Army in Ireland. Captain Fred Holroyd was an intelligence specialist in Northern Ireland for nearly two years. The details of his allegations have been checked over six months. We have spoken to eye-witnesses and others personally involved in Holroyd's reports. These activities range, says Holroyd, from the disreputable to the entirely illegal — and were conducted on both sides of the Irish border.

Since 1982, a special team from the Royal Ulster Constabulary, led by Detective Superintendent George Caskey, has been investigating Holroyd's allegations of illegal Army activities. Its report, a lengthy 900-page dossier, was submitted earlier this year to Northern Ireland's Director of Public Prosecutions. Last month, the DPP delayed his final decision on the report and asked the team to carry out more extensive investigations of some of the dozen or so cases that Holroyd has submitted. Until the DPP announces his decision on the cases concerned, neither the RUC nor the Ministry of Defence are willing to comment publicly on Holroyd's revelations. But we have learned from Army sources that the Defence Ministry last year ordered a special and separate enquiry by its own security officials into the 'dirty war' allegations.

As a Military Intelligence Officer in Northern Ireland, Holroyd was on undercover attachment to the RUC Special Branch office in Portadown, west of Belfast. He worked in close liaison with the headquarters of the Army's 3rd Brigade, which was militarily responsible for the highly dangerous territory along the southern border — the 'bandit country' of South Armagh.

Captain Holroyd himself ultimately became a victim of the often bitter rivalry between different parts of the security apparatus. Army staff contrived to have him abruptly removed from his post in May 1975, as an alleged psychiatric casualty whose 'mental stability' could be examined only in the safety and security of a hospital in England — a slur which was subsequently deleted from his official record, but which has left him bitter about the Army. He resigned his commission in 1976 and joined the then Rhodesian Army.

Following his removal from Northern Ireland, Holroyd repeatedly asked for an investigation both of his own treatment and of the methods employed by British intelligence agents and officials in the North. Former Army and police colleagues still hold Holroyd in high esteem. In 1977, RUC Assistant Chief Constable Charles Rogers — who was put in charge of the RUC's anti-terrorist campaign

unquestionable loyalty,
devotion to duty that
one rarely finds today.



Andrew Ward/Report

Fred Holroyd: his RUC chief says that his 'success record against terrorists has not been equalled before or since'

following the 'Darkley Church' killings last Christmas — wrote that Holroyd was a 'man of unquestionable loyalty, outstanding courage with a devotion to duty that one looks for but rarely finds today'. In short, Holroyd was determined, respected, and to many a hero.

SO WAS ANOTHER Army officer — Captain Robert Nairac of the Special Air Services. In 1979, Nairac was posthumously awarded the George Cross, two years after being kidnapped and assassinated by the IRA while on undercover operations in South Armagh. In 1975 Nairac told Holroyd how he had carried out a political assassination in the Irish Republic.

Assassination

Robert Nairac first arrived in Northern Ireland early in 1974, with a troop of about 30 men from the SAS Regiment's Hereford base. At the time, the government was denying that the SAS were in Northern Ireland at all — so they were disguised as the 'Survey Troop' of the Royal

Captain Holroyd appeared on the Channel 4 programme, *Diverse Reports*, on Wednesday. The programme was researched and reported by Christopher Hird and Duncan Campbell.

Engineers. They were based at Castledillon, near Armagh, in a secluded country house and estate that had previously been a sanatorium.

The SAS unit's commander was Captain Julian A. Ball, who had joined the SAS from the King's Own Scottish Borderers. Robert Nairac from the elite Grenadier Guards, at first a lieutenant, was his second-in-command. Nairac was new to the SAS and Northern Ireland, but had been specially trained by both the Army and the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) for work in Ireland. Ball had already served extensively in Belfast, winning a Military Cross. A former Army officer who served with Ball in Belfast has described him 'as an irresponsible cowboy'.

According to the official ('Restricted') manual on 'Counter-Revolutionary Operations', the SAS's tasks included the 'infiltration of . . . assassination parties . . . into insurgent held areas', and 'liaison with . . . forces operating against the common enemy'. Ball and Nairac visited intelligence officers in the Armagh areas, including Holroyd in Portadown, asking for suggestions of worthwhile intelligence targets. They told Holroyd that they were under the direct orders

VICTIMS OF THE 'DIRTY WAR'...Continued

of SIS and army headquarters intelligence staff.

On 10 January 1975, in a remote mountain-side farmhouse in County Monaghan, a mile south of the Irish border, a leading republican, John Francis Green, was murdered. Careful planning and good intelligence was evident in his killing, for he had only visited the farm at short notice. The killers waited until Green was alone and then burst in on him, emptying the contents of two pistols into him.

Soon afterwards, Captain Nairac called routinely on Holroyd at the Army's Mahon Road camp in Portadown. The subject of Green's death came up — Green, aged 27, a local republican hero after an escape from internment in Long Kesh in 1973, had by 1975 become the IRA commander in North Armagh. After an SAS sergeant major left the room, Nairac said that he had killed Green. When Holroyd expressed disbelief, Nairac produced a colour Polaroid of Green's bloodsoaked body, taken soon after his death. Green was pictured from the waist up, lying on his back. With some reluctance, Nairac allowed Holroyd to keep the picture. It remained in Holroyd's photo album until 1982, when it was handed over to Superintendent Caskey of the RUC.

Who took the Polaroid picture is still a mystery. Nairac implied that he had done so. RUC detectives investigating the case suggested to Captain Holroyd in 1983 that the picture had been taken by the Irish Police. But a very senior Garda source says that no Garda officer in the area had either the equipment or any official reason to take such a picture. He said that the morning after the crime, a fully equipped Garda photographic team travelled up from Dublin, and took pictures using standard (black and white) film.

Nairac told Holroyd that he and two other men had done the killing. He then described in detail how they had crossed the border during the evening and driven down a country road. Green was at first in the company of farmer Gerry Carville — whose house had long been an IRA 'safe house'. But the old farmer, said Nairac, had left at a set time, known to the killers. One man stayed with the car, while the other two crept up a lane to the isolated farm and watched Green through an uncurtained window. They kicked down the door and shot him repeatedly, emptying one of the guns into his body as he lay dying.

Nairac's account of the killing, as provided to Holroyd, is chillingly exact. Irish police investigations produced reports of an unknown vehicle in the area at the time of the killing — a white Mercedes or Audi — which eyewitnesses

thought contained three men. Farmer Gerry Carville has told us that for more than a month he had left his farm at the same time each evening to tend a neighbour's cow. In the last month it has been revealed that, at the time, there were two well-placed informers working for British security inside IRA circles in the nearby town of Castleblayney.

Garda investigation of the killing confirmed many aspects of Nairac's account. The room in which John Francis Green was shot was indeed uncurtained at the time. The front door frame was kicked in, and still bears the cracks. Forensic experts, whose reports we have also seen, later established that two guns were used to shoot Green; one is thought to be a Luger, the other a Spanish-made Star automatic pistol.

AT FIRST, the Garda in the Republic suspected that other local IRA elements might have killed Green. Green had recently been asking questions about the proceeds of a series of bank robberies in Northern Ireland. The Royal Ulster Constabulary continues to put forward a theory that Green was killed by a deranged northern Protestant, called Elliott, who believed that his brother had been killed on Carville's farm — and who had come with a second, unknown man to kill Carville, not Green.

But we have established from a confidential police source that the RUC obtained evidence in 1975 conclusively linking the Green killing to a series of notorious murders carried out by persons closely linked to the Protestant extremist paramilitary organisation, the Ulster Volunteer Force. The link is the cartridges from the Star automatic pistol found at the scene of the killing. With the secret help of the Garda, these were tested by a scientist attached to the RUC forensic staff, Norman Tulip, and found to be identical with cartridges left at the scene of four sectarian murders, committed between 1973 and 1976. These included perhaps the most notorious killing of the 1970s — the slaughter in July 1975 of members of the Catholic Miami Showband.

Robert Nairac, like many other army personnel in Northern Ireland (including Holroyd), obtained and sometimes carried personal 'unattributable' weapons. The serial numbers and firing characteristics of such guns were not officially recorded. During the trial of Nairac's killers in 1977, his then commanding officer told the Dublin Court that a 'personal pistol', apart from his official issue Browning automatic, had been found in Nairac's room after his death.

The Caskey Report, it is believed, does not suggest that Holroyd is wrong in his

recollections, but quotes other Army officers instead in an attempt to show that Nairac was a braggard, inventing his participation in the Green murder. Some RUC officers have also tried to raise doubts as to whether Nairac was ever a member of the SAS. Holroyd says that he has come under intense pressure from the RUC to withdraw his murder accusation against Nairac. He refuses to do so.

Obtaining evidence affecting Nairac's story has been difficult, because of the death or disappearance of almost everyone involved. Elliott, the RUC's supposed suspect, was himself killed in 1979. Captain Ball left the Army to become a British government security adviser, and has since reportedly died in a traffic accident. Nairac and Ball's SAS company sergeant major is said by the RUC to be 'untraceable'. Craig Smellie, in 1974 the Secret Service 'controller' at the Army HQ at Lisburn, left to become SIS Chief of Station in Athens, and has also since died. Nairac himself left the SAS in 1976, but stayed on in Northern Ireland as a military intelligence liaison officer in Bessbrook and was killed in 1977. His death means that the final story of the Green assassination may never be told. But the Army has a clear case to answer.

Intelligence disaster

Another of Holroyd's accounts concerns a plan to discover the IRA's major escape route from Belfast for wounded and wanted men. The plan went wrong, resulting in two, and possibly five, deaths.

Sergeant Tony Poole of the Intelligence Corps, who worked as a 'Field Intelligence NCO' at the RUC station at Dungannon, set up the plan in 1974 and explained it to Holroyd. Poole planned to use a Catholic youth, who had recently been questioned by the Army, as his infiltrator. The hope was that he might finish up at an IRA training camp in the Republic.

But Poole's choice of agent was ludicrous. The operation quickly went wrong and his operative, Columba McVeigh, a woolly-headed 17 year old, went to jail for four months. In February 1975, an innocent Protestant man, was killed almost certainly as a result of the bungled operation. Three Catholics are believed to have then been shot in turn in a 'tit for tat' revenge killing.

During the summer of 1974, Poole told Holroyd that McVeigh, was to be 'set up' on a charge of possessing ammunition. He would carefully be allowed to avoid arrest and would ask the IRA to get him out. Poole and his colleagues were particularly keen to compromise a priest, who was then working in a

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VICTIMS OF THE 'DIRTY WAR'...Continued

small village nearby, and whom they suspected was a key to the IRA escape route. McVeigh knew the priest concerned.

Poole's plan was to give the youth several rounds of ammunition in a cigarette packet, to put in a chest of drawers in his bedroom. Poole was then to order an army raid on his house, claiming 'a tipoff' from an informer. The Army would think the find was genuine. McVeigh's parents have confirmed that the operation began as Poole had planned it; an Army team suddenly raided their house at 6 am one morning in September 1974 — but Columba escaped. His father saw the Army searchers go straight to the bedroom drawer and announce as they opened the cigarette packet that 'we've found it'.

So McVeigh went on the run. But the suspected priest refused to help him; and another priest, unconnected with the IRA, sheltered him briefly. McVeigh then went to the police station to ask Sergeant Poole for further instructions, which surprised the police, as he was supposed to be on the wanted list. After a week spent openly in Dungannon, he was arrested by an Army patrol.

He was charged with illegal possession of ammunition and held in jail. In court, he refused to recognise the court — the normal stance of a member of the IRA. But the IRA knew that McVeigh had not joined. Inside Crumlin Road Jail, he was beaten up by Provisionals and accused of being a stool pigeon. He confessed his involvement and agreed to give the IRA complete details of his dealings with the security forces and a list of names of people working with them.

This information was sent out of Crumlin Road in a coded letter. The Army specialists decoded it and showed the list of names to Holroyd. The list the IRA had obtained from McVeigh was nonsense, fabricated in order to escape further beating. At the head of the list of Catholics supposed to be collaborating with the British was a well respected local solicitor and SDLP politician. At the top of the list of Protestants was the McVeigh family's milkman, a Protestant who lived in the same area as the family. We have also spoken to a public figure in Dungannon, who saw the list after it had been sent out. He confirmed that he saw the same names as Holroyd.

COLUMBA MCVEIGH was given a suspended sentence in January 1975 — completely unprecedented for someone accused of terrorist offences and who had implied membership of the IRA. He went to Dublin with his brother to live there, but suddenly disappeared ten months later. He has never been heard of since.

Father Denis Faul, a leading spokesman for Northern Ireland Catholics, who knows the McVeigh family, says that by letting Columba go free in this way, he was in effect being proclaimed an informer — even though he had been quite unable to supply any information at all. The suspended sentence, says Father Faul,

'condemned him to death'.

A month after McVeigh was freed, on 11 February 1975, the 'milkman' on his list was gunned down in a nearby village. The dead man was not in fact the regular milkman, but his relief roundsman. Christopher Mein, a recently married 29-year-old Protestant, had taken on the round on his own for the first time that day.

He had no connection with any loyalist organisation. Holroyd noted the milkman's death in his notebook at the time, commenting that 'the milkman in Pomeroy was head of Tony's man's confession list . . . "mistaken identity"'.

As a result of this bungle, Sergeant Poole became *persona non grata* at Dungannon police station. So the Army created a new job for him in a town 30 miles away. When Holroyd revisited Northern Ireland in the summer of 1975, he says he was told that both Poole and another Army intelligence man were being posted home, because the RUC had begun investigating what had really happened to McVeigh. Sergeant Poole is still in the Army. But the Ministry of Defence have refused permission for journalists to talk to him about the case — which is, like the other Holroyd reports, under investigation by the police and DPP.

Political psychiatry

Captain Holroyd claims that he has been the victim of a campaign of vilification and what amounts to 'political psychiatry' by the Army. He has succeeded in getting the Army to withdraw allegations by a senior officer of 'mental stress', which were originally used to justify his removal from Northern Ireland. We have established that this original slur was based on false evidence used in Army records.

The mid-1970s, was a time, as both the Ministry of Defence and the police now openly acknowledge, of poor co-operation and co-ordination between competitive intelligence operations in Northern Ireland. With the Army in effect unaccountable to civil authority, it was also a time when the 'cowboys' keen to make a name for themselves, flourished.

Holroyd's loyalty to the police and their undercover agents made him an awkward customer for some Army commanders. Another source of friction was that he started working directly for the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), whose controller was based at Army headquarters, but whose activities were kept a closely-guarded secret from the Army staff. Holroyd worked with both SIS staff and with the undercover SAS team, thus giving him detailed knowledge of sensitive activities by the security forces.

The last straw, so far as some in the Army were concerned, was a secret trip Holroyd made to Dublin in the spring of 1975. At the invitation of a senior Garda officer, Assistant Commissioner Garvey, Holroyd and some RUC officers went to the Garda headquarters at Phoenix Park, Dublin, to inspect materials seized from an IRA bomb factory. Army

officers were officially supposed never to cross the border without permission. Holroyd's Army commander had told him not to go. But intelligence staff at the Northern Ireland Army HQ in Lisburn, says Holroyd, countermanded this order.

Holroyd was removed from his post, without warning, on 27 May 1975. The ostensible reason given to him was that his wife (from whom he is now divorced) had suddenly complained that he had repeatedly threatened her life and those of their children with a hidden gun. Following this, his wife's doctor was alleged to have told Army officers that, if the Army didn't commit Captain Holroyd to mental hospital, they would. Following these alleged complaints, Holroyd was persuaded to undergo a brief examination at Musgrave Park Hospital in Belfast. He was then ordered to report to an Army Hospital at Netley, Southampton.

Holroyd's account of these events is now confirmed by the Ministry of Defence. An MoD spokesman claimed to the *New Statesman* earlier this year that Holroyd's wife and her GP

were discussing whether he should be certified or not . . . The Commanding Officer had no choice in view of what was recommended to him by the GP at the time . . .

But this version of events is completely denied by both the ex-Mrs Holroyd, and by her GP — and by Holroyd himself. Holroyd's ex-wife says that she merely told another Army wife that Holroyd was under too much strain in his job and had wanted her to return with their children to England for a month, to avoid further pressure on their marriage. She had not been threatened with a gun, but had merely told his Army colleagues that he kept his 'unattributable' gun (in fact, merely a spare barrel) in their house.

Released after a rest period at the Netley Hospital, Holroyd was told that he could not return to Northern Ireland. Instead, he was offered a job of equal status in England. He refused and appealed to the Army Board against the confidential order which had sanctioned his removal from Northern Ireland. He was told that the Board decided

that his removal from appointment was justified in the circumstances at the time, but that this does not reflect adversely on his character or ability . . .

The Board directed that 'any reference to his mental condition shall be expunged'. The only justification for his removal that then remained was an allegation that he allegedly 'disobeyed orders' by going on the secret mission to Dublin — a serious disciplinary offence, if true, but one for which no charges or court martial were ever brought. □

NEXT WEEK: Kidnap plots, death threats and booby traps.

DIRTY WAR PART II

Booby traps and bank raids



Former army intelligence officer Fred Holroyd (see above) reveals to Duncan Campbell more of the inside story of British army 'dirty tricks' in Northern Ireland

FORMER INTELLIGENCE officer Captain Fred Holroyd's revelations last week in the *New Statesman* and on Channel 4 have provoked a strong reaction from the Irish government. The Irish Ambassador to Britain, Mr Noel Dorr, said last week that 'It's simply not acceptable that there should be security forces of any other state operating within our jurisdiction'. Ambassador Dorr, who appeared with Holroyd on a breakfast television programme, pointed out that it had only been a month since Irish protests about undercover cross-border RUC activity had been lodged in London.

Kidnap plots

On more than one occasion, Army officers in Northern Ireland have arranged illegal kidnap plots against people living in the Irish Republic. Captain Holroyd was present when Army staff officers arranged for one such kidnap team to be paid £500 from secret intelligence funds. His evidence implicates at least four Army officers in a plan illegally to kidnap suspects from the Irish Republic. Two of the targets were Eamon McGurgan and Seamus Grew both of whom lived in County Monaghan and were on the local 'top ten' list of IRA suspects.

The kidnap operations known to Holroyd took place in March 1974. In December 1982, he described the plots in detail to an investigating team from the Royal Ulster Constabulary, led by Superintendent George Caskey. Caskey's report is now being studied by the Northern Ireland Director of Public Prosecutions. Until the DPP has announced his decision, the Ministry of Defence is refusing to comment on the kidnap charges, or to allow officers to be interviewed.

Holroyd first heard from a military intelligence colleague, Sergeant Tony Poole of the Intelligence Corps, that two men from Lisburn, both ex-boxers, had been hired to kidnap Eamonn McGurgan, and bring him across the border. The Army would arrange with a Garda (Irish Police) contact for an area around McGurgan's home in Castleblayney to be 'frozen' — i.e. left completely unpoliced — while the kidnap took place. Although the men

concerned were primarily willing to do the job because of their Loyalist political sympathies, they were to be paid £500 by the Army, Holroyd learned. The kidnap victim would be hit over the head, tied up with a sack over his head and dumped at a prearranged spot on the Northern Ireland side of the border. A party of soldiers would then 'discover' the victim, and arrest him.

But the McGurgan kidnap plan went wrong. On the night the kidnapers set out, a prominent Senator in the Dail (the Dublin Parliament) was murdered in the same area. It was no longer possible for the Army's Garda contact to 'freeze' police operations. The kidnapers were, reportedly, stopped at a checkpoint by the Irish Army, and the operation failed.

Another kidnap operation was mounted about two weeks later, on 29 March 1974. The targets this time were IRA suspect Seamus Grew and Patrick McLoughlin, with whom Grew lived in the border town of Monaghan. The leader of the kidnap team hired by the Army was Jimmy O'Hara, a Lisburn Protestant and ex-boxer. Earlier this year, O'Hara confirmed to us that he and two friends had indeed been hired by an Army officer to kidnap Grew. The officer supplied maps showing Grew's house, details of his movements, official surveillance photographs and a sketch plan to show them where to dump Grew in Northern Ireland after they had kidnapped him. All these items were seized by the Garda after the three were arrested.

The three men were to receive £500 for their trouble. O'Hara says that the Grew kidnap plot was discussed twice at secret meetings with the Army officer, the first of which was in the Woodlands Hotel, Lisburn, close to where O'Hara then lived. The second meeting took place in Craigavon Area Hospital car park — a short distance from the Army's 3rd Brigade headquarters in Lurgan, where the kidnap plot had been devised.

The Grew plot also went badly wrong. Two of the three men were seen furtively reconnoitering outside Grew's house and were arrested after neighbours called the police. The third, O'Hara himself, was arrested after he went to

the police station to demand their release, having been wrongly advised by his Army contact that all the Garda would be helpful. (Indeed, an earlier kidnap plan suggested by the Army to O'Hara had involved the use of a British agent inside the Monaghan Garda, who would arrange to have Grew brought in for questioning. He would then be released at a prearranged time, and kidnapped on his way home.)

We have seen the statement which O'Hara made to the Garda after his arrest. In it he repeatedly referred to being given the job by an 'Army man' — whom he refused to identify. O'Hara and his collaborators were each sentenced to five years imprisonment in Dublin in June 1974. On appeal, their sentences were increased to seven years. The harsh sentences reflected growing Irish judicial concern about political kidnapping operations. The kidnap strategy was abandoned, at least for a time, by the Army — but may well have been revived in 1976, when Sean McKenna — the son of a Newry man whom the British government were found guilty of torturing in the first days of internment — was abducted across the border from the village of Edentubber, near Dundalk in the Republic. He was arrested in the north, having allegedly 'stumbled across the border into a patrol' — according to an official Army public relations statement.

Shortly before Jimmy O'Hara and his colleagues were apprehended in Monaghan, Captain Holroyd was working in the intelligence 'cell' at 3rd Brigade Headquarters in Lurgan. The staff in the 'cell' arranged, in his presence, to have £500 for the kidnap operation urgently collected from Army Headquarters in Lisburn. The money had to be available in Lurgan to pay the kidnapers.

The intelligence cell, which comprised the Brigade's intelligence planners and analysts, was then headed by Major David Delius, a Royal Hussars officer with a brisk public school manner. Major Delius is still in the Army, and has not been permitted by the Ministry of Defence to comment on the allegations against him. Among his colleagues involved in the kidnap plot were two other Captains, who collated intelligence on the local Catholic and Protestant communities, and Sergeant Poole, the Brigade's 'Field Intelligence NCO'.

Jimmy O'Hara still refuses to identify the Army officer who dealt with him, or the go-between who introduced them. But he has volunteered that he knows the name 'Poole'. We have also discovered that Mr O'Hara is related by marriage to Mr John Poland, a sergeant in the Armagh RUC — who had been in charge of Poole's activities on behalf of the RUC Special Branch. O'Hara will not talk

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

BOOBY TRAPS AND BANK RAIDS...Continued

about other operations he may have carried out for the Army or RUC. But he has confirmed that there was more than one kidnap plan, and that Eamonn McGurgan, as well as Seamus Grew, 'may have been' a target.

The RUC's Caskey Report on Captain Holroyd's allegations is believed to attempt to dismiss the kidnap plot accusation. Last year, Superintendent Caskey claimed to Captain Holroyd that O'Hara had denied being paid by the Army. But during last week's *Diverse Report* (Channel 4) on the Holroyd revelations, Mr O'Hara — blacked out to prevent his face being seen — acknowledged that his orders had come from the 'English' — as he had told the Garda in 1974.

Boobytraps

Fred Holroyd first heard about the 'Case of the self-exploding motorcyclist', as intelligence staff at the 3rd Brigade Headquarters called the lethal results of a secret Army sabotage mission, early in October 1974. Major Delius, the Brigade's explosives expert, Captain Peter Maynard, and other intelligence officers were celebrating the case by passing round a large sweet jar of white mints. They were, says Holroyd, 'like public schoolboys playing James Bond', celebrating in a 'tuck-room' atmosphere.

Forty miles away near the border at Newry, a 35 year-old man had been blown to death on 5 October. Eugene McQuaid, a mechanic from Newry, married with five children, had been riding southwards on his motorcycle when it suddenly exploded — distributing parts of the motorbike and his body across the main Dublin-Belfast road.

McQuaid was not believed either by intelligence staff or his family to have belonged to the IRA. But he was 'doing a turn' for a family friend who was in the IRA, Holroyd says. On his bike were strapped three home-made rocket launchers, known to the Army as 'bombards', and to the IRA as mobile mines. McQuaid is believed to have agreed to pick up the bombards from the Republic and bring them across the border to Newry. (According to a secret Army report on 'Future Terrorist Trends', which leaked in 1979, the Provisional IRA had begun using bombards to attack armoured vehicles in September 1974. They could have a range of up to 800 feet.)

The bombards were discovered by the British Army. Rather than allowing the secret arms cache to be seized by the Garda, however, the Brigade staff had arranged for one of their team to cross the border to examine and sabotage the bombards. He sawed off safety pins inside the rocket bodies, making them unsuitable and likely to explode on rough handling. The aim of

this sabotage was another 'kill' against the IRA — an 'own goal'.

After picking up the bombards, McQuaid was (unknown to him) under surveillance. The watchers may have expected him to be killed as he loaded the rockets. But he set off towards Newry — now a live bomb on a public road; and a lethal hazard to the public as well as to himself. A roadblock was set up to intercept him, with an Army team kept well back from the area for its own safety. On reaching the roadblock, McQuaid turned and fled back towards the Republic. At that point one of the sabotaged bombards, fixed below his petrol tank, exploded.

McQuaid died about 100 yards from Donnelly's garage, just north of the border on the main Belfast-Dublin road. An eyewitness at this spot heard the explosion and came out of a house in which he was working. McQuaid's severed head, still in a motorcycle helmet, lay at the foot of a tree, a small trickle of blood coming from his nose. Other parts of his body and bike were hanging from the tree, and scattered across the pavement and a nearby field. Army officers arrived on the scene extremely quickly, confirming Holroyd's report that the check-point had caused the motorcyclist to turn round and try to retreat across the border. One officer came up to the tree where McQuaid's head lay, and picked up a handful of guts. 'That's an end of another of you fucking bastards', he said.

The eye-witnesses evidence of the Army's grim satisfaction at the incident confirms Holroyd's recollections — as did the coroner's report, which ascribed his death to the sudden explosion of one of the rockets he was carrying. The Army had in fact in effect summarily executed Eugene McQuaid without trial, recklessly putting many innocent lives at great risk.

Sabotage and bank raids

Captain Holroyd frequently operated on behalf of SIS, the Secret Intelligence Service. Holroyd worked directly for Northern Ireland's SIS chief, whose special department at Army HQ at Lisburn is disguised as the 'Political Secretariat'. At the time, it was headed by Craig Smellie, who left in 1975 to run the SIS station in Athens.

Soon after they first met, Smellie asked Holroyd if he would be interested in robbing a bank. He did not explain why — or where — SIS might want banks robbed. Holroyd refused and could only think, then or later, of two reasons why SIS wanted banks robbed — either they were short of money in their 'unattributable' funds which they used to pay for agents and secret operations; or the Littlejohn brothers, who were then robbing banks in Eire and working for British intelligence at the same time, might have been thought to need closed

SIS supervision.

Holroyd, like other intelligence officers in the province, periodically used 'unattributable' funds for secret operations. They could be released by a few senior officers at the Northern Ireland Army HQ, including Smellie.

During 1974, Holroyd met Smellie at Lisburn about once a month. From an agent in the Provisional IRA, Holroyd and his Special Branch colleagues learned that an active local IRA man in Lurgan was planning to kill a policeman the following Sunday. Holroyd knew where the rifle and ammunition to be used were hidden — inside a graveyard to the north of the Kilwilkie housing estate in Lurgan, one of the most dangerous Catholic 'hard areas' in the county and virtually an Army 'no go' area.

Rather than removing the weapons, or arresting anyone taking them, Smellie suggested that he would arrange 'to give the chap a bit of a surprise'. He asked Holroyd to bring him the top bullets from the clip of ammunition. He would arrange for the rounds to be doctored. Holroyd and Sergeant Dearsley retrieved the rounds and took them to Smellie. Two days later, Holroyd collected the doctored rounds. They had been filled with powerful explosive, instead of normal powder. When the trigger was pulled, the would-be-killer would blow his own head off.

But this SIS plan was never put into effect. The commander of the 3rd Brigade, Brigadier Wallis-King, resented SIS operating independently in his area and forbade Holroyd to plant the doctored bullets. So Holroyd and Dearsley made a further secret trip into Kilwilkie, and sabotaged the rifle's firing mechanism. The doctored round stayed in Holroyd's office.

When Dearsley left Northern Ireland late in 1974, Fred Holroyd was asked by Smellie to take over running his agents, both north and south. Holroyd was specifically instructed to pass the information from most of these agents directly to SIS on special 'Military Intelligence Source Reports'. In a series of specially made tape recordings, Holroyd was briefed by Dearsley about his new agents, how to contact them, and their foibles and requirements. The agents included three Gardai (Irish police), one of whom had been allocated a code-name. One of the more exotic of the agents also transferred to Holroyd was a Catholic woman from Lurgan who provided information on IRA activities in return for sexual favours from the Army. Every few weeks, on Holroyd's request, a sergeant from the local army company would muster volunteers from the unmarried men in his unit to come and provide unusual service for Queen and Country. □

NEXT WEEK: Forgery, train derailment, death threats, burglary, how the SAS really operate — and how Protestant killers have been protected from justice.

DIRTY WAR PART III

NEW STATESMAN
18 May 1984 Pg. 10-11

Terror tactics



Duncan Campbell with more revelations of 'dirty tricks' in Northern Ireland from Fred Holroyd, former British army intelligence officer

THE IRISH government this week ordered an investigation of the allegations by former military intelligence officer Captain Fred Holroyd of illegal activities in the Republic. Foreign Affairs Minister Jim O'Keefe told the Dail that the allegations made by Captain Holroyd in the *New Statesman* were grave; 'they were being examined by the Garda (police) authorities'. Mr O'Keefe added: 'We have been assured by the British authorities that the British government had no knowledge of the events that took place'.

Members of the Dail have been particularly concerned by accusations that Army officers planned and paid for illegal kidnap operations in the Republic in 1974; and murdered an IRA suspect there in 1975 (NS 4 and 11 May). Captain Holroyd has also alarmed Irish TDs (MPs) by revealing that certain members of the Irish Garda (police) were regarded as British agents. One particularly fruitful source — a detective in a border county — was known to the Secret Intelligence Service as 'The Badger'. In return for his help, 'The Badger' was supplied with Special Branch and Army reports and information about Protestant extremist activities in the North.

Death threats

Early in 1974, a 'Liaison Intelligence NCO' in the Army's 3rd Brigade in Northern Ireland, then based in Lurgan, admitted to Captain Holroyd that he had sent a 'death threat' letter enclosing a bullet to a Republican activist.

The practice of security personnel sending anonymous death threats was apparently common. Captain Holroyd himself admits that he sent such threat letters to Protestant extremists in Portadown, hoping to inhibit their activities. Holroyd now regrets this behaviour — but the case we have investigated and confirmed was far more serious. The target was an innocent political activist, not a convicted terrorist and the bullet sent through the post (itself an idiotically dangerous act) led directly to charges being brought against an innocent third party.

In May 1972, Mr Charles Sweeney, a civil rights activist living in Craigavon, near Lurgan, received the death threat letter. It contained a live 0.32" round of ammunition — a type seldom used by the Army. But Staff Sergeant Bernard 'Bunny' Dearsley — the NCO involved — could, as an undercover operative,

be specially issued with a small and easily concealed Walther PPK pistol, which used such specialist ammunition.

'Get out of the area and stay out', the letter warned Sweeney, or 'the next bullet will not be delivered in an envelope'. Although purportedly signed by the Provisional IRA, it stressed that Mr Sweeney's alleged offence was provoking 'serious sectarian (sic) conflict'.

The bullet was, rather surprisingly, discovered by the Post Office during letter sorting, but was merely resealed with official tape and delivered — bullet and all — to Charles Sweeney. This strongly suggest official complicity in allowing the live ammunition to be passed on.

Terrified by the letter, Sweeney turned for help to Mrs Bernadette O'Hagan of Lurgan. A likeable and active local Republican, she was the wife of Joe B. O'Hagan, then the quartermaster of the Provisional IRA. Mrs O'Hagan put the letter in a spare handbag. After contacting her husband, she was able to assure Sweeney that the IRA was not out to get him. Sweeney was never threatened again, but in 1973 decided to leave Craigavon and return to his previous home in Scotland.

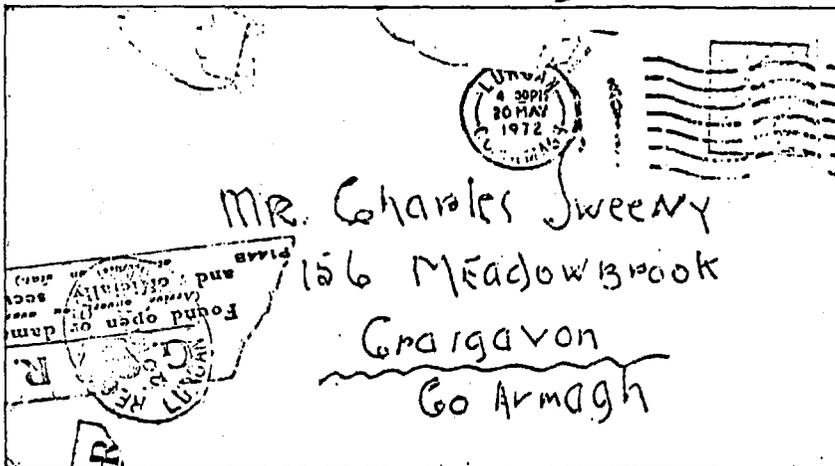
In April 1974, Mrs O'Hagan's house was raided and searched by the Army. The bullet was found; and Mrs O'Hagan and her son Kevin charged with illegal possession of ammunition. The charges covered both the 0.32" round and rifle magazines, allegedly found at the same time in the garden yard (which appear to have been planted during the search). The 0.32" round was still with the threat letter in the resealed envelope. Mrs O'Hagan and Kevin — then a student in England, who despite his family connections has never been suspected of joining the IRA — were both remanded in custody. An appeal court later freed them.

Soon after Mrs O'Hagan was arrested, Holroyd was told by Dearsley that she was being held on a false charge — and that he had sent the threat letter on the instructions of the Brigade intelligence staff.

The letter (see illustration) is still in the possession of the RUC, who showed it to Holroyd last May. He says he is 'positive' that the threat note was written by Dearsley. Holroyd was familiar with Dearsley's handwriting — which was so bad that he wrote infrequently. Holroyd often had to copy or transcribe his written reports for him.

Sergeant Dearsley's widow confirms that Dearsley, who died in 1977, seldom wrote, and then only badly — but she is certain that the writing in the letter is not her late husband's — 'unless he was trying to disguise it'. Unfortun-

Do not go near the security force's
with this. We're watching you.
The bullet is our signature.
PROVO RULE



Death threat letter: sent by the army, enclosing a bullet, to Catholic civil rights activist. Above: Captain Fred Holroyd, long-haired and bearded as undercover intelligence officer in Portadown.

TERROR TACTICS...Continued

ately, no samples of his writing have survived for comparison. Holroyd stresses that Dearsley, who was ill-rewarded by the Army for his courageous service, was ill at ease when accepting orders to carry out such 'dirty tricks'.

Forging and burglary

For at least two years, Army intelligence staff systematically forged press passes, bearing the name of plausible — yet fictitious — international press agencies. Journalists' lives were directly put at risk by the secret operation.

A year ago, RUC detectives — who have now sent a report to the Director of Public Prosecutions on all of Holroyd's allegations — told him that the Ministry of Defence accepted this allegation. But they claimed that the practice had been stopped in March 1976, after Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason admitted to Parliament that Army public relations officers had used such 'unauthorised' cards. Holroyd's revelations now confirm what many journalists suspected at the time — that the use of forged press credentials was widespread among undercover intelligence staff. (Such Army forgery became so widespread that in the autumn of 1975 the Provisional IRA in South Armagh announced that the safety of journalists in the area could no longer be guaranteed.)

Holroyd first came across the forged credentials in 1974, in a discussion with Warrant Officer Eric Hollis, who worked in the intelligence 'cell' at the Army's 3rd Brigade headquarters in Lurgan. Hollis asked Holroyd to assist him; how, he asked, did one spell 'international' in French. Hollis then showed Holroyd his forgery project — a fake press card for a Paris-based 'International Press Federation' — which he was then assembling using Letraset.

Hollis explained that other Army staff would use it for undercover work. After he finished, it would be 'printed up', and the cards then taken to Northern Ireland Army headquarters at Lisburn, where an encapsulating machine had recently been installed. This, Hollis suggested, would make the cards look convincing.

Questioned last year by RUC detectives, Warrant Officer Hollis reportedly admitted that he had been involved in forging press cards. Their design had been based on an out-of-date Spanish card which had fallen into Army hands. But, said Detective Superintendent George Caskey, heading the RUC team, Hollis had blamed Holroyd for suggesting the forgery idea in the first place. The Ministry of Defence has refused to comment, or allow officers to be interviewed, pending a decision by the DPP.

The RUC also appears to have accepted Holroyd's account of 'official' burglaries. When the Army wanted to discover more about the contents of a house under surveillance, they called in the specialist services of an expert from the Army Intelligence Centre at Ashford, Kent. Here, an elite team of British government burglars is based. During his own training at

Ashford, Holroyd was given an introductory course in lock-picking and safe-blowing. His tutor was Captain Lock (sic), whom Holroyd later met on operations in Ireland. The lock-picking course was held in a section of the Ashford barracks, entered through a door made up to resemble No 10, Downing Street.

Holroyd's account of the Intelligence Centre's specialist burglary team is confirmed by other, more senior former Army officers, who have attended similar courses. One officer who underwent an anti-terrorist training course in the early 1970s, at Gosport, Hants (see NS 15 February 1980) was required to graduate by carrying out a mock terrorist attack in the Southampton area. His team planted a simulated plastic explosive bomb inside a water pumping station.

Captain Lock, the 'covert entry' specialist whom Holroyd regularly encountered in Lisburn, broke into both Protestant and Catholic targets. One target house was by the shore of Lough Neagh, where it was suspected that IRA arms bound for Belfast arrived by boat. Protestant targets included 'at least a dozen' loyalist Orange Lodges. Assisted by a Sergeant Drew Coid, a Special Branch colleague of Holroyd, Lock's burglaries enabled intelligence staff to discover the extent of the Protestant arms caches in the Lodges.

The RUC team investigating Holroyd's allegations has not denied that officially approved burglars were employed in this way. But they told Holroyd last May that Lock, now retired from the Army, was secretly employed overseas 'in the interests of national security'.

Train derailed

Early in the morning of 8 November 1974, Fred Holroyd was present in Portadown police



The train, derailed by the army according to Holroyd, on a bridge in a 'hard' Catholic area of Portadown station. Army and police officers were deciding urgently how to deal with a hijacked train, believed to be carrying a bomb. An Army team decided recklessly to derail the train in Portadown. If a bomb went off there, it would do heavy damage to a small and tightly knit Catholic district.

Two hours earlier, the Provisional IRA had stopped the morning newspaper train between Dublin and Belfast. They then set the

locomotive to run on maximum speed and driverless into central Belfast. There was a chance that the train — travelling at up to 100 mph — would derail in Portadown anyway, as it entered the longest bend on the Dublin-Belfast route.

Among those at the emergency meeting were Sergeant Drew Coid of the Portadown Special Branch — Holroyd's closest colleague — and Captain Peter Maynard, the Army 3rd Brigade's explosives expert, together with his team. For some unexplained reason SAS Captains Tony Ball and Robert Nairac were also present, in plainclothes. Another Army intelligence specialist, who served in the 3rd Brigade area with Holroyd, says that in fact the train was stopped before it reached Portadown — and then restarted so that the SAS derailment plot could be carried out.

Half an hour before the train was expected at Portadown, all but Holroyd left for the railway station. There signalman Robert Milne had a private plan to stop the train by diverting it into a siding. He was, however, ordered to leave his signal cabin and did not see anything until the final moment of derailment.

The driverless train entered the long Portadown bend at speed, ran over the points where Mr Milne had hoped to switch it to the siding, successfully negotiated the bend — but then, as it entered the straight section again, suddenly came off the rails. It tumbled towards the Obins Street houses and came to rest lying on its side over a bridge known as 'The Tunnel' connecting the Obins Street area with Portadown's commercial district.

Captain Holroyd heard of the derailment soon afterwards, when Sergeant Coid and Captain Maynard returned to the police station. They told him that they had deliberately blown the train off the rails. Coid hoped that a near disaster for the Catholic community of Obins Street would deter us of train bombs in future. 'That'll teach them', said Coid. 'They won't send another train up here again. It the Catholics who have suffered this time'.

Holroyd went to inspect the scene for himself. By then the Army knew there was no bomb on board. But the local community did not know — and so, the southern end of the Obins Street area was evacuated, allegedly for 'safety reasons'. In fact, a detailed covert house-to-house search was carried, when the occupants had gone. The searchers found IRA and INLA flags, republican literature but no weaponry.

Locals remember the train crash and evacuation well. On the television news that evening, Merlyn Rees, Northern Ireland Secretary, was shown being briefed by the Army on the progress of the evacuation.

During an interview with Captain Holroyd last May, the RUC tacitly acknowledged the deliberate derailment. They pointed out that no one was injured — and that otherwise a bomb might have gone off in Belfast. The RUC also claimed that Captain Maynard denied taking any part in deliberate derailment. □

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PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: 1982

International terrorism continued as a serious problem in 1982. In particular, the volatile situation in the Middle East, the instability in Central America, and the intensifying opposition to US and NATO policies in Western Europe generated significant terrorist activity. In many cases, subnational groups seeking political change were responsible. In addition, some states—particularly in the Middle East—continued to conduct or sponsor terrorism as a means of achieving national policy objectives. On the positive side, major counterterrorism successes in Italy and West Germany markedly reduced—at least for the short term—both the capabilities and the activities of two major leftist West European terrorist groups—the Red Brigades (BR) and the Red Army Faction (RAF).

The Year in Brief

In 1982 we recorded 794 international terrorist incidents,¹ the second-highest annual total since we began keeping records in 1968.² Nearly one-third of the total number of incidents, however, were threats that for one reason or another were never put into action. The number of actual recorded terrorist attacks—bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, hostage takings, and the like—was 8 percent lower than the previous year. In 1982, as in most years, international terrorist actions against Americans remained high, nearly equaling the previous high recorded in 1978.

¹ Because of the nature of terrorism, many details involving international terrorist incidents inevitably escape our attention. Our data tend to emphasize incidents involving US citizens and facilities. For these reasons, the statistics in this report should be regarded as approximations chiefly useful in determining levels of magnitude and configurations of activity.

² The largest number of recorded incidents (838), which occurred in 1978, was disproportionately high because of the violence accompanying the Iranian revolution and the deposal of the Shah.

Types of Attacks. International terrorists continued to utilize a wide variety of methods to achieve their goals, but bombings were the most common, accounting for 42 percent of the total number of incidents last year. The number of kidnappings increased over the previous year, while the number of hostage takings, armed attacks, and assassinations declined. Even so, the pattern of killings remained a serious problem. At least 140 people were killed last year as a direct result of international terrorist actions, bringing to more than 3,500 the total number killed since the beginning of 1973.

Types of Victims. Diplomats were the primary target, accounting for 54 percent of all victims last year. This was largely because of the continuing practice by certain states of sponsoring terrorist attacks against official representatives of adversary countries. Corporate officials—mostly Americans in Latin America—and military personnel accounted for another 31 percent of the victims.

As in past years US citizens were the primary target of international terrorists. Of the total number of incidents in 1982 involving individuals, nearly half were against US nationals (table 1). Other countries whose citizens were often victims included Turkey, Israel, France, Yugoslavia, and West Germany. Less than 2 percent involved Soviet nationals.

The 954 casualties produced by terrorist incidents during 1982 were slightly fewer than the 1,009 recorded in 1981, and substantially fewer than the 1,709 recorded in 1980. The 140 recorded deaths is the lowest figure for any year since 1973.

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Figure 1
International Terrorist Incidents, 1973-82

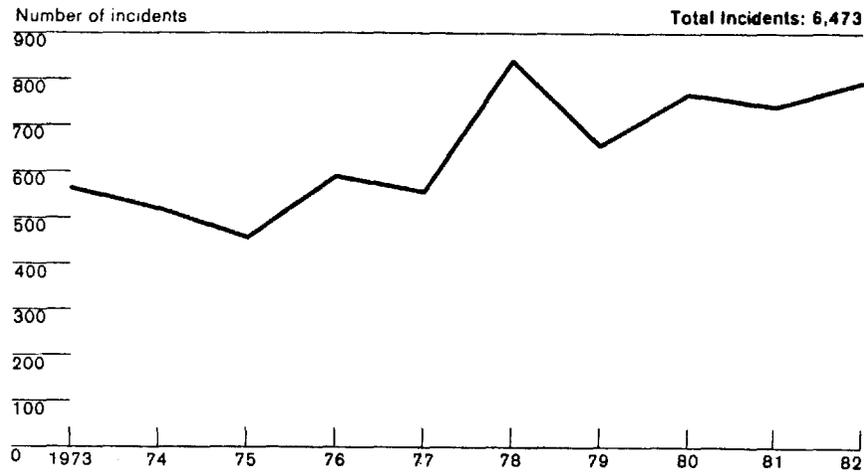


Table 1
International Terrorist Incidents Against
US Citizens and Property, 1973-82, by Type of Event

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	Total
Total	224	187	162	217	183	371	236	272	257	401	2,510
Kidnaping	22	14	23	9	6	8	8	9	9	7	115
Barricade-hostage	3	2	1	2	2	0	6	6	1	3	26
Bombing	106	130	94	112	125	158	115	95	93	168	1,196
Armed attack	8	6	7	8	5	12	7	11	6	3	73
Hijacking	0	1	2	5	4	2	12	20	18	10	74
Assassination *	4	2	8	14	6	7	9	14	15	8	87
Sniping	0	3	1	6	8	7	20	9	9	7	70
Threat, hoax	75	19	18	53	23	159	47	74	82	177	727
Other	6	10	8	8	4	18	12	34	24	18	142

* Includes attempts.

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Figure 2
Casualties Resulting From International Terrorist Attacks, 1973-82

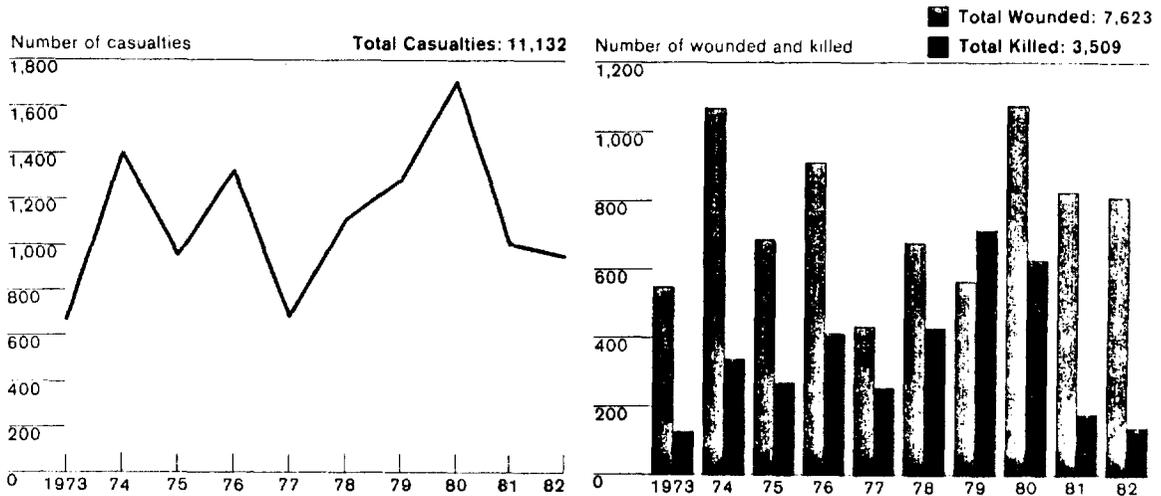


Table 2
Regional Distribution of International Terrorist Incidents Against US Citizens and Property, 1982, by Type of Event

	North America	Latin America	Western Europe	USSR/ Eastern Europe	Africa	Middle East	Asia	Other	Total
Total	14	106	189	7	5	44	35	1	401
Kidnaping	0	1	0	0	1	3	2	0	7
Barricade-hostage	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Bombing	4	32	115	2	2	4	9	0	168
Armed attack	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Hijacking	4	1	0	0	0	1	4	0	10
Assassination *	0	1	4	0	1	1	1	0	8
Sniping	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
Threat, hoax	4	59	60	4	1	31	18	0	177
Other	0	8	5	1	0	2	1	1	18

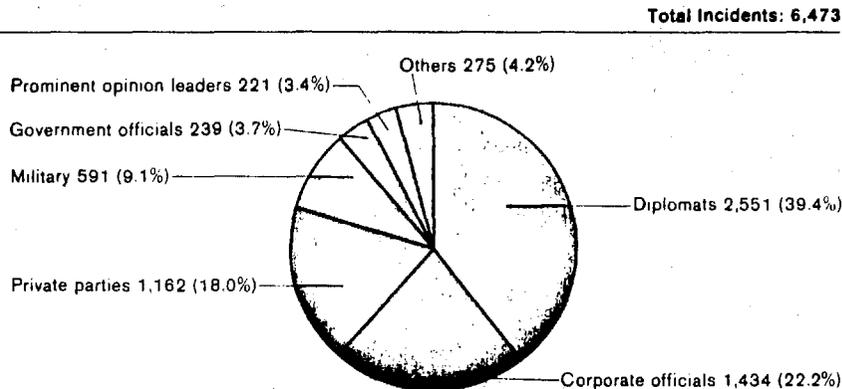
* Includes attempts.

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Figure 3
Type of Victim of International Terrorist Incidents,
1973-82



Terrorist Groups. The number of groups responsible for international terrorist incidents has increased markedly since the beginning of the 1970s. For example, only 61 groups claimed credit in 1970, as compared with 125 in 1982.³ Although the number of groups claiming credit for incidents represent 75 different nationalities, West Germans, Central Americans, Armenians, and Palestinians were responsible for the majority of incidents. The following six groups perpetrated approximately 70 (roughly 18 percent) of the terrorist attacks recorded in 1982, including numerous bombings, assassinations (as well as attempts), arson attacks, and other events of high consequence:

- **Revolutionary Cells (RZ).** The largest number of attacks in West Germany were claimed by the RZ, an indigenous leftist group composed of small semiautonomous cells that links its terrorist activities to both local and national issues, such as the US and NATO presence in

³ These numbers should be viewed with the following in mind: some terrorist groups develop cover names to avoid blame for particular actions; others use them to create the illusion of a broader base of support; still others use special names to commemorate an anniversary or honor a fallen comrade. Occasionally, nongroup members use special names to mislead authorities. Not infrequently, several groups (or individuals pretending to represent subnational groups) claim credit for the same operation.

West Germany and the increasing anti-nuclear sentiment evident there. In a letter acknowledging its responsibility for an explosive attack on the American Memorial Library in West Berlin in April 1982, the RZ called for, among other things, an end to US imperialism, a halt in the construction of a new runway at the Frankfurt airport, and nonintervention in El Salvador.

- **The Popular Revolutionary Forces—Lorenzo Zelaya (FPR).** The Marxist-Leninist, "anti-imperialist" FPR is the most active terrorist group in Honduras. Its principal targets are foreign diplomatic facilities and commercial interests. The FPR claimed responsibility, for example, for several bombings in August 1982, which resulted in damage to US, UK, and Salvadoran facilities in Honduras.
- **The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA).** This pro-Soviet nationalist organization carried out more international terrorist incidents in 1982 than any other terrorist group. ASALA claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt in April 1982 on the commercial officer of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa. This attack was typical of ASALA targeting, although the group also attacks non-Turkish interests in retaliation for the arrest of its members.

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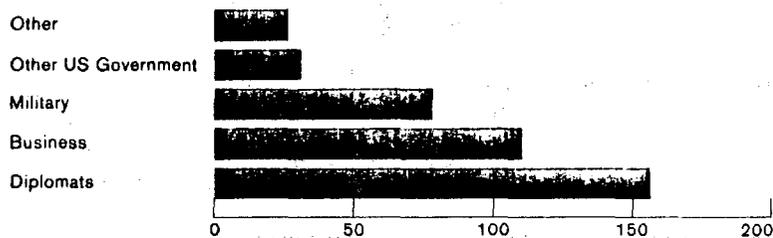
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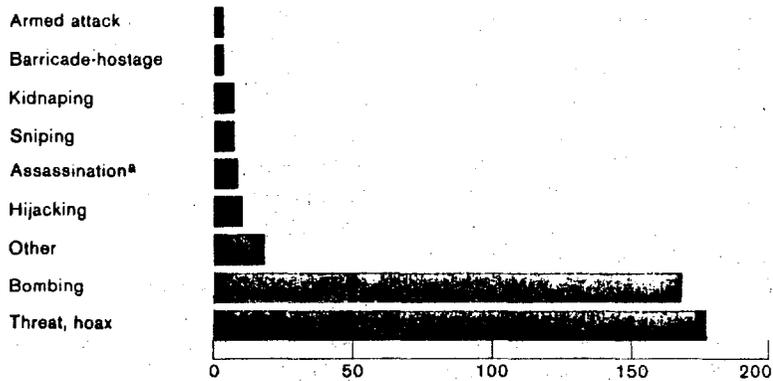
Figure 4
International Terrorist Incidents Against US
Citizens and Property, 1982

Number of incidents Total Incidents: 401

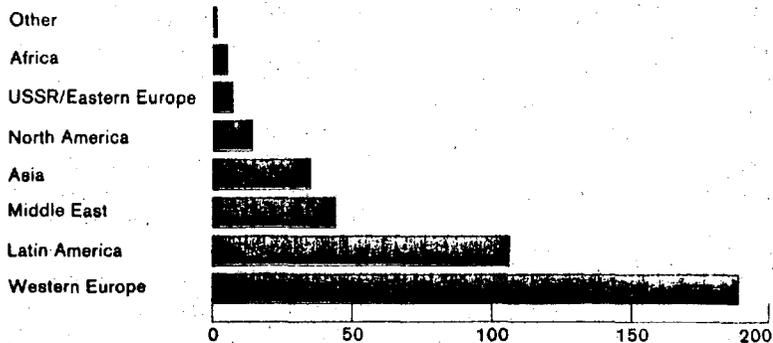
By Type of Target



By Type of Event



By Region



^aIncludes attempts.

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- **Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide (JCAG).** This rightist Armenian ultranationalist group targets only Turkish interests. Its goals are similar to those of ASALA. Apparently responsible for the deaths of more than a dozen Turkish officials in recent years, JCAG claimed responsibility for the assassination in January 1982 of the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles.
- **Black June Organization (BJO).** Also known as the Fatah Revolutionary Council or the Abu Nidal Group (from the war name of its leader), this radical Palestinian group is opposed to a negotiated settlement with Israel and to the policies espoused by Yasir Arafat and the moderate Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The BJO receives support from both Iraq and Syria. In addition to Israelis and Jews, its targets have included enemies of its patron governments as well as moderate Palestinians and others who have espoused diplomacy as a means toward a Middle East settlement. The BJO has been linked to the assassination in September 1982 of the first secretary of the Kuwait Embassy in Madrid, allegedly in retaliation for the lack of active support by Kuwait of Palestinian interests in Lebanon. The BJO was also responsible for the June 1982 assassination attempt against Israel's Ambassador to Great Britain.
- **15 May Organization.** This rejectionist Palestinian group, supported by Iraq, conducts attacks mainly against Israeli targets. It claimed responsibility for the bombing of an Israeli-owned restaurant in West Berlin in January 1982 that killed one and wounded 24 others.

Regional Patterns

International terrorism has increasingly become a global problem. Figures for 1982 confirm the trend toward a greater geographic spread: In 1973, 71 countries experienced terrorism; in 1982, 87 countries were affected. Notwithstanding this trend, some countries—especially totalitarian states like the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba—have remained relatively free of terrorism, international and domestic. Con-

versely, in the Western democracies international terrorism is more widespread. More than one-third of international terrorist incidents recorded in 1982 occurred in four democratic countries: West Germany (15 percent), Italy (7 percent), France (7 percent), and the United States (6 percent). Not surprisingly, Western Europe accounted for almost half (43 percent) of the international terrorist incidents recorded. Latin America followed with 22 percent and the Middle East with 15 percent.

Western Europe. The 343 international terrorist incidents in Western Europe recorded in 1982 were far more than in any previous year. A number of these incidents were related to the spring 1982 visit of President Reagan to several Western European nations. For example, a bomb planted by the ultraleftist French group Action Directe exploded at the American School in suburban Paris in early June, highlighting its call for mass demonstrations against the US Presidential visit. Several attacks on US-owned commercial facilities in Italy were also claimed by leftist groups protesting the presidential visit.

The largest number of international terrorist attacks in Western Europe during 1982 occurred in West Germany, reflecting increased militance on the part of both left-wing and rightwing extremists. Major issues exercising the West German terrorists included West German participation in NATO, NATO policies in the region (particularly nuclear policies), and US support of Israel. The RZ, a leftist group responsible for many of the attacks, deliberately avoided causing casualties. By contrast, the right-extremist Kexel-Hepp Group targeted US servicemen and their dependents; the group's bombs seriously injured two US servicemen in December.

During 1982, as in past years, several terrorist groups mounted attacks in France. Some involved exceptional violence resulting in numerous deaths and injuries. Two bomb explosions—one aboard the Paris-Toulouse express train in March and the other in a car on a Paris street in April—together killed six people and injured 87. A number of anti-Semitic attacks occurred in Paris, including the assassination in April of Yacov Barsimantov, an Israeli diplomat, claimed by the

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Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (LARF), and a grenade and machinegun attack in August against the Jo Goldenberg restaurant and a nearby synagogue. The latter killed six persons (including two Americans) and injured 27 (including two Americans).

In Greece, the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) continued its campaign to eliminate US presence there by carrying out bombing attacks against US military and commercial facilities and on vehicles belonging to US service personnel. ELA acknowledged responsibility for the detonation in June 1982 of five explosive devices in Athens in protest of the visit of US Gen. Bernard Rogers, the NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

In Northern Ireland the militance of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) is well known, although these organizations do not limit their operations to Northern Ireland. In 1982, for example, PIRA claimed credit for setting off bombs in two London parks on 20 July. The first exploded in an automobile as a detachment of the Queen's household cavalry passed by; the other detonated under a bandstand occupied by a British military band. Together the explosions killed 11 people and injured many more.

In Western Europe—indeed, in most parts of the world—there are many more domestic terrorist incidents than international incidents each year. Groups involved in international terrorism such as the RZ in West Germany and the BR in Italy also commit numerous domestic acts for each one involving foreigners. Other groups engage almost exclusively in domestic terrorism. In Spain, for example, terrorists associated with the Marxist-Leninist separatist movement, Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA), for years have directed a campaign of violence against Spanish Government personnel and moderate Basques. In France, authorities have their hands full with the militant separatist movement, the National Front for the Liberation of Corsica (FLNC).

Latin America. In 1982 we recorded 172 international terrorist incidents in Latin

America, the second-highest figure for this region during the past 10 years. In Central America the number remained roughly the same as in 1981, while in South America it increased by more than 16 percent.

International terrorism is only part of the story in South America, where terrorist activity is generally rural based and indigenous, seldom crossing national borders. Among the most active of terrorist groups in 1982 was the Colombian April 19 Movement (M-19), an ardently nationalistic group that espouses "scientific socialism." Although many of its actions fall into the category of domestic terrorism, it has often targeted foreign nationals and facilities, including those of the United States. In March 1982 a grenade and a dynamite bomb were thrown into the Salvadoran Embassy compound by M-19 members claiming solidarity with the leftist Salvadoran Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

In Peru, the Maoist group Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) strives to facilitate the overthrow of the Peruvian Government through an escalating campaign of rural and urban violence, principally directed in 1982 against nonmilitary targets. Numerous attacks against a variety of domestic targets, including government buildings, communications towers, police posts, and Civil Guards, were attributed to the Shining Path in 1982. It also targets foreign facilities and was held responsible for an explosive attack in July 1982 against the US Embassy in Lima.

In Central America, social, economic, and political turmoil, exacerbated by a number of regional concerns, continued to form the backdrop for international and domestic terrorism. In El Salvador and Guatemala, for example, prolonged internal conflict is still characterized by terrorism conducted by leftist and rightist forces. As a byproduct of the Sandinista revolution, Nicaragua has provided safehaven and financial, logistic, and propaganda support to subversive elements in El Salvador and Honduras that conduct terrorist acts as part of their repertoire.

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The policies of nations external to the region also help shape the character of terrorism in Central America. Cuba and the Soviet Union continue to provide financial and logistic support and training to leftist forces in the area that conduct terrorist activity. US policy and increased US presence in Central America are often cited as

justification for terrorist attacks. During the hostage-barricade incident in the principal commercial city of San Pedro Sula in Honduras in September 1982, for example, among other demands, the terrorists called for the expulsion of US and other foreign military advisers from Honduras.

Figure 6
Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Incidents, 1973-82

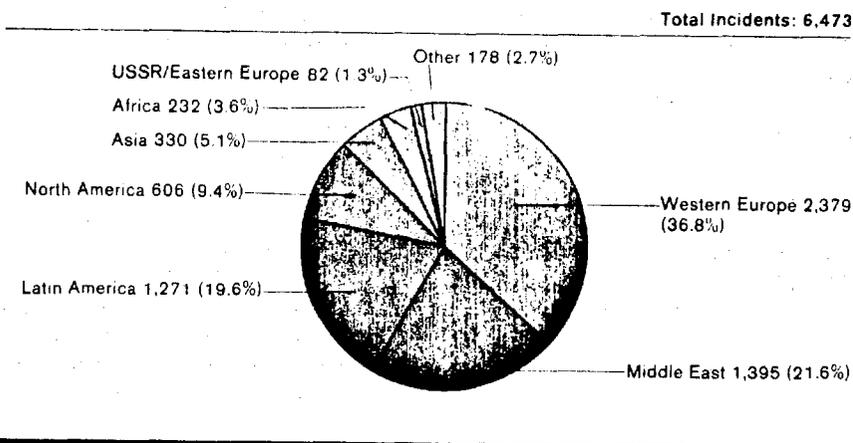


Table 3
Regional Distribution of International Terrorist Incidents, 1982, by Type of Event

	North America	Latin America	Western Europe	USSR/ Eastern Europe	Africa	Middle East	Asia	Pacific	Other	Total
Total	61	172	343	16	18	122	53	5	4	794
Kidnaping	0	12	1	0	5	10	3	0	0	31
Barricade-hostage	0	7	10	0	0	1	0	0	0	18
Bombing	24	58	203	3	3	28	15	3	0	337
Armed attack	0	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	7
Hijacking	4	5	0	7	1	6	7	0	0	30
Assassination *	5	2	21	1	6	6	4	1	0	46
Sniping	2	7	6	0	0	6	0	0	1	22
Threat, hoax	23	67	89	4	1	55	22	1	1	263
Other	3	10	12	1	2	8	2	0	2	40

* Includes attempts.

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Middle East. According to our records, 122 international terrorist incidents took place in 1982 in the Middle East. In addition, many terrorist incidents that took place far from the Middle East—in Western Europe, Latin America, and in North America—were motivated by events in the Middle East or conducted by operatives from that region.

The Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue spurred much of the terrorism, and Israeli, US, and moderate Palestinian interests were frequent victims. Numerous other incidents, however, resulted from intraregional strife. The government of Syria, for example, persisted in its terrorist campaign against the oppositionist Muslim Brotherhood, while Iran and Iraq exchanged terrorist attacks as part of their protracted war.

Throughout 1982, mainstream Palestinians in Al Fatah and other member groups of the PLO continued to adhere to the moratorium on international terrorism imposed by Chairman Yasir Arafat nearly a decade ago. This moratorium was designed to give Western diplomatic initiatives an opportunity to bear fruit. Extremist non-PLO terrorist groups such as Abu Nidal's BJO, however, have refused to comply with the ban and have at times used terrorism to undermine Arafat's diplomatic initiatives. On 3 June 1982, a BJO operative tried to assassinate the Israeli Ambassador in London; Israel cited this incident as justification for its invasion of Lebanon three days later, allegedly to destroy the PLO infrastructure. Following the incursion, Palestinian extremists and their supporters around the world retaliated with increased attacks against moderate Arabs and US targets in the latter half of the year.

International Terrorist Reversals in 1982

There were some major counterterrorism successes in 1982, particularly in Italy and West Germany. Experts differ, however, as to whether these successes by government authorities represent actual diminution in the strength of the terrorist organizations or merely temporary setbacks.

Italy. On 28 January, Italian authorities rescued US Gen. James Dozier from a safehouse in Padua. Dozier had been kidnaped from his Verona apartment by Red Brigades (BR) terrorists on 17 December 1981. The rescue was facilitated by information garnered after a January 1982 counterterrorist raid in Rome in which police made 10 arrests and uncovered ground-to-air missiles, bazookas, rocket-propelled grenades, and documents.

Italian counterterrorism programs in 1982 were successful largely because of the impact of legislation aimed at encouraging terrorists to turn state's evidence. Antonio Savasta, who had masterminded the kidnaping of General Dozier, received a reduced sentence because he provided Italian police with key information. Many "repentant" terrorists provided information incriminating others and leading to the discovery of safehouses, weapons caches, documents, and evidence indicative of planned future terrorist activities. By the end of the year, Italian police had reported the arrest of roughly 450 alleged BR and allied group members, and the Italian press had suggested that the terrorist recruitment process in Italy had been weakened, and that there was heightened suspicion between "repentants" and those who refused to cooperate with authorities.

West Germany. The Red Army Faction (RAF), a leftist terrorist group responsible for much of the violence that swept over West Germany during the last decade, was dealt a serious blow in 1982. In November, German officials arrested three of the organization's leading members—Adelheid Schulz, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, and Christian Klar—in stakeouts of RAF caches near Hamburg and Frankfurt. In addition to these arrests, more than a dozen caches of arms, documents, and supplies were uncovered along with photographs and other information identifying RAF members. Evidence from the caches indicated that the

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group had been planning attacks on US targets and West German politicians and that the group was most probably responsible for the assassination attempt on US Gen. Alexander Haig in Brussels in June 1979—an assessment based on the discovery of detailed plans for the operation in one of the caches. These were the most significant successes West German authorities had enjoyed against the RAF since the arrests in the early 1970s of the organization's founders. That the RAF was able to recover from the earlier blow is often cited as the chief reason it should not be counted out now.

German authorities also made considerable progress in countering rightwing terrorism last year. Police in Berlin confiscated guns, munitions, pamphlets, uniforms, and other supplies from the homes of suspected members of the German Workers Youth, a successor group to the People's Socialist Movement that was outlawed in January 1982 because of its neo-Nazi status. Officials stated that suspected group members had participated in maneuvers and apparently were forming a paramilitary organization.

State-Supported International Terrorism

In 1982 some countries continued to support international terrorist groups or engage in terrorist attacks to influence policies of other countries, to establish or strengthen regional or global influence, and, in some cases, to eliminate or terrorize dissident exiles and nationals from adversary countries. Since 1980 a large number of international terrorist attacks—primarily assassinations—have been carried out by and for governments. Such attacks have proved to be an efficient method of achieving limited goals with very little repercussion.

Our records for the past decade list 140 terrorist incidents conducted directly by national governments, but this figure almost certainly understates the importance of state-sponsored terrorism. Nearly 90 percent of the incidents occurred in 1980, 1981, and 1982, and more than one-third were assassinations or attempted assassi-

nations; this is nearly four times the percentage of assassinations among all non-state-sponsored terrorist incidents for the three-year period. Most of the targets of these state-sponsored incidents were foreign diplomats and prominent leaders; more than nine-tenths of the incidents occurred in Western Europe and the Middle East, and Middle Eastern terrorists were responsible in more than 85 percent of the cases.

Libya. Since the mid-1970s, support to terrorist groups—including provision of camps and other training facilities—has been an important element of Libya's foreign policy under Qadhafi. Libya has been linked by overwhelming evidence to terrorist attacks and assassinations in Western Europe, the United States, and the Middle East and is known to support terrorist groups and liberation movements worldwide. In March 1982 the United States imposed an embargo on Libyan oil imports and curbed high-technology exports to Libya, citing Qadhafi's influence over international terrorism.

Last October, Qadhafi publicly threatened violence against Libyan dissidents. Although some of Qadhafi's past threats against dissidents have been carried out by assassination squads, we have seen no evidence that Qadhafi's most recent threat has been implemented.

Syria. As a major supporter of radical Palestinian groups, Syria has provided training, logistic support, and use of diplomatic facilities to groups willing to do its bidding. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the displacement of Palestinians to Syria, Syria increased its influence over Palestinian terrorist groups such as the BJO. The Syrian Government has also been implicated in efforts to eliminate opposition elements abroad. After an April 1982 car bomb explosion in downtown Paris in front of the offices of a pro-Iraqi newspaper that had published a number of anti-Syrian articles, the government of France expelled two Syrian diplomats, and ordered its Ambassador to Syria home for consultations.

Target: USA

While the total number of recorded terrorist attacks worldwide declined from the previous year, anti-US violence increased in 1982. Excluding threats and hoaxes—which were more than double the 1981 figure—actual attacks against Americans numbered roughly as many as the previous high recorded in 1978. Seven Americans were killed last year.

Of 224 recorded attacks against US citizens and property about half were bombings in Western Europe. The number of attacks involving US interests in West Germany alone—primarily US military installations—was nearly twice the figure of the previous year. Illustrative of the problem was the 1 June 1982 attack by the Revolutionary Cells (RZ) on a number of US military and commercial facilities. The headquarters of the US Army V Corps in Frankfurt (a frequent terrorist target) was hit, as were the officers' clubs at US bases in Hanau, Gelnhausen, and Bamberg. In Duesseldorf, RZ bombs caused extensive damage to the lobby areas of offices of the IBM and Control Data Corporations.

The RZ and many other terrorist groups cite "anti-imperialist" motives in striking at US targets. The Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (LARF) claimed responsibility for the assassination in January 1982 of assistant US military attache Charles Ray in Paris, identifying him as an "imperialist military representative." In Spain, the First of October Group of Anti-Fascist Resistance (GRAPO) claimed credit in early August for explosive attacks that occurred outside the premises of a US bank in Madrid and a US department store in Barcelona, citing its "solidarity" with the Palestinian cause. There are other reasons for the frequency of attacks on US interests:

- US targets are numerous, varied, and accessible in most of the countries where terrorists are active.
- US policies are usually opposed and often inimical to the goals and interests of many terrorist groups.
- US support of the governments that terrorist groups are trying to destabilize or overthrow automatically puts Americans in the enemy's camp.

The Soviet Union and East European Activities Concerning Terrorism

The Soviet Union and its allies have provided training, arms, and other direct and indirect support to a variety of national insurgent and separatist groups. Many of these groups commit international terrorist attacks as part of their program of revolutionary violence. Moreover, some of the individuals trained and equipped by the Soviets make their way into strictly terrorist groups with little revolutionary history or potential.

Moscow continues to maintain close relations with and to furnish aid to governments and organizations that directly support terrorist groups. In the Middle East, for example, the Soviets sell large quantities of arms to Libya. The Soviets support Palestinian groups that conduct terrorist operations. In Latin America, the Soviet Union and Cuba appear to be pursuing a long-term coordinated campaign to establish sympathetic Latin American regimes. Part of this campaign involves nurturing organizations and groups that use terrorism in their efforts to undermine existing regimes. In other parts of the world, especially Africa, the Soviets have supported guerrilla movements and national liberation organizations, such as the African National Congress (ANC), that engage in terrorism.

According to press reports, Bulgaria and other East European countries sell large amounts of military equipment to Third World governments—some of which support international terrorism—and to private arms brokers. Some of this materiel is eventually acquired by groups that commit terrorist acts.

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South Yemen. While the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has not participated directly in international terrorist attacks, it has supported international terrorism since the late 1960s by providing camps and other training facilities for a number of leftist terrorist groups. In an effort to improve relations with neighboring moderate Arab states, South Yemen did reduce its support in late 1982 to North Yemeni and Omani insurgent groups that had engaged in terrorist activities in the past.

Iran. Consistent with its radical, anti-Western policies, its zeal for Islamic fundamentalism, and its widespread employment of terrorism within Iran itself, the Khomeini regime supports terrorist groups such as the Iraqi Islamic Revolutionary Council, a Shiite oppositionist group responsible for numerous bombings in Iraq. In a November 1982 press interview, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Baqer Hakim, spokesman of the Iraqi Islamic Revolutionary Supreme Assembly, named Iran as one of its primary financial backers. Many anti-Khomeini expatriates have alleged that the government tries to silence them through the use of death threats and similar terrorist tactics.

Iraq. The Iraqi Government has reduced support to non-Palestinian terrorists and placed restrictions on many Palestinian groups, thereby moving closer to the policies of its moderate Arab neighbors. However, in 1982 Iraq continued to provide a base for Abu Nidal's BJO, and there were strong allegations that it had rendered support to the Palestinian 15 May Organization.

Nicaragua. Nicaragua continues to support insurgent organizations in Central America that use acts of terrorism to embarrass, intimidate, and destabilize governments of neighboring countries. It pro-

vides, for example, considerable financial, logistic, and material support and sanctuary to Salvadoran rebels of the FMLN. During a press conference in the spring of 1983, Efrain Duarte Salgado, leader of the Honduran FPR, in detailing the extent of foreign influence over his group, specifically cited financial support by the Nicaraguan Government. In a statement to Costa Rican authorities concerning the July 1982 bombing of the Sahsa Airlines office in San Jose, the arrestee implicated three Nicaraguan diplomats in planning the bombing—perpetrated partly in retaliation for Honduran military assistance to El Salvador.

Cuba. In its efforts to promote armed revolution by leftist forces in Latin America, Cuba supports organizations and groups that use terrorism to undermine existing regimes. In cooperation with the Soviets, the Cubans have facilitated the movement of people and weapons into Central and South America and have directly provided funding, training, arms, safehaven, and advice to a wide variety of guerrilla groups and individual terrorists.

Manuel Pineiro Losada, head of the America Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, reaffirmed Cuban commitment to the revolutionary process—including support for groups that use terrorism—at the 1982 international theoretical conference. Pineiro stressed the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of the need "to destroy the repressive machinery of the state in order to achieve complete control and replace it with a new state." To this end he identified the timely use of arms as indispensable for the triumph of any liberating revolution. The conflict in El Salvador was cited as an example of a "creative revolutionary formula . . . applied in the use of arms."

Source: U.S. Department of State.

References: *Patterns of International Terrorism*, D&EWR, No. 4657, WORLD O-8, July 1981; D&EWR, No. 5156, WORLD OT1, 4 July 1983.

★

Terrorist Incidents

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 3 June 1984 Pg. 7

21 bombs trigger fears of more to come in Midwest

By Douglas Frantz
and Philip Wattlely

THE DISCOVERY of 21 small bombs in Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota has prompted warnings from federal and local authorities to residents in eight Midwestern states that more of the potentially lethal devices might be planted.

So far, bombs have been discovered in playgrounds, parking lots and shopping centers. Six people have suffered minor injuries, but authorities said the devices could cause serious harm.

The construction of the bombs has varied. The three earliest were built inside paper sacks, but the last 18 were more powerful bombs inside pieces of steel pipe about 6 inches long.

Some were designed to be triggered when they were picked up; others were set off by trip wires; and still others had electric circuits that would be completed when a dollar bill was pulled out.

A BOMB FOUND in Chicago was a bare steel pipe with a battery strapped to the side, while bombs baited with dollar bills in Milwaukee were wrapped in plain brown paper.

All are believed by authorities to be the work of a single person or a group.

Most have been concealed in public places, prompting authorities to warn citizens to be wary of any suspicious package or object, from an apparently empty sack to what may look like a bag of money.

"If you see any suspicious object, don't touch it, don't throw rocks at it, don't do anything except call your police department," said Peter

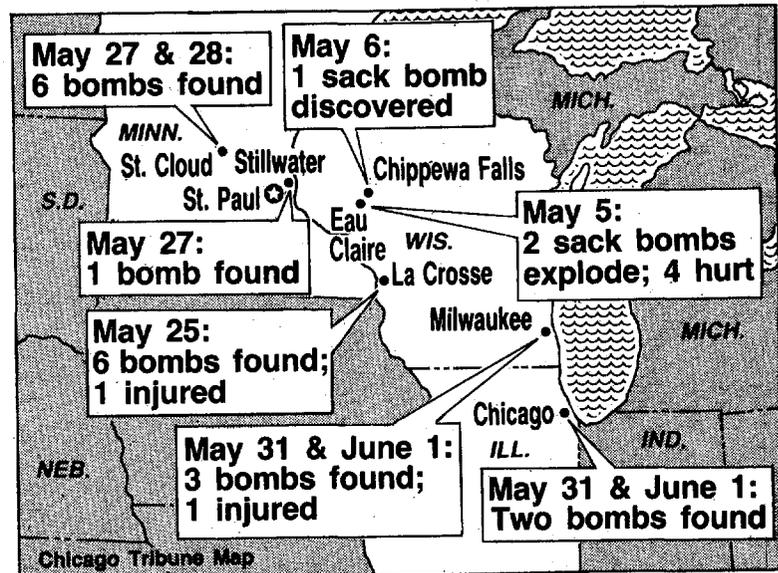
Mastin, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms [ATF] agent who is heading the federal investigation.

Mastin and other authorities said they fear more bombs will be discovered over the weekend, but they have been unable to come up with a suspect or a motive.

"We can't discount anything at this time, and we have to follow every lead, but we just don't have a suspect," said Mastin. "What we've got is a helluva mystery."

THE REMAINS of all 21 bombs are being tested by the ATF laboratory in Rockville, Md., to determine whether the bombs were made with the same material.

The strongest evidence of a link between the bombs is the virtually identical notes attached to many of the pipe bombs.



The notes read: "Violence by your North Central Gay Strike Force against public and police oppression." Some notes also listed eight states, which police believe are targets of the bomber or bombers: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota.

Police and members of the gay community say they have never heard of the "strike force," and some speculated that the bombs may be the work of an individual who is strongly antigay.

"It is conceivable that this violence is aimed at turning people away from the gay community and its recent progress," said Richard Wagner, cochairman of the Governor's Council for the Gay and Lesbian Community in Wisconsin.

WAGNER AND others speculated that the bombings may have started in Wisconsin because of the state's progress toward insuring gay rights.

Federal authorities and police in three states are piecing together a trail of bombs and fear that apparently started in Eau Claire, Wis.

On May 5, two paper sacks in the small Wisconsin town exploded when they were picked up, and four people suffered slight injuries from flying metal, said Inspector William Fesemaier of the Eau Claire police.

No notes were found with the Eau Claire bombs or with a similar sack bomb discovered the following day in Chippewa Falls, Wis.

Mastin said the sack bombs are considered part of the series, despite their differences with pipe bombs discovered in the last nine days.

ON FRIDAY, May 25, six powerful pipe bombs were discovered in La Crosse, Wis., including one hidden at the base of a slide in a playground and three with trip wires stretched across alleys off downtown streets.

One man was slightly injured when a bomb exploded as he opened the rear door of a Catholic church, said Michael Abraham, a La Crosse police detective. The other bombs were found by police before they went off.

The first notes claiming responsibility were found in La Crosse. Abraham said three bombs were accompanied by hand-scrawled notes in black ink that said the bombs were the work of the "North Central Gay Strike Force."

The pipe bombs were about 6 inches long and 1/2-inch in diameter and loaded with gunpowder, screws and nails. All were set to be triggered by trip wires.

ON SUNDAY, May 27, a cautious passerby saw what he believed was a trip wire hidden in some brush in Stillwater, Minn. He set off the bomb by throwing a rock at the wire, a tactic that authorities warn is dangerous.

Later Sunday and early Monday,

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

NEWSWEEK 11 June 1984 Pg. 38

The Midwest Hunts a Bomber

When she saw the crisp dollar bill on the ground in the Milwaukee Civic Center Plaza last week, Jill Binon, 22, quite logically bent to pick it up. The bill was attached to a paper bag wrapped around a cylindrical object—and turned out to be the cruel bait for a pipe bomb. Binon was lucky. The bomb misfired—flashing out like a rocket instead of exploding in a burst of shrapnel—and she suffered only minor fa-

Midwest in one week, and it was only by luck that nobody had been seriously hurt.

Several of the bombs came with notes signed by the "North Central Gay Strike Force Against Public and Police Oppression," an unknown group. Some gay leaders speculated that the bombs may be the work of antigay elements, though police pointed out that none of the cities where bombs have been discovered has experienced any recent

gay-rights debates or disturbances. In La Crosse, Wis., where six bombs were found, Police Chief William Reynolds said he was convinced that all of the devices were the product of one "spineless" loner. The loner apparently wanted to cause pain. Spraying metal screws when exploded, the bombs were designed to hurt people rather than property. One of the La Crosse bombs, discovered before it exploded, was planted at the bottom of a slide in a children's playground.

The police worried that more explosions seemed likely. Some notes indicated that the bomber also planned to strike randomly in Iowa, Michigan and Indiana. As investigators studied evidence confirming that the bombs were all made by one person, local authorities grew concerned that serious injuries would occur unless they turned up some solid leads soon. Last week there were still no witnesses—or suspects.



Gathering bomb shards in Milwaukee: A 'spineless' loner?

cial burns and a mild concussion. But the bomber was not through trying.

Hours later police found a second bomb near The Milwaukee Journal building. Soon after, two more were found in Chicago, one in a downtown parking lot and another in a stairwell of the Standard Oil Building. Including devices recently discovered in Wisconsin and Minnesota, that brought the total to 18 pipe bombs found across the

21 BOMBS...

Continued

six more bombs were discovered in St. Cloud, Minn. The first was found by a security guard in a shopping center, and a search of public areas turned up five more pipe bombs. St. Cloud police also found notes mentioning the "gay strike force."

At a press conference in St. Paul on Wednesday, authorities used a model bomb to demonstrate how easily the devices could be set off by a trip wire.

But the next bombs used a different device for detonation—money.

At 8 a.m. Thursday, a city worker picking up trash near the museum in Milwaukee's Civic Center Plaza noticed an object wrapped in paper with a dollar bill sticking out the end. As she pulled off the money, the object exploded.

The worker, Jill Binon, suffered minor burns. The object—a 6-inch piece of steel pipe—shot 25 feet and embedded in a tree. Nearby, authorities found another note attributing the bomb to "the gay strike force." Two more bombs baited with money were discovered on Thursday and

Friday by police.

"OBVIOUSLY, IN my opinion, these bombs are all the work of some deranged person," said Rudolph Will, deputy inspector of the Milwaukee Police Department.

The drama moved to Chicago later Thursday when an attendant at a parking lot at 111 W. Wacker Dr. found a 6-inch piece of pipe with a battery taped to it about 11:30 a.m. He picked it up and tossed it aside, thinking it was trash.

But after he told his boss about the battery, police were called and discovered that the pipe was another sophisticated bomb packed with explosives and metal objects.

"I guess I'm pretty lucky to have my fingers left," said the attendant, David Hanson, 20.

A similar bomb was discovered about 1 a.m. Friday in the stairwell between the 53d and 54th floors of the Standard Oil Building at 200 E. Randolph St. A note found near the Standard Oil bomb and one found later Friday in the parking lot on Wacker contained the same message as earlier notes.

LIKE THE Milwaukee dollar-bill bombs, the devices in Chicago were set to be detonated if a clip were removed to complete the electrical circuit. The Chicago bombs were packed with a low-grade explosive and metal objects. They were described as "shotgun bombs" because one end of the pipe was capped to force the metal to blow out the other end.

Federal experts said capping both ends would create a more dangerous bomb because the force of the explosion would be concentrated and the shrapnel would fly in all directions.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 2 June 1984 Pg. 5

Another bomb jolts Vegas Strip

Associated Press

LAS VEGAS, Nev. — A bomb exploded early yesterday in a parking lot on the Las Vegas Strip, police said, as a hotel strike entered its third month with growing dissension among thousands of pickets.

Officers said that the explosion, the latest in a series of bombings, occurred at 2:15 a.m. in the valet parking area near the front of the

Frontier Hotel. Two cars were damaged, but no injuries were reported.

Minutes after the explosion, a caller told an operator at Centel Telephone Co. that he had blown up the Frontier and that entertainers Siegfried and Roy would be the next targets, police said. The popular illusionists resumed their show at the Frontier on Thursday night while 100 strikers chanted and threatened to reveal the pair's trade secrets.

The explosion was the latest in a series of bombings since the strike began April 1. In April a bomb caused \$20,000 damage to a swimming pool at the MGM Grand Hotel. On Sunday a bomb detonated at the Tropicana Hotel, damaging nine cars. Also, a rash of smoke and stink bombs was set off during the Memorial Day holiday.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 30 May 1984 Pg. 1

U.S. Suspects Soviets Ordered Envoy Beaten

By ROBERT GILLETTE,
Times Staff Writer

MOSCOW—An American diplomat was attacked and beaten by several unidentified men in Leningrad last month in an assault that U.S. officials believe was organized by Soviet authorities in an atmosphere of increasingly cold relations with the United States.

The diplomat, Ronald A. Harms, was not seriously injured in the attack, which was said to have occurred April 17. According to sources familiar with the incident, the State Department and the U.S. Embassy vigorously protested to Soviet officials in Washington and Moscow. The assault on the diplomat was not publicly disclosed.

According to the sources, who asked not to be identified, the incident occurred as Harms, one of a dozen American diplomats serving in the U.S. Consulate in Leningrad, left a restaurant where he had met with a Soviet acquaintance.

Several unidentified men in civilian clothes were said to have surrounded the 35-year-old diplomat on the sidewalk, beating him in plain view of passers-by. Harms immediately hailed a uniformed police officer to report the attack, but the officer is said to have shown little interest.

According to the sources, the police officer asked Harms whether he had struck back at his assailants. When told he had not, the officer replied, "It's a good thing you didn't."

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow confirmed that details of the account were "substantially correct," but he declined to elaborate, saying that "we felt it would not be appropriate to go public with this incident." Harms could not be reached for comment.

Harms has served since October, 1982, at the consulate in Leningrad, where his duties include the sensitive—and, to the Soviets, unwelcome—task of following human rights issues. Both Harms and his wife, Norma, hold the rank of consul in Leningrad, the country's second-largest city and the only U.S. outpost in the Soviet Union outside of Moscow.

The assault is believed to be the first such attack here on an American diplomat since 1981, when Daniel Fried, a vice-consul in Leningrad, was beaten in one of the city's subway stations.

Fried was also assigned to the human rights post in Leningrad. In the official Soviet view, Westerners who maintain contacts with religious or political dissidents in the Soviet Union do so for the purpose of fomenting subversion and eliciting "slander" of the Soviet system.

Western diplomats note that in the relative isolation of Leningrad, 400 miles north of Moscow, Soviet police and KGB agents have long operated with a freer hand against the small community of foreign diplomats. Surveillance of diplomats and the occasional traveling correspondent is more intense and obvious in Leningrad than Moscow, and instances of petty harassment—from police detention to minor vandalism of foreign cars—tend to be more frequent.

Last August, the Soviets expelled a vice consul at the U.S. Consulate in Leningrad after accusing him of spying. A month later, State Department spokesman Alan Romberg disclosed that the United States had protested what he called the "physical maltreatment" of the diplomat, Lon David Augustenborg, and his wife Denise, before their expulsion. Romberg did not elaborate.

The Soviet Union regularly and publicly protests incidents involving its own diplomats in the United States, invariably branding them as terrorism perpetrated by American authorities. Last Feb. 24, the official Tass news agency said, three sticks of dynamite were thrown into the housing compound of the Soviet mission to the United Nations in New York, destroying one car and damaging two others.

Attributing the attack to the Jewish Defense League, Tass said the State Department had ignored a telephone warning and "in so doing actually connives at the perpetration of such acts of terrorism."

The assault on the U.S. diplomat in Leningrad occurred amid increasingly shrill press attacks on the United States, punctuated earlier this month by the Olympic boycott, as Moscow has turned a cold shoulder on overtures from the Reagan Administration for renewed talks on nuclear arms control.

Three American diplomats in Moscow who follow human rights

NEW YORK TIMES

31 May 1984 Pg. 10

U.S. ASSAILS SOVIET ON ENVOY ASSAULT

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 30 — The State Department has filed a formal protest with the Soviet Union about an assault on an American diplomat in Leningrad by several young men last month, officials of the department said today.

The officials said a "strong protest" was lodged in both Washington and Moscow over the April 17 attack on Ronald Harms, a United States Consul in Leningrad.

John Hughes, the State Department spokesman, said Mr. Harms was punched by a group of unidentified assailants after leaving a restaurant in downtown Leningrad.

Mr. Hughes said the protests over the April 17 incident were not publicized because the State Department has a "standard practice" against doing so in order to protect the security of the diplomats involved.

There has been no Soviet response to the protest nor has there been any sign that those responsible were apprehended, a State Department official said.

The State Department says it does not know why Mr. Harms was assaulted, but one official remarked: "You have to assume when a diplomat is roughed up there's some official connection. It's otherwise such an orderly society."

"There was no skin broken and no bruises," he said, "but he was physically mishandled and that's outrageous."

Last year a vice consul in Leningrad was expelled from the Soviet Union after being charged with spying. The United States later publicly protested the physical mistreatment of the vice consul, Lon David Augustenborg, and his wife, Denise.

That incident occurred less than two weeks after a Soviet fighter shot down a South Korean airliner in September. It also came on the heels of the expulsion, on charges of espionage, of more than 100 Russians from Western countries.

cases were accused recently of being CIA agents. And last Friday's edition of Red Star, the armed forces newspaper, accused seven American, British and Canadian military attaches of photographing industrial installations in Leningrad and penetrating deep into zones closed to foreigners.

No action appears to have been taken against any of the diplomats, however.

SPECIAL EDITION -- TERRORISM -- 26 JUNE 1984

WASHINGTON POST
6 June 1984 Pg.21

Israeli Attache Shot By Gunmen From Car In Suburb of Cairo

CAIRO, June 5 (AP)—Unidentified assailants in a speeding car opened fire on an Israeli diplomat in a Cairo suburb Monday night, wounding him in the hand and shoulder, an Israeli Embassy spokesman said today.

It was the first known attack on an Israeli in Egypt since the two countries signed a peace treaty in 1979 and exchanged diplomats in 1980.

Spokesman Isaac Bar-Moshe said Zvi Kedar, an administrative attache in his late 30s, underwent surgery for fractured bones in his left hand and was in good condition. His left shoulder was grazed by a bullet, Bar-Moshe added, describing the injuries as "minor."

Bar-Moshe said that Kedar was shot at after he stepped from his car outside his home in the southern suburb of Maadi, a residential area inhabited by diplomats about 10 miles south of the Egyptian capital.

"The shots came from a speeding car," Bar-Moshe said. "Apparently there was more than one person in the car. It was an ambush."

An employee at the Cairo office of the official Soviet news agency Tass told the Associated Press that a typewritten Arabic statement signed "The Revolution of Egypt" and containing threats against Israeli diplomats in Egypt was delivered to the office Tuesday morning.

The statement made no specific mention of Monday's shooting, said the Tass employee, who spoke on condition he not be identified. The existence of The Revolution of Egypt organization has not been reported before.

There has never been any major organized opposition in Egypt to its peace treaty with Israel. However, some groups, including a number of lawyers and Moslem fundamentalists, have denounced it.

Egypt is the only Arab country to have signed a peace treaty with Israel, but relations soured after Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

N.Y. NEWS 6 June 1984

2 terrorize consulate

Vancouver, B.C.—Two saber-wielding Sikhs burst into the Indian consulate in Vancouver and ransacked offices.

Police said the men, brandishing two-foot-long curved ceremonial swords, smashed a glass door, several pictures and some furniture before they were arrested. The men, upset over the use of troops against Sikh militants in the Indian state of Punjab, gave up without a struggle.

WASHINGTON POST 24 May 1984 Pg. 37

Nine Bombs Explode In Two Colombian Cities

BOGOTA, Colombia, May 23 (AP)—Nine bombs aimed at U.S. and Honduran targets exploded in Bogota and Cali, killing two people and injuring 11, police said today. A breakaway leftist guerrilla group reportedly claimed responsibility.

Two bombs exploded near the U.S. Embassy, and a car bomb heard five miles away exploded 200 feet from the U.S. ambassador's residence. Neither building was damaged.

A hard-line group that broke away earlier this year from the Revolutionary Armed Forces claimed responsibility for the bombings in a telephone call to the Bogota daily El Bogotano, according to the paper's news editor, Henry Holguin.

He said a woman caller claiming to be a member of the break-away group said: "Honduras is cooperating with the United States in the destabilization of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua."

The main faction of the Revolutionary Armed Forces has agreed to a one-year truce with government security forces starting next Monday.

All casualties occurred in one incident, when a bomb exploded late yesterday afternoon in the downtown offices of the Honduran airline SAHSA, police said in a communique. The two dead and three of the injured were among a group of young people that brought the bomb into the office, office manager Rafael Olivo said.

NEW YORK POST

18 May 1984 Pg. 17

Cops probing bomb factory

POLICE in New Jersey are checking to see if a bomb factory discovered Wednesday night in Morris Plains is linked to any terrorist organization.

The cache, which included "a large quantity" of black powder, a home-made flame thrower, blow guns with darts, and instructions for making bombs, was discovered when police raided a

house at 24 Maple Av.

Morris County Prosecutor Lee Trumbull said raiders also found stolen goods including two stereos, telephone equipment and an air purifier in the house owned by Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Whitonis. They were charged with receiving stolen property.

Two juveniles, 14 and 17, were arrested on the same charge.

NEW YORK POST

28 May 1984 Pg. 4

— New peril for Beirut Yanks —

BEIRUT (UPI) — Americans in Beirut are under new threat of death or kidnaping by terrorists, intelligence reports indicated yesterday.

Jon Stewart, a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, confirmed the reports.

"Through normal intelligence channels, we learned somebody had the intention of taking terrorist actions against the American University of Beirut, the embassy, and Americans in general," Stewart said.

More guards were posted at the American University as teachers and embassy workers were warned about a kidnaping threat from a fundamentalist Shiite Moslem group.

BOOKS

WASHINGTON POST
1 June 1984 Pg. B-4

Terrorism Of Words

Reviewed by
Oliver Banks

The reviewer, a New York art consultant, is the author of two mystery novels, "The Rembrandt Panel" and "The Caravaggio Obsession."

The year is 1977, the place is Rome, and the title of Michael Mewshaw's new novel, "The Year of the Gun," is borrowed from journalists' apt description of the chaotic period

Book World

YEAR OF THE GUN.
By Michael Mewshaw

(Atheneum, 273 pp., \$14.95)

when the Red Brigades made urban terrorism a serious (even deadly) aspect of Italian life. David Rayborne, a young American expatriate and the hero of Mewshaw's tense and rather bleak thriller, mocks the phrase, calling it the "Year of the Fun" instead. The reader is aware that Rayborne's flippancy is a serious mistake long before Rayborne himself does.

Rayborne is a journalist who manages to eke out a marginal existence working for an expatriate newspaper. Realizing that he needs more money simply to survive, he allows himself to be pressured into writing a book about the Red Brigades—"from the inside." Conning his American agent into a belief that he has important sources in the Red Brigades, Rayborne accepts a hefty advance on the premise that he can infiltrate a terrorist cell. In reality, what he intends to write is a literary hoax, a totally fictional account based on other published accounts as well as his own invention. Even before Rayborne "invents" the kidnaping of the

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

RUSI
March 1984

The complexities of terrorism

The War Against Terrorism By Neil C. Livingstone
(Lexington Books/Gower, Aldershot, 1983) £19.50, 291 pages

Neil Livingstone is an unabashed Republican and has written a rum-tum-tum Republican book. Not for him the "moralistic binge" of the Carter Administration, staffed by "singularly guileless and untutored . . . appointees" furthermore he laments that despite Reagan's strong rhetoric, at the end of his first year in office little in the way of substantive policy dealing with the problem of terrorism had emerged. So, a 14 point programme provides the book's conclusion. Among the proposals is the revitalisation of the CIA with a paramilitary capability, linkage in negotiations with the Soviets so as to reduce terrorist violence, the overthrow of Colonel Qaddafi, as the financier of more than 40 terrorist groups ranging from the PFLP to the IRA, the addition of a covert dimension to anti-terrorist strike units and the payment of a £250,000 bounty by any US embassy for terrorists named by US intelligence as having contributed to the death of US representatives.

Mr Livingstone understands that the USSR views terrorism as a low cost strategy for achieving geopolitical goals, he does not see that the USA is making similar experiments in central America. The problem of containment is not as simple as he makes out. Nor are the origins of the phenomenon, nor indeed the reasons for escalation. It is simply not true to say that PIRA has become a doctrinaire Marxist organisation, whose leaders travel frequently to the USSR, receive arms and training from Libya, Cuba and the PFLP and who maintain effective links with the Soviet KGB and the Cuban DGI. When speaking more generally, Livingstone can also be read mistakenly. For instance kidnapping is not a principal source of finance for terrorists, although in some few cases it has been, nor do terrorist groups generally traffic in drugs and they are certainly not responsible for their appearance in Spain. Attempts to generalise often lead the author into misleading assertions which are half truths: the fact is that terrorism is too complex a phenomenon on which to generalise.

Further chapters deal with the terrorist profile, where no common traits between different groups can be discerned; the media connection, where stiff sanctions for journalists who abuse a strict professional code are recommended; hijacking; weaponry, where nothing extravagant is predicted; and targets.

Part two is concerned with the war against terrorism, both from the point of view of the state and the private sector. There is an alphabetical bibliography and an index. The author is president of the Institute for Subnational Conflict and Director for Terrorism and Low-Level Warfare at the American Security Council.

PETER JANKE

TERRORISM OF WORDS

...Continued

Italian President Aldo Moro, the reader is conscious that fact and fiction are bound to intersect in Mewshaw's story, with violent and tragic results.

Other than the "invented" book, David Rayborne has several real connections to terrorists. Part of the reason he has fled to Italy, in fact, is to recover from a tragic affair of several years earlier, in which a woman he lived with was killed in a bomb explosion. Only after her death did Rayborne become aware that the woman he knew as "Elizabeth Anderson" led a second life as an urban guerrilla named Darlene Spaulding, who was using Rayborne's articles to send coded messages.

A second connection is an Italian friend, Italo Bianchi, a sociologist who teaches at the University of Rome. Unknown to Rayborne, Bianchi is in fact a member of a Red Brigades cell. Having been forced by the brigades to betray a close friend, Bianchi remains a member of the cell under extreme duress; as they point out to him, "no one quits." Rayborne knows no more about Bianchi's clandestine relationship to terrorists than he knew earlier about Darlene Spaulding's, and thus he becomes vulnerable a second time. Thematic echoes and parallels, frequently intended ironically, are important aspects of Mewshaw's literary technique.

One of two women in Rayborne's life is Stephane von Essen, a young Frenchwoman separated from her Italian husband. Although Rayborne does not live with them, Stephane, her son Marc, and the American journalist have a quasi-domestic relationship, and Mewshaw's evocation of this ménage is touching and lyrical. The other woman, Alison Lopez, is a news photographer with an instinct for danger. Coming to Italy from war-torn Beirut, Alison forms her own obsession about infiltrating the Italian terrorists. Convinced that David Rayborne can help her make this connection, she pursues and seduces him. Alison and Stephane are antitheses: where Stephane is a calm, nurturing presence, Alison is wild, carnal and has an almost erotic fascination with violence. Awakened by a series of explosions one night, Alison is enraged rather than relieved to discover that they are harmless fireworks

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

May 1984 Pg. 9

Perspectives On Terrorism. Edited by Lawrence Freedman and Yonah Alexander. Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1983.

This collection of scholarly papers and monographs on the subject of terrorism flows from a series of conferences held over the past two decades under the auspices of the University of Chicago's Institute of Social and Behavioral Pathology. Divided into four main sections (psychological dimensions of terrorism, the terrorist in profile, hostage-taking and its aftermath, and responding to terrorism), it represents a convenient summation of scholarly thought on this subject. It is not for the layman or the idly curious, but is yet another useful reference work for those with policymaking responsibilities.

As in many other books of this type, there is serious and enlightening thought mixed with the semi-comic. For example, the pedant's love of arcane language occasionally emerges: Freedman discusses terrorism under the general construct of "polistaraxia." There is the ever present Clive Aston, whose fondness for statistical analysis leads him to attempt to explain terrorism with the help of the bell curve. Not surprisingly, the contribution by Anthony Quanton, former head of State's Office of Combatting Terrorism, is among the most interesting and for the most part is written in English.

While the academic community has indeed contributed to the study and policymaking aspects of terrorism and its cure (or at least its control) one wishes that more people with "hands on" experience in the field were allowed into the inner temple. Until that happy event occurs, the academic contribution to this important and troublesome subject will remain peripheral.

—MICHAEL F. SPEERS

instead of artillery shells.

Mewshaw is very successful in projecting a sense of danger. He is also superb in his depiction of Rome itself. Since he has lived there for a number of years, he writes about the city with an easy familiarity. Likewise, the political situation and the aura of malevolence that spread over the Eternal City during that dark period are won-

derfully evoked. As Mewshaw turns the screws of his plot, Rome itself almost becomes another character, an unseen but palpable presence.

"Year of the Gun" is an excellent story—tightly written, exciting and fast-paced. As a portrait of modern Italy and its discontents, it can be compared with the work of such writers as Alberto Moravia.

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Book on counterterrorists draws flak

In the early 1970s, Michael Korda, editor in chief of Simon & Schuster Inc., complained that he was "suffering from an overdose of anonymity." He sought remedy in writing books and articles.

Now, a rash of publicity surrounding the controversial publication of *Vengeance: The True Story of an Israeli Counter-terrorist Team*, should cure Korda once and for all.

Korda, who personally bought George Jonas' *Vengeance* for Simon & Schuster, is at the eye of the storm over whether the book is the factual account it claims to be.

Vengeance centers on a man known only as Avner who allegedly led an Israeli team of counterterrorists in a plot to hunt down and kill the Arab terrorists responsible for planning the massacre of 11 Israeli

athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

Rinker Buck, the reporter who took the story to Simon & Schuster, told *The Wall Street Journal* that Avner's counter-terrorist story could not be substantiated.

Buck said he became "completely convinced it was a fraud" and quit the project.

But, says Korda, "Buck simply did not do his homework.

... The only question is, 'Is Avner the man who headed the team?' And to that there simply isn't an answer."

Korda openly admits, however, that controversy never hurt book sales and that he expects *Vengeance* to go into a second printing.

"You have to publish what you think you should publish, and this is a story worth telling," he says.

The U.S. Government Response to Terrorism: In Search of an Effective Strategy by Dr. William Regis Farrell
Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982, 142 pages, \$20.00

This excellent book is probably the best account available on how the U.S. government has institutionally responded to the growing problem of terrorism. As the reader readily discovers, doing something about terrorism is far more difficult than understanding or explaining it. Dr. William Farrell seeks to determine to what extent the lack of a U.S. antiterrorist strategy is due to the structure and functions of existing U.S. governmental agencies. He begins by discussing the challenge policymakers face in simply defining the nature and scope of terrorism. Perceptions of what terrorism is or is not are manifold. Of particular interest to readers is a chapter that examines the legal, political, and sociological concerns of military involvement in terrorist incidents.

Despite its intractable nature, governments must deal with terrorism. However, responding actively to terrorism can induce a host of concerns, external and internal, to government bureaucracies (particularly in democratic societies). In the U.S. government, meeting the terrorist threat can involve over 30 government agencies, raising jurisdictional disputes over who is authorized to do what. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that terrorism is *not* a primary responsibility of any agency. Consequently, antiterrorist measures do not compete well for talent and resources within the government or the individual agencies. U.S. anti-

terrorist effort within the bureaucracy is maintained for the most part because some officials recognize terrorism as a worldwide threat and because the United States is involved episodically in terrorist incidents.

Dr. Farrell has done an outstanding job of tracking down and documenting the interdepartmental process by which U.S. policy is formulated and implemented. He identifies the major organizational players and delineates their antiterrorist responsibilities. He also shows that there are major obstacles inherent in the structure of the policymaking process and the established functions of the participating agencies which make the future emergence of such a strategy unlikely. This prognosis appears confirmed by the present administration, which has publicly given the problem of terrorism high priority but has not made any substantive changes to the existing interdepartmental structure.

The U.S. Government Response to Terrorism is for the serious reader. There are no dramatic descriptions of terrorist exploits or international intrigue. Instead, the author has painstakingly researched the "process" and noted its capabilities and limitations. While the book tends to focus on the U.S. bureaucratic structure, many of the challenges and difficulties apply to bureaucracies in general. For those in government who are a part of this interdepartmental structure, this work is a must.

Leutenant Colonel Richard Porter, USAF
Washington, D.C.

SPECIAL EDITION -- TERRORISM -- 26 JUNE 1984

EDITORIALS

FT. WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

8 May 1984

Computer on guard

Instant information can be a help in securing the United States' borders and in providing security against terrorism.

And that's why the new Department of Justice international data processing center in Dallas is good news.

From all sides, the public — and the federal government — hears that the danger of terrorists expanding their anti-American or anti-what-ever activities into the United States is real and is increasing. Any reasonable precaution against this, any preventive medicine, is merely prudent.

The Dallas center, serving 700 terminals of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, will enable quicker checks of persons attempting to enter the country than are currently possible through paperwork.

Used properly, the computerized system should enable federal authorities to screen out foreign criminals, potential terrorists and those who for one reason or another are not eligible to enter the United States.

Madness abounds in the world today, and America is an inviting target. There are enough

homegrown criminals and potential terrorists without letting in those from abroad. If the computer system makes it more difficult for terrorists to enter, if it saves one life or prevents one terrorist act, if it keeps even a few international criminals from plying their trade here, it will be worthwhile.

If, as is already being done through contract agreements with three states, the computer system keeps undocumented alien workers — illegal immigrants — from defrauding state welfare systems, it will be paying for itself.

Legal immigrants and legitimate, peaceful visitors to these shores should have nothing to fear from the computer information center. Indeed, in cases of emergency, they might even be helped by it.

And using the most modern technology to screen out the others is merely an additional tool to protect U.S. citizens and foreigners with legitimate business here, whether it be sightseeing or commerce or taking in the Olympic Games, from harm.

It is like an electronic border guard, and, unfortunately, we need all the guarding we can get.

ALBANY, N.Y. KNICKERBOCKER NEWS 14 May 1984

Another view: Subversives

From the *Daily Iowan, Iowa City* :

In its effort to combat terrorism, the Reagan administration . . . recently submitted legislation to Congress to deal with some proposed solutions. One of them allows the secretary of state to determine which countries and groups are to be considered terrorist; Congress is to pass legislation providing stiff jail terms for anyone convicted of dealing with the groups so named.

That is a terrible idea, open to gross abuse. In the past,

when for example the attorney general placed groups on the subversive list, the abuse has been flagrant. Church groups, women's groups and civil rights groups found themselves labeled as subversive because they opposed the administration's policy at that time.

Being put on the list meant that CIA and FBI files were opened on the groups and members of the groups. It meant surveillance and sometime wiretaps.

This new law is open to similar abuse. There is nothing to prevent an administration from labeling an unpopular state or group as terrorist and then jailing those who support such a group.

WALL STREET JOURNAL 12 June 1984

To Tell the Truth

"The imposing rise of Solidarity in Poland in the summer of 1980 and consequent social convulsions constituted a most acute crisis for the socialist states of Eastern Europe. . . . In some secret place, where every secret is wrapped in another secret, some political figure of great power took note of this most grave situation and, mindful of the vital needs of the Eastern bloc, decided it was necessary to kill Pope Wojtyla."

This statement by Italian State Prosecutor Antonio Albano is the first official suggestion that the Soviet Union ordered the 1981 assassination attempt on the Pope—Italians know which nation Churchill described as "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." Mr. Albano is entirely explicit in saying the plot was hatched and paid for by "the Bulgarian secret services," and has requested the indictment and trial of nine people—three Bulgarian spies, five members of the Sofia-linked Turkish mafia and Mehmet Ali Agca, the hit man now in Italian custody. Sergei Antonov, one of the Bulgarians, also is in Italian hands.

The prosecutor's 78-page report was leaked to free-lance investigative reporter Claire Sterling; the New York Times decided to play her dispatch on page one of its Sunday edition, jumping inside for 5,000 words or so. The story has been a difficult one for the Times. In March 1983 it published a previous lengthy article by Nicholas Gage supporting the Bulgarian connection. But CIA sources tended to shoot down this connection. A New York Times reporter last October concluded that "the Antonov case appears as one of deprivation of liberty on the accusation of a single witness of doubtful character, an assassin convicted of murder in Turkey and attempted murder of the Pope and of uncertain emotional stability to boot." Yesterday columnist William Safire remarked that, "From the start, this story was minimized and ridiculed by

our C.I.A.," and he calls for an investigation by the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

The Times certainly vindicated its coverage with this latest dispatch, but there remains an issue of why it has taken so long for the press to shake this story loose. In fact, some of our colleagues went all out to declare Antonov innocent. When Antonov was temporarily released from prison for health reasons, the Guardian of London opined that the Bulgarian connection had lost its "penultimate shred of credibility." Even the Associated Press in Rome has been quick to quote Antonov's lawyers predicting his imminent release. Those of us who ran with the story, these columns and the Reader's Digest, where Mrs. Sterling first published, have been written off as not reliably mainstream. The plot was detailed in Mrs. Sterling's book "The Time of the Assassins" as well as Paul Henze's "The Plot to Kill the Pope," but these books were greeted with skeptical to scoffing reviews.

Now comes Mr. Albano's report with convincing detail and confirming the darkest theories. The Bulgarian Embassy, for example, had actually arranged for a sealed truck to spirit trigger man Agca away without risking customs checks, but the plan went awry when Agca was caught after one of his accomplices failed to set off a diversionary bomb after the shooting. As for corroborating Agca's testimony implicating the Bulgarians, Mr. Albano reports that Agca knew the unlisted telephone number of one of the Bulgarian agents (despite Bulgarian claims the number didn't exist), knew that another collected miniature bottles, and described a small wart on the chin of the third. Most interestingly, the account is woven through with references to the Turkish mafia and the right-wing Turkish terrorists, the Grey Wolves—both groups enjoyed close relationships with the

Eastern secret services. The Soviets obviously don't demand ideological commitment from their terrorists, just terror.

The Safire notion that the real problem was less the press than the CIA and other officials gets plenty of support from Mrs. Sterling. She was strongly urged, even threatened, by the U.S. Embassy in Rome to drop the investigation that resulted in her original 1982 Reader's Digest article. The West German police told her she was foolish. She suspects an intentional cover-up by Western governments of the Bulgarian connection. In the end, the story was rooted out by a brave Italian judiciary; during parts of the process Judge Martella's house has been guarded by tanks.

If the reason the story was slow to come out was official hesitancy, what can the press do about it? For one thing, reporters badly burned on this story can go back to their sources in places like Langley and 2201 C Street, and ask what the heck was going on, why Soviet behavior should be off-limits from the truth. For another, they can revise the knee-jerk response that dismisses allegations of grotesque Soviet behavior. We note that the Times and the Washington Post also recently have revised their attitudes toward the expert sources telling them "yellow rain" was merely bee feces. In both cases, we're sure, the horror of the crime and the evilness it pins on the Soviets were just too much.

Accepting the Pope plot as true carries with it an entire view of the nature of the Soviet empire, and it is this view that many in government, in the press and elsewhere have been hesitant to face. But while it's not easy to say how to deal with Soviet lawlessness, the problem can't be faced until we agree it's there. We seem to be much closer to agreement now than a week ago, thanks to the Times, to Claire Sterling and to the Italian judiciary.

Terrorism 138

President Reagan's contribution to statecraft has been to make public policy of what used to be secret suggestion. He stripped the cover from covert war and entered aid to the Nicaraguan *contras* as a line item in the Congressional budget. He wanted to convert the shadowy C.I.A. system of subversion and propaganda into a proud executive operation, Project Democracy. Far from denying U.S. intentions to destabilize foreign regimes, he announced a campaign to bring the Sandinista government to its knees. It was not long ago that similar actions by another President became part of impeachment proceedings.

In an order signed April 3, Reagan gave state-sponsored terrorism the force of law, where once it was hardly whispered about in White House corridors. National Security Decision Directive 138 will allow U.S. government operatives to take what Secretary of State Shultz calls "preventive or pre-emptive action" against foreign terrorist threats. Although the President has revealed no specifics on what the program might entail, he will soon ask Congress to authorize large sums to finance it. According to an Administration source, the White House has at least one thing in mind: a bulging bribery account, from which informers will be paid huge rewards—perhaps \$500,000—for the juiciest tips.

Whether called state terrorism or pre-emptive action, the kinds of operations the directive sanctions will be ruthless, arbitrary and dangerous. If an eager tipster tells a NATO intelligence officer that a demonstration against a missile site in West Germany could become violent, will American soldiers be sent to round up leaders of the peace movement or ransack their offices—or worse? If an obscure political faction or religious sect "threatens" to attack U.S. soldiers in some Middle Eastern country, will Phantoms be dispatched to bomb the nearest targets of opportunity? or the capital of an unfriendly country? If the uncontrollable leader of a hostile regime brags that he will crush the American devils, will he find cyanide in his soup or itchy powder in his caftan? A White House source told reporters that Reagan would honor his 1981 executive order prohibiting U.S. government officials from carrying out assassinations, but what about attempts by agents of American clients and proxies? Israel's Mossad, South Korea's K.C.I.A., Chile's DINA and the Salvadoran death squads are all funded and supplied directly or indirectly by the United States, and all are adept at capers that Reagan might find distasteful.

What constitutes an international terrorist act, after all? And when does it threaten American interests? A bomb in an ambassador's automobile may be a clear-cut case of terrorism, but an attack by a guerrilla army against a U.S. military mission is an act of war. Salvadoran officials call the rebel forces arrayed against them terrorists, the same name Israeli leaders give to their Palestinian foes. One

man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter.

The fact is that Reagan's order will give the legitimacy of policy to activities that are already on the menu of subterfuge and secrecy. It will not stop terrorism, for if ever a program was part of the problem rather than the solution, this is it. State-sanctioned terrorism creates the climate of violence in which freelance terrorism thrives. The brutality in El Salvador, the massacre of peasants in Guatemala, the occupation of the West Bank—such strategies make the responses they provoke seem feeble by comparison. Directive 138 dodges that issue, and profoundly misses the point.

Like Directive 138, the 1976 resolutions creating Congressional Intelligence Committees were supposed to legitimize secret U.S. operations by making them into publicly scrutinized and sanctioned policy. But while Reagan's executive order is deceptive from the start, the resolutions were passed with the best liberal intentions of averting national moral and political disasters. Unfortunately, in just a few years the oversight function of those committees has eroded, and they mostly ratify and mediate the activities they ought to prohibit.

The betrayal of the Intelligence Committees' origins makes Daniel Patrick Moynihan's resignation from the vice-chairmanship of the Senate Intelligence Committee a futile gesture. The Senator says that the C.I.A.'s delay in notifying the committee of the mining of Nicaraguan ports destroyed the necessary trust between his panel and the agency. But the deeper issue is Moynihan's concept of his duty. We do not need representatives who collaborate with the national security apparatus; we require elected officials who will control it.

For Moynihan, the problem with the Administration's Central America policy is one of communication. He has no beef with the general proposition of a terrorist campaign against the Sandinista government. He voted—as recently as April 5—to give \$21 million to the C.I.A. forces engaged in murder, torture and the destruction of civilian communities in Nicaragua. He knows better than most members of Congress that the government's claim merely to be "interdicting" men and matériel en route to El Salvador is nonsense. An American naval flotilla in the Gulf of Fonseca and the U.S.-Honduran military forces surely don't need the help of the *contras* to do that. Moynihan just wants a little more respect.

The Intelligence Committees of both houses could blow the lid off Reagan's Central America adventures if they had a mind to, but they have not put much of a crimp in the war effort. What have they learned about the *contra* seizure of San Juan del Norte? The forces in that southern town on the Atlantic coast are said to be made up of right-wing Cuban exiles supplied with Israeli arms. No word yet from Moynihan on that subject. Now that he's off the committee, he need say nothing. And that may have been the Senator's purpose all along.