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THE TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL AND WESTERN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is an ancient phenomenon, known to the Greeks and Romans if not to earlier civilizations. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has become a characteristic of the extreme political passions and movements that have often sought and attained political power.

Perhaps the simplest definition of terrorism is that given by Dr. Brian Crozier: "motivated violence for political ends."¹ However, this definition, while excluding apparently non-motivated violence (such as vandalism) and non-political violence (crime), would extend the term to describe the use of violence by a political regime in the repression of its enemies. While there is no doubt that Nazi, Communist, and other tyrannies have relied on massive violence and intimidation to consolidate their power, the term "terrorism" is not usually applied to such official policies of terrorization. Furthermore, it should be noted that literal acceptance of Dr. Crozier's definition would also extend the term to include formal war.

¹Hearings, Terroristic Activity: International Terrorism, Part 4, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 94th Congress, 1st Session, May 14, 1975, p. 180 (hereinafter cited as "Crozier").

A more appropriate definition of terrorism has been provided by Peter Camejo, a member of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Political Committee, who, as part of the dominant faction of the SWP, regards the use of terrorism as tactically inappropriate at this time:

The word 'terrorism' is commonly used to mean the politics of those who believe that violent actions against individual bourgeois figures can bring about social change, precipitate a revolution, or electrify or help mobilize the masses even if undertaken by isolated individuals or groups.²

Camejo's definition, unlike that of Crozier, concentrates on the revolutionary goals of the terrorist, rather than on the much broader "political ends." By Camejo's own definition, then, right-wing groups that use terror are not truly terrorist, because they are not revolutionary. Despite this imperfection, however, Camejo is correct in calling attention to the "isolated" nature of terrorism.

Finally, a distinction should be made between terrorism and guerilla warfare. Though the latter often, and perhaps necessarily, makes use of terrorism, the two are not the same. Carlos Marighella, perhaps the most influential revolutionary writer on urban guerilla warfare, saw guerilla activity as indispensable to the revolutionary. By terrorism, he meant principally "the placement of a bomb or fire explosion of great destructive power, which is capable of effecting irreparable loss against the enemy,"³ and he discussed it separately from other techniques such as assaults (e.g., hijackings and robberies), seizures of buildings, ambushes, kidnappings, sabotage, assassinations, and propaganda.

There does not seem to be, therefore, a definition of terrorism generally accepted by the enemies and advocates of terrorism. The working definition of the term in this paper, however, will incorporate elements of these different meanings. Terrorism can be defined as the organized use of violence with the aim of promoting political or social change and emphasizing the ruthlessness and desperate dedication of its advocates through the brutality or destructiveness of their actions. This definition would (1) relate terrorism to political ends but not limit it to right- or left-wing groups; (2) distinguish terrorism from other forms of violence,

²Rep. Lawrence P. McDonald, Trotskyism and Terror: The Strategy of Revolution (Washington, D.C.: American Conservative Union Education and Research Institute, 1977), p. 42 (hereinafter cited as "McDonald").

³Carlos Marighella, "Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla," p. 29.

legitimate or illegitimate (war, police violence, crime, and vandalism); (3) call attention to what most non-terrorists regard as the distinctive trait of terror: the apparently indiscriminate and irrational nature of terrorist attacks.

THE ESCALATION OF TERRORISM IN WESTERN EUROPE

Prior to the mid-1960s, terrorism had been virtually unknown in Western Europe since World War II. A study published by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1976, however, counted a total of 951 international and transnational terrorist incidents between 1965 and 1975. Of these, 333 (35%) occurred in Western Europe or NATO countries, 260 (27%) in Latin America, and 126 (13.24%) in North America. Other areas of the world--the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Pacific and Australian regions, and the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Bloc--accounted for a total of 232 (24.4%).⁴ Western Europe thus appears to be one of the major centers of terrorist activities; and, while terrorists from other parts of the world often operate within it, European terrorists seldom undertake actions outside their own continent. This role of terrorism in Europe is somewhat surprising since most observers seem to associate it with the less developed countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

The CIA study also found that over 140 different terrorist groups from nearly 50 different countries were connected to these activities. It counted, between 1968 and 1975, 123 kidnappings, 95 ambushes or armed assaults, 48 murders, 59 cases of arson or incendiarism, and 137 hijackings of aircraft or other means of transportation. The number of casualties from terrorism, including the attackers themselves, was estimated at approximately 800 killed and 1,700 wounded.⁵ These comparatively low figures, of course, do not reflect the fact that most of the victims of terrorism have been non-combatants, innocent by-standers, or involuntary participants. Nor can they reflect the psychological strain and social and political effects that are among the main goals of terrorist activities. More recent estimates place the casualty list from terrorist activities between 1968 and 1976 at 1,298 killed and 3,651 wounded.⁶

⁴Research Study: International and Transnational Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis (Central Intelligence Agency, April, 1976), p. 12, Figure 2 (hereinafter cited as "CIA Research Study").

⁵Ibid., pp. 10 and 23.

⁶James Grant, "White-Collar War," Barron's, October 31, 1977, p. 3.

TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

The CIA study cited previously surveyed 12 terrorist organizations considered "noteworthy" or "most active or most publicized practitioners of international and transnational terrorism" in Western Europe and the NATO countries. Of these, it characterized the ethos of 9 as "Radical Left," 1 as "Extreme Right," 1 as "Nationalist/Particularist," and 1 as of unknown ethos.⁷ However, this geographical survey does not include such transnational groups of non-European origin as Al Fatah, the Carlos group, the Japanese United Red Army, or Palestinian groups which operate in Western Europe. Among the principal terrorist organizations that have operated and, in most cases, are still operating in Western Europe are the following:

1. Irish Republican Army (IRA): The IRA was founded in 1913 but was largely inactive between the establishment of the independent Irish Republic and the late 1960s. In 1969, the IRA split into two factions: the so-called "Officials," who are Marxist-Leninist in orientation, and the "Provisional" wing, which is nationalist and favors the unification of Ireland as an independent state. The Official wing, which works closely with the Irish Communist Party in Dublin, is opposed to terrorism and seeks a working class revolution on the Marxist model. The Provisionals, or "Provos," have been far more deeply involved in terrorist activities, although the Official wing has engaged in such terrorist actions as the shooting of Senator Barnhill, the attempted assassination of John Taylor, the murder of Roger Best, and several gunfights with the Provisionals.⁸

The principal leaders of the Provisionals have been Sean MacStiofain, Joe Cahill, and Seamus Twomey. The Provisionals have maintained links with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Trotskyist terrorists of the Fourth International, and the Libyan regime of Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi.

From 1969 to the end of 1976, 1,685 people were killed in Northern Ireland by terrorist violence. The number of bombings escalated from 8 in 1969 to 366 in 1975 to 619 in the first 11 months of 1976 (though there has been a drop from the peak of 1,495 bombings in 1972).¹⁰ It should be noted that the IRA is not directly responsible for all these, as there is also a smaller,

⁷CIA Research Study, see fold-out at back.

⁸East-West Digest, Vol. 13, No. 12 (June, 1977), p. 451.

⁹Staff Study, Terrorism, Committee on Internal Security, U.S. House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, August 1, 1974, pp. 66-68 (hereinafter cited as "Terrorism").

¹⁰The Economist, January 1, 1977, p. 13.

anti-IRA Loyalist wave of counter-terror. In England and Wales, 65 persons were killed by terrorists between 1972 and the beginning of 1977.¹¹ However, British and Northern Irish police (the Royal Irish Constabulary) have progressively arrested an increasing number of IRA terrorists: over 100 Provisional members were in jail in England at the beginning of the year, and nearly 700 were arrested in Ireland in 1976.¹² Although this effort by the police has disrupted Provisional organization, it is still active. In the early months of 1976, Frank Stagg, an imprisoned IRA member, starved himself to death in Leeds prison. In revenge, the IRA killed 11 people within a week--all of them civilians--and planted a bomb in the Oxford Circus underground (subway) station calculated to explode at the rush hour on Friday evening; it was discovered by the police shortly before it could be detonated and was disarmed.¹³ Nearly a year later, in February, 1977, the Provisionals again exploded 12 bombs in the Oxford Circus area, but no one was hurt.¹⁴ The Provisionals, therefore, still exist and are still committed to violence, though their organization and activities have been hampered.

2. Red Army Fraction (RAF, Rote Armee Fraktion, Baader-Meinhof Gang): This group, operating principally in West Germany, is also known from the names of its leaders and founders as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang." It has recently received considerable publicity due to its kidnaping and murder of the German industrialist, Hans Martin Schleyer, and the apparent coordination of this crime with the hijacking of Lufthansa Flight 181 by another Palestinian group. The hijacking was planned by a veteran terrorist named Zuhair Akache, who murdered three Yemeni diplomats in London in April, 1977, and who called himself "Captain Mahmoud" during the hijacking to Mogadishu, Somalia.¹⁵

The RAF first become prominent in 1972 when it is believed to have undertaken bombings which killed four U.S. servicemen, including an Army colonel, in Heidelberg and Frankfurt and which damaged police stations in Munich and other cities. Since that time, the group has carried out a series of crimes which include bank robberies, bombings, murders, and kidnapings.¹⁶ In February, 1975, the RAF kidnaped Peter Lorenz, a candidate for the mayoralty of West Berlin, but released him later in exchange for the freeing of five other terrorists in prison.¹⁷

¹¹Ibid., February 5, 1977, p. 25.

¹²Ibid., January 1, 1977, p. 13.

¹³Ibid., February 21, 1976, p. 17.

¹⁴Ibid., February 5, 1977, p. 24.

¹⁵Philip Jacobson, Washington Post, November 6, 1977 (reprinted in Congressional Record, November 8, 1977, p. S19010).

¹⁶Terrorism, p. 66.

¹⁷Newsweek, January 5, 1976, p. 27.

The RAF is believed to have extensive links with other terrorist groups such as the Japanese United Red Army and Palestinian groups. It helped organize the Black September group which killed 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. In 1974, West Berlin police confiscated considerable stores of machine guns, land mines, hand grenades, tear gas, handguns, and ammunition in a series of raids on RAF safe-houses and arrested 15 suspects.

The principal leaders and founders of the RAF were Horst Mahler, Andreas Baader, and Ulrike Meinhof, all three of whom were arrested in 1972. Meinhof hanged herself in Stammheim prison in Stuttgart in 1976; Baader shot himself in Stammheim upon hearing of the failure of the Lufthansa hijacking, as did two other RAF convicts, Carl Raspe and Gudrun Ensslin, Baader's former mistress. A fourth member, Irmgard Moller, tried to commit suicide with a breadknife but failed. (An international team of pathologists confirmed the suicide in autopsies conducted in the presence of one of the group's lawyers, one of whom, Klaus Croissant, has himself recently been extradited from France for complicity in the kidnapping of Schleyer.)¹⁸

Although three of the group's members are now dead by their own hand, and the Mogadishu hijacking itself was a dismal and bloody failure, the RAF is by no means extinct. West German police have identified Friederike Krabbe, also known as Lisa Ries, a 27-year old sociology student at Heidelberg, as the prime suspect in the kidnapping and murder of Schleyer. Her sister, Hanna-Elise Krabbe, was involved in the attack on the German embassy in Sweden on April 24, 1975, during which the embassy building was blown up.¹⁹ All are young--between the ages of 25 and 37--and almost all are of middle class background with university education.²⁰

3. United Red Army (Rengo Sekigun or URA): The URA was founded in 1969 as a splinter group of the Japanese Socialist Student League. Within a year, Japanese police had arrested approximately 200 members for planning to murder the Japanese Prime Minister. By 1974, the URA had been connected to the murder of 11 police and defense officials. In May, 1970, nine members of the URA hijacked a Japanese air liner to North Korea. About the same time, the URA began to receive arms and training from the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); and on May 30, 1972, three URA members attacked the Lod airport in Israel, killing 26 and wounding 80. The URA then began a period of close cooperation with the PFLP. In the summer of 1977, the URA hijacked a Japan Air Lines jet and exchanged the 151 hostages for \$6 million and six imprisoned URA members. At the present time, the URA is believed to consist of about 30 members still at large; its leader

¹⁸New York Times, November 18, 1977, p. A3.

¹⁹Ibid., October 22, 1977, p. 6.

²⁰For photographs and backgrounds, see People Weekly, November 7, 1977, pp. 46-47.

is Fusaka Shigenobu, believed to be hiding in Western Europe or the Middle East. Although the URA is Japanese in origin, it operates in Western Europe in alliance with the Palestinian, Carlos, and Baader-Meinhof groups. It has also had extensive contacts with non-European terrorists: The Tupamaros of Uruguay, the Cubans, and the American Black Panthers.²¹

4. The Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse): The Red Brigades are the largest, most active, and most dangerous terrorist group in Italy, the European country which has suffered most from terrorist activities. By mid-November, 1977, 48 persons in Italy had been killed or wounded by terrorists in that year alone. The neo-Fascist party (MSI) suffered 91 attacks and the Communists suffered 58. There were 78 kidnappings in Italy in 1977, and 2128 acts of terrorism in all. In 1978, there have been at least 13 kidnappings from January to March.

The Red Brigades were founded by Renato Curcio and his wife, Margherita Cagol, in 1969. Curcio and Cagol were students at the University of Trent. Originally a Catholic, he supplemented his student scholarship by working as a secretary for the Socialist assistant mayor of Trent. He is said to have been influenced by the writings of Mao Tse-tung. Curcio and his wife worked in labor activities in Milanese factories after their graduation and were associated with a deviant faction of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) known as the "Metropolitan Left." This group left the Party in 1969, and the Red Brigades were formed from it and other students from Trent. In 1970 they began a series of fire-bombings at the factories of Fiat, the Pirelli rubber company, and the SIT-Siemens electronics firm. In 1971 they turned to kidnapping the executives of these companies, often giving them "peoples' trials" and then releasing them, but also sometimes murdering their bodyguards. In 1974, they began murdering their targets. Two neo-Fascists were assassinated on June 17, 1974, and the Red Brigades kidnapped an assistant prosecutor in Genoa and held him as a hostage to be exchanged for eight imprisoned terrorists, who were to be released to the Cuban embassy in Rome. This exchange was not permitted, however, and the Red Brigades, blaming their kidnap victim's superior, assassinated him in 1976.

Curcio was betrayed by an informant to the police in 1974, but escaped through the efforts of his wife. She was killed later in the year while attacking a jail in Northern Italy. Curcio was again captured in January, 1976, and his chief lieutenant was captured in March. Their trial was supposed to begin in May, 1976, but was postponed because the Red Brigades assassinated the President of the Turin Law Society and intimidated the defense counsels, prosecutors, and jurors.

The most impressive accomplishment of the Red Brigades so far has been the kidnapping of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro on March 16, 1978, and the murder of his five bodyguards. At least twelve persons and three cars were involved in this attack; the

²¹Terrorism, pp. 71-73.

kidnappers successfully blocked off their escape route and diverted likely witnesses to the abduction. The weapons they used were a Czech pistol (Nagant) and an "unusual" Soviet machine gun. One purpose of the attack was to stall once more the trial of Curcio and fourteen other Red Brigade members in Turin, along with 34 other alleged terrorists, some of them being tried in absentia. Among the latter are Red Brigade members Prospero Gallinari and Antonio Savino, believed to be responsible for the Moro kidnapping. About 150 members of the Red Brigades are now in jail in Italy, though some estimate their strength at several hundred.

The ideology of the Red Brigades appears to be confused, and is said to have been influenced by Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, and Mao Tse-tung, as well as by more orthodox Marxism-Leninism. One trademark of its violence is the shooting of its victims in the legs or kneecaps, sometimes crippling them permanently. The Red Brigades have claimed credit for 44 assassinations and 30 kidnappings and a large number of acts of sabotage.

Other Italian terrorist groups include, on the Left, the Armed Nuclei of the Proletariat (allied with the Red Brigades) and Front-line, and, on the Right, the neo-Fascist "Black Order" and "New Order." These groups appear to be less disciplined than the Red Brigades. It should be noted that the PCI, while it denounces terrorism and has itself suffered from terrorists of the Left and Right, does not seem to have been attacked by the Red Brigades.²²

SEPARATIST TERRORIST GROUPS

The groups discussed above are primarily internationalist in their operations and revolutionary in their goals (though the IRA is ambiguous in these respects). However, there also exist within various European countries organizations which make use of terrorism for the comparatively simple goal of establishing independence for their own subcultures or local areas. Although such separatist movements have developed in the subdivisions of several countries, only two have made use of terrorism to any great extent and at the same time developed international linkages with other terrorist groups.

In France, the Front de Liberation de la Bretagne (FLB), a Celtic group advocating separate independence for Brittany, announced in 1974 that it was cooperating with the IRA and the

²²On the background of the Red Brigades and Italian terrorism, see The Economist, 1-7 April 1978, Survey, p. 28; Washington Post, March 17, 1978, p. A25; Christian Science Monitor, March 20, 1978, p. 14; New York Times, March 17, 1978, p. A3. For the kidnapping of Moro, see Washington Post, March 17, 1978, pp. A1 and A25.

Spanish (Basque) ETA. It has engaged in bombing of police stations and government buildings but has failed to make a major impact.²³

In Spain, the terrorist problem has become rather serious, especially in the last years of Franco and since his death in November, 1975. A Catalan Liberation Front (FAC) has existed since 1968 and advocates separate independence for Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the French province of Rousillon. More serious, however, is the Basque separatist movement of Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Liberty or ETA). This group developed from a splinter of the Basque Nationalist Party and then itself split into Marxist and non-Marxist factions. It cooperated with the Spanish Communist Party while the latter was still illegal. While the main body of the ETA remained non-Marxist, two factions developed called ETA(V) and ETA(VI). The latter, by 1974, had joined with the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League, a section of the Fourth International. On December 20, 1973, the other faction, ETA(V), murdered Luis Carrero Blanco, the Spanish Premier, by tunneling under a street and exploding a bomb while his car passed overhead. Though ETA(V) soon claimed credit for the assassination, ETA(VI) publicly supported it.²⁴

Several other terrorist groups have arisen in Spain, some of the Right--e.g., the Guerillos del Cristo el Rey (Warriors of Christ the King)--and others of the Left. The right-wing groups do not seem to cooperate with like-minded groups in other countries, but the leftist ones do. Examples are the Anti-Fascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front (FRAP), a Maoist group founded in 1973, or the more extreme and highly secret GRAPO. These groups, however, as well as similar ones in Portugal and Italy, have not been able to gain large followings or resources; and their actual terrorist activities have been limited compared to those of the better known European terrorist groups.²⁵

PRO-PALESTINIAN GROUPS

A final category of terrorist groups operating in Western Europe is made up of those organizations which support various claims on behalf of the Palestinians against Israel or its supporters. Some of these groups are so closely connected as to constitute "fronts" for larger terrorist organizations. The situation in regard to these groups is extremely complicated, partly because of the

²³Ibid., p. 65.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 68-70; McDonald, op. cit., p. 61.

²⁵The Economist, October 11, 1975, p. 61.

secrecy with which they operate and partly because the ever-shifting politics of the Middle East combine with the different ideological, national, religious, and cultural positions of the terrorists themselves and of their governmental supporters.

The principal Palestinian organization is the Palestine Liberation Organization controlled by an executive committee of six, including its principal leader, Yasser Arafat. Within or associated with the PLO are six major terrorist groups that have dominated the terrorist and paramilitary wing of the Palestinian national movement. These six are Al Fatah, Al Sa'iqah, the Arab Liberation Front, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. However, Al Sa'iqah and the Arab Liberation Front are extensions, respectively, of the Syrian army and the Iraqi government; and neither operates in Western Europe.²⁶

1. Al Fatah (Movement for the Liberation of Palestine, HTF, or "Conquest"): Al Fatah was formed in 1956 but did not become active until the late 1960s. It is led by Yasser Arafat and has controlled the PLO. Al Fatah is nationalist and non-Marxist and, since 1971, has used the Black September Organization for terrorist operations.

2. Black September Organization (BSO): The BSO was formed in 1971 from the more extreme members of other Palestinian liberation groups. The best known instance of its terrorism is the murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games on September 5, 1972; but it has also engaged in attempted assassinations of the Queen Mother and Crown Prince of Jordan and the actual assassination of the Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal on November 28, 1971. It also murdered two American diplomats and one Belgian in Khartoum on March 1, 1973; and it has attempted several assassinations by letter bombs. The eight killers of the diplomats in Khartoum were later convicted by a Sudanese court but allowed to live in Egypt.

A principal leader of the BSO has been Salah Khalaf, who is also an assistant to Arafat in the leadership of Al Fatah. Khalaf is believed to have planned the Munich attack.

3. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP): The PFLP was founded in 1968 as a union of three other groups, the principal one being the Marxist-Leninist Arab National Movement led by Dr. George Habash, who became the principal leader of the PFLP politburo. Among the more notable actions undertaken by the PFLP have been the organization of the URA attack on the Lod airport on May 30, 1972; the attempted assassination of Mr. Edward Sieff in his home in London on December 30, 1973; and the hijacking of a Japanese jet on July 20, 1973, again in collaboration with the URA, and the subsequent blowing up of the plane in Libya after freeing the 137 hostages.

²⁶For the following Palestinian groups, see Terrorism, pp. 29-50 passim; see also Miles Copeland, "Arabs and Terrorists," National Review, September 29, 1972, p. 1060 ff.

The ideology of the PFLP has been Marxist-Leninist and is thus distinguished from the Maoist, Trotskyist, nihilist, anarchist, or nationalist ideologies of other terrorist groups. Habash considers himself the leader of a class war and revolution against Israel and its bourgeois allies. He was born in Lod in 1925 and was educated at the American University in Beirut where he became a medical doctor. He has been involved in terrorist activities since 1948, though without much Arab support because of his Marxist ideas. Another leader of the PFLP has been Wadi Haddad, its chief of intelligence in Lebanon, who was the planner of the hijacking described above. Haddad is also a doctor, specializing in dentistry. The PFLP has recently announced that Haddad was expelled from its ranks in February, 1976, because he refused to support the PFLP decision to forego further hijackings. The PFLP states that this decision was taken in 1972 and disclaims responsibility for hijackings since then; Haddad, however, is said to have been responsible for the Lufthansa hijacking of October, 1977.²⁷

4. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC): The PFLP-GC was formed as a splinter from the PFLP in 1970 because its members refused to accept a PLO agreement not to use Lebanese territory as a base for attacks on Israel. The PFLP-GC has specialized in letter bombs and bombings rather than in hijackings or kidnappings, an example being the blowing up of a Swiss-air flight in mid-air. On April 13, 1974, a group of its commandoes raided the Israeli settlement in Qiryat Shemona and killed 18 civilians, though 11 of the commandoes were killed. The PFLP-GC reportedly consists of about 200 men and is led by Ahmed Jabril, a former Syrian army officer who is a demolitions expert and who may have received some Soviet training.

5. Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP): The PDFLP was formed in 1969 from the PFLP because of personal differences between George Habash and its leader, Nayef Hawatmeh. The PDFLP is Maoist in ideology, and Hawatmeh is dedicated to a protracted guerilla war of liberation against Israel. The group has not engaged in much international terrorism but has concentrated on terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians. In 1974, it consisted of 500 to 1,000 men. On May 15, 1974, commandoes of the PDFLP seized over 80 schoolchildren in Maalot, Israel, and killed over 20 of them when Israeli troops reached the schoolhouse. Hawatmeh, a former friend of George Habash, also attended the American University at Beirut and belonged to the Marxist-Leninist Arab National Movement, which came to dominate the PFLP.

In addition to these major organizations, there are several other terrorist groups in the Near East, some of them splinters or fronts of the major groups. Others are indigenous nationalist

²⁷Christian Science Monitor, November 4, 1977, p. 13. In early April, 1978, the death of Wadi Haddad from cancer in East German hospital was reported. However, West German and Israeli intelligence services have cast doubt on the reports of his death and suggest that he may still be alive and in hiding. See Washington Post, April 12, 1978, p. A13.

or revolutionary movements with some or no connections with the Palestinians. Very few of them, however, conduct any operations in Western Europe or become involved in international activities.

The Carlos Group: This shadowy group takes its name from the alias of its leader, Illich Ramirez-Sanchez, long known to the police and his associates as "Carlos." He was born in Venezuela in 1950, the son of a wealthy lawyer who was a member of the Communist Party and who named his three sons "Vladimir," "Illich," and "Lenin" (after Vladimir Illich Ulyanov, the real name of Lenin). He sent them to London to be educated in 1966. Illich attended the Soviet training school for terrorists at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow but apparently was expelled in 1970. Thereafter, he became a member of the PFLP. Identified by an informant in Paris, Illich--or Carlos, as he was now known--shot the informant and two French policemen on the night of June 27, 1975, and escaped. He was in charge of the terrorist operation that seized the delegates to the Vienna OPEC meeting on December 21, 1975; and he has built up his own organization which works closely with the Palestinian groups, the URA, the Baader-Meinhof Group, and various Latin American gangs. One of his associates is a member of the Colombian Communist Party. On December 30, 1973, Carlos attempted to assassinate Edward Sieff, a wealthy Briton who is a vocal supporter of Israel, for the PFLP. He also bombed the Paris discotheque Le Drugstore in 1974, attacked two El Al aircraft at Orly airport in January, 1975, and tried to assassinate a Yugoslav official in Lyons in March, 1975. He has called his organization by various names, and it has had different membership at different times.²⁸

INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

The different terrorist organizations discussed above often cooperate with each other and receive moral, financial, tactical, and training support from certain countries, notwithstanding the ideological differences among them. Thus, the IRA has developed links with the FLB, the ETA, and a Welsh nationalist group called the Free Welsh Army. Also, it developed connections with the PFLP in the late 1960s; and both the PFLP and the IRA have supported each other's goals. The Provisional IRA has allied with the International Marxist Group, a faction of the Trotskyist Fourth International. The IRA has received funding on a large scale from sympathizers in the U.S. who are organized in the Irish Northern Aid Committee. In Germany, the Baader-Meinhof group has also developed connections with the URA and Palestinian terrorists, though the PFLP disavowed the recent

²⁸CIA Research Study, pp. 16-17; Don Cook, "Terrorist Groups Establishing Worldwide Connections," Human Events, October 11, 1975 (reprinted from Los Angeles Times), pp. 10-11.

hijacking of the Lufthansa jet. In Italy the Red Brigades are believed by both Italian and West German police to be interconnected, and German terrorists may have participated in the Moro kidnapping. Switzerland and Holland are believed to be centers for the planning of some international terrorist operations.²⁹ The URA, during its hijacking of a Japanese jet to North Korea in 1970, made an alliance with the PFLP. The various Palestinian organizations have also made use of various European terrorist organizations and have cooperated with them, especially with the Carlos Group.

THE SUPPORT OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

It has become clear to observers, if it is not openly admitted by the governments themselves, that certain terrorist groups are supported by the governments of various states, especially in the Middle East and Africa. These states in the recent past have tended to be the more leftist, militantly anti-Israeli countries: Iraq, Libya, and Algeria in particular. Thus, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi has expressed his open support for the Palestinians and the IRA and, since 1973, has directly sponsored a splinter of the BSO called the Libyan Black September or National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine. This organization has been involved in several assassinations and massacres since then.³⁰ Libya maintains a resort area a few miles from Tripoli which has been used by Carlos, the URA, and Hans Joachim Klein, who participated in the OPEC kidnapping of 1975, and by Wilfred Bose, another associate of Carlos who was killed by Israeli troops at Entebbe in June, 1976.

Iraq also has a similar camp in its interior at Abu Ali Iyad where Abu Nidal, a former member of Al Fatah, trains another terrorist group known as Black June, which Iraq has used to attack more moderate Arab states and politicians and which may be the organization to which Wadi Haddad now belongs.

The People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen has also hosted Haddad, the URA, the Baader-Meinhof Group, and the PFLP. Haddad used Somalia as a base during his planning of the hijacking of the Air France jet to Entebbe in June, 1976. Uganda welcomed this hijacking and reinforced the hijackers with locally based Palestinians and a collaborator of Carlos, an Ecuadorian named Antonio Dages Bouvier.

Terrorists receive from these countries heavy financial support as well as sophisticated weapons. Qaddafi is said by some intelligence sources to have paid Carlos \$1-2 million and H. J. Klein \$100,000. Libya has shipped arms and Soviet rocket launchers to the IRA and Strela SA-7 missiles to the Palestinians to be used in

²⁹David Anable, Christian Science Monitor, March 15, 1977, pp. 14-16.

³⁰Terrorism, pp. 36-38.

a thwarted attack on Rome airport. Uganda probably was the source of Strela SA-7 missiles for a frustrated Palestinian attack on an El Al plane at Nairobi airport in 1976. In early 1977, a member of the Iraqi UN mission, Alaeddin M. al-Tayyar, was expelled from the U.S. because of his apparent involvement in the purchase and smuggling of over 100 automatic submachine guns.³¹

COMMUNIST SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM

Although the Soviet Union and those Communist states which adhere to its ideological line officially frown on terrorism, there is considerable evidence that they have given material support to West European terrorist groups (and much more to terrorists in the less developed countries). This discrepancy between public ideology and actual policy need not surprise us. The U.S.S.R. has frequently contradicted its own ideology when political ends required it, as when the Soviets agreed to the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August, 1939. Even though Soviet Communism does not regard terrorism as a normally effective instrument for instigating social revolution, the Soviets may find it useful to support terrorism when such support can serve to destabilize their enemies or further their policy goals. However, there is ample basis within the orthodox Marxism-Leninism of the Soviet Union to justify terrorism and support for it. Though Lenin himself frequently criticized the use of terrorism by rival revolutionaries, he did so because he considered terrorism alone to be insufficient for bringing about a genuine socialist revolution and also, very often, a counterproductive and inexpedient tactic. Thus, in 'Left-Wing Communism' -- An Infantile Disorder (1920), Lenin criticized the non-Marxist Socialist Revolutionaries because they believed in "individual terrorism, assassination -- something that we Marxists emphatically rejected." But, Lenin went on,

It was, of course, only on grounds of expediency that we rejected individual terrorism, whereas people who were capable of condemning 'on principle'...were ridiculed and laughed to scorn by Plekhanov [an early Bolshevik theoretician] in 1900...."

and Lenin made similar statements in What Is To Be Done? (1902).³²

³¹David Anable, Christian Science Monitor, March 15, 1977, pp. 14-16.

³²v. I. Lenin, 'Left-Wing Communism'-- An Infantile Disorder in Selected Works (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), vol. III, p. 301; and What Is To Be Done?, vol. I, pp. 149-152. For Lenin's more positive advocacy of terrorist and guerrilla war, see the statement of Herbert Romerstein in Trotskyite Terrorist International, Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 94th Congress, 1st Session, July 24, 1975, pp. 2-5.

On May 14, 1975, Dr. Brian Crozier, Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London and a widely recognized authority on terrorism and guerilla warfare, testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Dr. Crozier stated:

By far the greatest subversive center in the world is the U.S.S.R., which is actively supported by Eastern Europe, especially by East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and BulgariaThe U.S.S.R. spends enormous, but obviously incalculable sums, on subversion all over the world.³³

Dr. Crozier went on to describe the administrative apparatus by which the Kremlin supports terrorism.

The International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), headed by Boris Ponomarev, has been the most important Soviet agency for the support of terrorism. Through this agency, the Soviets established two training schools for terrorists: the Lenin Institute or Institute of Social Studies and the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow. Both of them regularly train their students--300 to 600 at any one time at the Lenin Institute--in the techniques of "sabotage, terrorism, assassination, and other kinds of clandestine and violent warfare." This kind of training for the students of Patrice Lumumba University is carried out in other cities: Simferopol, Baku, Tashkent, and Odessa. The purpose of having two such centers is to separate orthodox (Soviet Marxist-Leninist) Communists at the Lenin Institute from the "national liberationists" revolutionaries at Patrice Lumumba University. The Lenin Institute has existed since 1967, but its existence has been known only since 1973. Its Rector in 1975 was F. D. Ryshenko, whose deputies were G. P. Chernikov and V. G. Pribytkov, responsible for supervision of the curriculum and liaison with the Central Committee of the CPSU. After completing their studies at these two centers, the non-Communist students are sent to training camps in North Korea.³⁴

These efforts at constructing terrorist groups for its own purposes are under the direction of the Central Committee of the CPSU, but the KGB and GRU (Soviet military intelligence) also have directed similar activities. A defecting KGB officer, V. N. Sakharov, has revealed that the KGB sought to establish terrorist groups in Saudi Arabia and the smaller Arab states in the Persian Gulf in Turkey and that the KGB and GRU made efforts to penetrate and control the Palestinian groups in 1970 and 1971. Though the Central Committee in 1971 forbade Soviet embassies from having further

³³Crozier, op. cit., p. 184.

³⁴Ibid., p. 194.

dealings with the Palestinians because of fear of its terrorist support operations being exposed, there were Palestinian reports of Soviet arms supplies for Al Fatah in late 1972.³⁵

In 1970, the KGB sought to construct links with the IRA through both the British and Irish Communist Parties. Yuri Ustimenko, Tass correspondent in Dublin and a KGB officer, as well as Yuri Yasnev, a Pravda correspondent, and N. V. Glavatsky, an Intourist official, all of whom are members of the KGB, have all worked with the IRA, especially its official (Marxist) wing.³⁶ In October, 1971, the Dutch government seized a 4-ton shipment of Czechoslovakian arms at Schipol airport. They had been purchased by David O'Connell of the Provisional IRA from Ominipol, an agency of the Czech intelligence service controlled by the KGB.³⁷ From November, 1972, the Provisionals made use of Soviet RPG-7 rocket launchers; and on March 29, 1973, the Irish navy seized a ship off the coast of southern Ireland that contained 5 tons of arms and ammunition and included 250 Kalashnikov automatic rifles (AK-47s) forwarded to the IRA by Al Fatah.³⁸ The Soviets have also supported, trained, financed, and armed terrorists in Mexico and other parts of Latin America and in Africa and have used the the Cuban intelligence service (Direccion General de Inteligencia, or DGI), which the KGB is widely believed to control, for this purpose.³⁹ Soon after Carlos's murder of the two French policemen and the informant in Paris in June, 1975, France expelled three Cuban diplomats for their connection with the DGI and their possible linkage with Carlos.⁴⁰ East Germany also has provided aid to West German terrorists and maintains a training camp for them at Finsterwalde.⁴¹ Klaus Rainer Rohl, the former husband of Ulrike Meinhof, admitted that both he and his former wife were secret members of the Communist Party and that he received \$400,000 from East Berlin and Prague. This money was used to finance a leftist journal of which he was then the editor and to support leftist organizations in the Free University of Berlin.⁴²

³⁵John Barron, KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), pp. 76-77.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 345-347.

³⁷David Anable, op. cit., pp. 14-16.

³⁸Barron, op. cit., p. 347.

³⁹Ibid., Chapter XI passim.

⁴⁰Cook, Human Events, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴¹David Anable, op. cit., pp. 14-16.

⁴²Cook, op. cit., p. 11.

The Red Brigades may also have connections with East European governments, as their use of Czech and Soviet weapons in the Moro kidnapping would indicate. Several members seem to have traveled frequently in Czechoslovakia, particularly to the town of Karlovy Vary, where World Marxist Review is published and where a training center for terrorists may exist. It is unlikely that the training for the impeccably executed kidnapping of Moro could have occurred in Italy. After the PLO raid near Tel Aviv on March 11, 1978, which resulted in the death of 34 Israelis, Israeli intelligence found sophisticated Soviet weaponry and 3 maps of an East German training camp with one of the terrorists' names written on the back. This evidence would indicate that the terrorists received both training and weapons from the East Germans and the Soviets.⁴³

CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Much has been written about the political, social, ideological, and psychological origins of terrorism; but it is extremely difficult to locate a general reason for the spread of terrorism in recent years. Theories of "post-industrial alienation" may sound impressive when one is discussing the affluent, middle-class students of the Baader-Meinhof Group, but they would not apply to the Palestinian or Basque terrorists. Analysis of the psychological roots of terrorism is also questionable since the terrorists come from many different cultures, have widely differing motives, and have not usually been exposed to rigorous psychological examination. Nor are the terrorists motivated by a common ideology. Though Marxism is often in the background, there are other ideologies--nationalist, anarchist, or nihilist--which are also present; and it must be recognized that Marxism takes an ambivalent position on the usefulness of terrorism as a revolutionary technique. It is therefore very difficult to locate a common background that would explain all terrorists and their activities or their spread in the late 1960s and 1970s.

However, one precondition, if not a cause, of terrorism is the weakened and uncertain apparatus of internal security that has afflicted Western states since the mid-1960s. The weakening of this apparatus is reflected in a greater concern for civil liberties, a greater tolerance of dissident groups of all kinds, the decreasing use of surveillance techniques by internal security agencies, and an unwillingness of the public to support vigorous anti-terrorist measures. Normally, the social and governmental apparatus of order keeps anti-social forces under control; but when this apparatus is weakened, the enemies of order will take advantage of it.

⁴³Newsweek, April 17, 1978, p. 33. The connection of the Red Brigade with the Czechs has been brought out by Dr. Angelo Codevilla of the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. See also Washington Star, April 28, 1978 p.A4.

Secondly, it must be affirmed that "transnational terrorism" could not exist if various countries did not assist it. Both material aid and sanctuaries where terrorists may live and plan in security are provided by the radical states of the Middle East and Africa and by at least some Communist states. It has become a commonplace to say that the victimized countries should ostracize states like Uganda, Libya, or Iraq which give aid to terrorists; but in the present state of international relations, such ostracism may be impractical. Nevertheless, such transnational support is fundamental to the success of terrorism, and efforts at ostracism or sanctions should be made.

Strengthening the machinery of internal order does not mean the evolution of an authoritarian state, or even the passage of very many new laws. The public may not be willing to support such measures that would seriously infringe what it has come to consider its rights, even though it may be momentarily outraged by terrorist excesses. The use of police measures common in the Western world in the 1950s should be sufficient to contain terrorism: police intelligence, wiretapping, counter-espionage, coupled with heavier security at airports and for threatened public figures and targets and compulsory legal penalties for those who perpetrate terrorist acts. Closer cooperation with the military and civilian security forces of the Western nations would also be indispensable. The problem of controlling terrorism is not that democratic states do not have the legal procedures for it but that they have not been using them effectively.

Terrorism is a problem that will not simply go away. Despite earlier predictions that acts of international terrorism were declining, there were 239 such incidents in 1976; and in 1976-77, there were 23 hijackings, including Lufthansa Flight 181, and 15 kidnappings (of the latter, only two resulted in the apprehension of the kidnappers).⁴⁴

The practitioners of terrorism are not merely passing through a fad of permissiveness or irresponsibility. They are professional in their approach and combine arduous training with a dangerous and highly disciplined life style. Furthermore, they are highly organized and receive critical support from each other and from certain sponsoring states. This organizational aspect of terrorism will serve to perpetuate it unless there is an equally well organized effort to repress it, but such an effort will not be made until the victimized citizens and states of the Western countries begin to take terrorism seriously.

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⁴⁴David Anable, Christian Science Monitor, November 21, 1977, p. 38.