

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library  
Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Mandel, Judyt: Files  
**Folder Title:** Terrorism – Libya Public Diplomacy  
(07/17/1986) (2)  
**Box:** 91721

---

To see more digitized collections visit:  
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:  
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: [reagan.library@nara.gov](mailto:reagan.library@nara.gov)

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

## Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Front (LARF)

Date Formed: 1981

Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Beirut

Area of Operations: Western Europe, Lebanon

Leadership: George Ibrahim Abdallah (Abdul-Qader Saadi)

Other Names: None known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- establish a Marxist-Leninist state in Lebanon
- force the U.S., Israel, and France to withdraw their presence from Lebanon

Background:

LARF established its reputation with a series of killings of U.S. and Israeli diplomats in France. Although the leadership of the group and the issuance of its communiques claimed its attacks originated in Beirut, the group used Western Europe as the area of its operations. In 1984, a series of arrests by Italian and French police made further operations there unsafe in the minds of the LARF leadership. Retreat to Lebanon was ordered.

It is not surprising that links between LARF and the French terrorist group Action Directe are in evidence. Both share a Marxist orientation as well as the European area of operations. LARF, like other Middle Eastern terrorist groups, has found Action Directe to be an important source of support for operations in France and in providing links to other European terrorist groups.

LARF target selection seems to be closely connected with the level of activity that the target nation is conducting in Lebanon. It is reasonable to expect LARF to target any countries who participate in peacekeeping or assistance operations in Lebanon.

Selected Incident Chronology:

January 1982 - murdered American assistant military attache, Lt. Col. Charles Ray, with a bullet in the back of the head while he stood on a Paris sidewalk.

April 1982 - conducted machine gun attack on Israeli embassy in Paris.

August 1982 - left a bomb outside the Paris home of the American commercial consul in Paris. One bomb disposal technician was killed and another injured in trying to dismantle the device.

February 1984 - murdered multinational peacekeeping force Director General Leamon Hunt in Rome (the act was also claimed by the Italian Red Brigades).

March 1985 - kidnapped French Cultural Center head, Gilles Peyrolles, in Tripoli.

## As Sa'iqqa

Date Formed: 1968

Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Syria

Areas of Operation: Middle East, Western Europe

Leadership: Issam al-Qadi, Sami al-Attari

Other Names: The Thunderbolt, Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- establish a Palestinian state
- create a mechanism for Syrian control and influence in the Palestinian movement

Background:

Sa'iqqa was established in 1968 by the ruling Baath party in Syria as a mechanism for manipulating the Palestinian movement to meet the political goals of Syrian President Asad. Its membership was derived from Palestinian members of the Baath party and the Syrian armed forces.

The position of the group has always been tenuous within the Palestinian movement and it suffered considerably when it supported the Syrian position in Lebanon in 1976. However, after the Egyptian-Israeli accords of 1979-80, Sa'iqqa found a new impetus and it expanded its targeting to include Egypt as well as Israel and the U.S.

Occasional statements from Sa'iqqa are still surfaced, but it appears their real operational capability has been diminished following the Israeli operations in Lebanon beginning in 1982. With a strong and determined sponsor like Syria, there is always the potential for rapid redevelopment of terrorist capabilities. This is obviously dependent on Syrian policy goals.

Selected Incident Chronology:

September 1971 - attacked a train carrying Soviet Jews in Austria.

March 1979 - wounded 20 Jewish students in 2 bombings in Paris.

May 1979 - killed 2 Israelis and wounded 32 others in an attack on the northern border town of Tiberias.

July 1979 - occupied the Egyptian Embassy in Ankara, Turkey.

## 15 May Arab Organization

Date Formed: 1979

Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: formerly Baghdad, now believed to be Lebanon

Area of Operations: Western Europe

Leadership: Husayn al-Umari (Abu Ibrahim)

Other Names: None Known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- destruction of the State of Israel
- intimidation of moderate Palestinians and other Arabs who favor a negotiated settlement of the Palestinian issue

### Background:

The 15 May Arab Organization is a shadowy group about which little is known except for their vehement opposition to the existence of the State of Israel. The name of the group is the date of the founding of Israel.

Apparently the 15 May group is one of the many splinter organizations of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The many rivalries and jealousies within the Palestinian movement tend to spawn small (and sometimes short-lived) groups like this one. They share a common hatred of Israel and a predisposition for choosing innocent civilian targets. Charting exact linkages among groups can be extremely difficult due to internal turbulence and shifting loyalties.

The favorite tactic used by the group is to place time-delay bombs at undefended civilian targets. Airlines and airports appear to be favorite targets, probably because of the international publicity that almost invariably follows such an attack and the relative ease of this type of operation.

### Selected Incident Chronology:

January 1980 - killed a 22 year old Arab student and wounded a German national by bombing the Mount Royal Hotel in London (the group claimed in a press statement to have killed or wounded several Israeli intelligence agents and Jewish immigrants).

May 1981 - exploded a bomb outside the Rome office of El Al airlines.

August 1981 - detonated a bomb near the El Al office at DaVinci airport outside Rome.

August 1981 - exploded a bomb near the Israeli Embassy in Athens.

January 1982 - killed 1 child and injured 46 people by bombing a Jewish restaurant in West Berlin.

August 1982 - killed 1 and injured 14 with a time-delay bomb that exploded on a Pan Am 747 just before it landed in Hawaii.

December 1983 - attempted to blow up three airliners in flight. Bombs were discovered aboard two Israel-bound flights and a suitcase bomb was detected prior to being loaded onboard a flight from Rome to New York.

## Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

Date Formed: 1967

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Area of Operation: Europe, Middle East

Headquarters: Lebanon

Leadership: Dr. George Habash

Other Names: None Known

Sponsors: South Yemen, Libya

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- create an image of the Palestinian struggle as part of the worldwide Marxist-Leninist revolution
- establish Marxist governments within other Arab states after creating a Marxist Palestine
- oppose all efforts at a negotiated settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian issue

### Background:

When he formed the PFLP in 1967, George Habash had a clear-cut personal agenda: to challenge Yasser Arafat for leadership of the Palestinian movement and to create a strong Marxist-Leninist presence in the movement. He succeeded in both.

The PFLP rapidly became known as one of the most bloodthirsty and ruthless of the Middle Eastern terrorist groups. At the same time, it became one of the most aggressive in establishing strong ties to other Marxist revolutionary organizations. This facilitated its early exploits in Europe where it gained most of its initial publicity.

Habash felt strongly about the need for well-publicized attacks on innocent victims. As he put it: "To kill a Jew far from the battlefield had more effect than killing 100 Jews in battle." The PFLP got most of its infamous notoriety by putting this maxim into action.

Because of its strong ideological emphasis and internal disputes over intellectual differences, the PFLP has spun off several terrorist groups. Among these are the PFLP-General Command and the PFLP-Special Command.



The PFLP was one of the most active international terrorist organizations in the early 1970s. As a result of publicity that was so negative it even attracted a condemnation by Communist Bloc countries, the PFLP ceased international operations and focused on developing conventional and guerrilla forces for use against Israeli targets.

Selected Incident Chronology:

July 1968 - skyjacked an El Al airliner en route from Rome to Israel.

September 1969 - conducted simultaneous skyjackings of three airliners. Two were flown to Jordan and one to Egypt and all three were blown up in front of television cameras.

May 1972 - used Japanese Red Army terrorists to conduct a machinegun attack in the Lod Airport terminal building in Tel Aviv. Twenty-seven civilians, including 16 Puerto Rican tourists visiting the Holy Land, were killed.

July 1973 - skyjacked a Japanese airliner to Libya and blew it up.

June 1976 - skyjacked an Air France airliner to Entebbe, Uganda, where four civilians were killed during the rescue operation by Israeli paratroopers.

August 1976 - killed four passengers on an El Al airliner in Istanbul.

March 1984 - killed three passengers in an attack on a bus in Ashdod, Israel.

## Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)

Date Formed: 1977

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Syria

Area of Operations: Middle East, especially Israeli-occupied territories

Leadership: Ta'alat Yaqub

Other Names: Front for the Liberation of Palestine (FLP)

Sponsor: Syria

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- destroy the State of Israel
- terrorize Israeli civilians in the border areas
- oppose all moderate influences in the Palestinian movement

Background:

The PLF was originally formed as a splinter group of the PLFP-General Command in 1977. At that time, they objected to growing Syrian influence and control. They sought and received support from Iraq. Then, in 1980-81, the group proved to be flexible in its quest for support by turning to Syria for assistance.

The primary interest of the PLF has been to conduct small unit terrorist attacks on civilian Israeli targets. Many of their efforts have failed due to poor planning or lack of expertise.

As the group asserted its interest in international terrorism with the hijacking of the cruise ship Achille Lauro, they continued this tendency to botch their operations. This ineptitude does not diminish their potential threat, however. It is quite possible that they will attempt more ambitious and violent operations to try to erase the stigma that their failures have caused.

Selected Incident Chronology:

April 1979 - attacked the Israeli coastal town of Nahariya and killed four civilians.

October 1985 - hijacked the cruise ship Achille Lauro, shot a 69 year old wheelchair-bound American and dumped his body over the side of the ship. They held 400 passengers and crew hostage.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine  
General Command (PFLP-GC)

Date Formed: 1968

Estimated Membership: 200-300

Headquarters: Syria, Lebanon

Area of Operations: Middle East, especially Jordan and Israeli occupied territories

Leadership: Ahmad Jibril (Abu Jihad)

Other Names: N/A

Sponsors: Libya, Syria

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- destroy the State of Israel
- terrorize Israeli citizens, especially those in border regions and occupied territories
- oppose any moves toward moderation in the Palestinian movement

Background:

The PFLP-GC was formed by Ahmad Jibril in 1968 when he became disenchanted with the leadership of George Habash, leader of the PFLP. The General Command has very much reflected Jibril's personal leadership style and political interests. He was an officer in the Syrian Army and has had a continuing interest in developing conventional military capabilities along with his program of terrorist activities.

Even though Jibril has practiced the usual Middle Eastern terrorist skills of aircraft hijacking and sabotage, he has been exceptionally versatile in the mayhem he directs. He has dabbled in small scale activities such as letter bombing and major cross-border guerrilla terrorism directed at Israeli civilians.

The PFLP-GC has proved willing to share its terrorist expertise. Members of the Eritrean Liberation Front are known to have trained in PFLP-GC camps. And Jibril's open admiration of Abu Nidal and their common state support undoubtedly provide a basis for mutual support in training and equipment.

Jibril has been extremely ambitious in his plans. He is known to have had pilots trained in Libya where they are believed to have

been taught to fly Soviet-provided MiG-23's. The GC is also known to have Soviet SAM-7 anti aircraft missiles and heavy artillery weapons. They are also well provided with the communist bloc small arms that are the staples of Middle East terrorism: Kalashnikov assault rifles and RPG-7 anti tank rockets.

The PFLP-GC has not conducted regular international terrorist operations since 1978. They have focused on active participation in the conflict in Lebanon including sniping attacks that injured U.S. Marines who were on the peacekeeping forces in Beirut in 1982-83. In addition, they continue operations against Israeli civilians with attacks from the Golan Heights and Lebanon. They also occasionally recruit West Bank Palestinians to carry out terrorist attacks in Israel.

Because of their extensive base of military and terrorist expertise, the PFLP-GC is an extremely dangerous group. Occasional rumors that they intend to actively re-enter the terrorist arena give continuing cause for concern because of the violence that they perpetrated in the early 1970's.

## Organization of the Armed Arab Struggle (OAAS)

Date Formed: about 1978

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Unknown

Area of Operations: Western Europe, Middle East

Leadership: Carlos (Illych Ramirez Sanchez)

Other Names: Carlos Apparatt

Sponsors: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Libya

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- conduct generalized terrorism in support of Arab revolutionary movements

- maintain the myth of Carlos as terrorist par excellence

### Background:

Carlos was born in Venezuela, the son of a prominent Marxist lawyer. He became involved in revolutionary activities at an early age and studied at Patrice Lumumba University in the Soviet Union (where he was expelled for not being serious enough in his studies...Carlos is a notorious playboy).

He was recruited by the PFLP in the early 1970's and served in their European unit in the early 1970's. He became established as a leader in the group and engineered the 1975 OPEC oil ministers hostage incident in Vienna. This operation included support and participation by European terrorist organizations including the West German Bader Meinhoff Gang. After this incident, he apparently went into semi-retirement and became a widely sought mentor by Middle East terrorist groups.

In 1984, Carlos was reported to be in Damascus training Syrian intelligence agents. Firm identification is difficult because he is reported to have undergone extensive plastic surgery. However, he has been reported in many locations in the Middle East over the last several years.

Recently, the OAAS has surfaced in a series of attacks directed against the French, presumably because of their involvement in Lebanon. The recent attacks continue Carlos's pattern of extensive international operations and indicate that he may well have a network of European support which makes him potentially very dangerous in that region as well as the Middle East.

Selected Incident Chronology:

August 1983 - killed one and wounded 23 in a bombing of the French Cultural Center in West Berlin.

December 1983 - killed two and wounded 45 with a suitcase bomb at a Marseilles railroad station.

December 1983 - exploded a bomb aboard the French "bullet train" which killed three and injured four (this incident was also claimed by the French terrorist group, Action Directe, which may have been cooperating with the OAS).

January 1984 - killed one with a bomb blast at the French Cultural Center in Tripoli, Lebanon.

## Japanese Red Army (JRA)

Date Formed: 1971

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Unknown

Area of Operations: Western Europe, Middle East, Asia

Leadership: Fusako Shigenobu (alias Marian Susako Okudaira, Miss Yuki), Haruo Wako

Other Names: None Known

Sponsors: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- give a Japanese presence to the worldwide Marxist-Leninist revolution by conducting acts of terrorism for its own goals and in support of terrorist groups of other nations

- serve as a uniting force for leftist organizations in Japan

Background:

The Japanese Red Army was formed based on the assumption by its leaders that international terrorist activity could stimulate the onset of a worldwide Marxist revolution. Its members came from the radical fringe of Japanese left-wing extremism.

The history of the JRA has had two distinct phases. The first, which created its notoriety, was active participation in some of the most publicized terrorist attacks of the 1970s. The JRA found eager support from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) which shared the JRA's Marxist orientation and militant goals. The PFLP provided training, weapons, and explosives and the JRA supplied manpower that did not flinch at conducting operations that were suicidal.

After successes in its early years, the JRA found itself in major trouble when the Israelis carried their military operations into Lebanon. In 1977, the JRA announced that it was re-evaluating its position and would be focusing on organizing internal activities and coordinating the numerous Japanese leftist groups. However, they voiced continuing support for international cooperation in terrorist operations.

A statement by Shigenobu which was published in several Japanese

## Red Brigades

Date Formed: 1970

Estimated Membership: 20 to 50

Headquarters: Rome, Naples

Area of Operations: Italy

Leadership: Barbara Balzerani

Other Names: Brigade Rosse (BR)

Sponsors: None Known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Destroy the government of Italy.
- Oppose the presence of NATO by creating fear among NATO personnel stationed in Italy.
- Carry out a campaign of destruction directed at "imperialist multinational corporations."

### Background:

The Red Brigades can claim to be the most vicious of the major European terrorist groups. It has conducted an extensive program of murder and kidnapping as its favored terrorist tactics.

The BR was spawned by the ultraradical wing of the Italian labor movement. Although it claims anarchistic principles, it frequently employs Marxist rhetoric in its public statements. Although the BR began its life with a clear focus on destruction of the Italian establishment, it expanded its horizons in late 1981 when it "declared war" on NATO, and in early 1984 it expressed solidarity with Middle Eastern terrorist groups.

Women form a significant percentage of the BR. The current presumed leader of the group, Barbara Balzerani, has been directly implicated in several murders and kidnappings. Women can be especially effective as terrorists, particularly in societies where male dominance is the norm and where women are not usually associated with acts of violence and aggression.

The BR organizational structure is believed to be highly cellular, which means high levels of security and independence of action by the various units. Italian authorities have succeeded in



arresting many BR leaders and in confiscating arms and explosives. Yet, the operational capability of the group has not been destroyed even though the overall effectiveness has been reduced.

In addition to its acts of violence directed at specific targets, the BR uses robbery as a means to finance operations. These thefts also serve a secondary function: Prospective BR members may be called on to prove their abilities and commitment by conducting a successful robbery or burglary.

No direct connection to the Soviet Union has been uncovered, but the BR has had access to many types of weapons manufactured in the Communist Bloc that are not usually available in the West. In addition, Italian officials suspect a Bulgarian connection, which is a favored "cut out" technique for Soviet operations. This Bulgarian link was confirmed by a BR member who was captured in the rescue of American Brigadier General James Dozier.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

April 1974 - Kidnapped public prosecutor Mario Sossi and killed his two bodyguards. Rossi was held in a "people's prison" for 35 days, then released.

June 1976 - Killed chief prosecutor Francesco Coco and his two police guards in Genoa.

April 1977 - Murdered attorney Fulvio Croce, president of the Turin Bar Association.

March 1978 - Kidnapped Christian Democratic Party president Aldo Moro and killed his chauffeur, his bodyguard and three police in the abduction. Moro was held for two months before being murdered.

May 1979 - Set off bombs in the Christian Democratic Party building in Rome, killing two and injuring one.

January 1980 - Claimed the murder of the president of the Sicilian Regional Government.

May 1980 - Killed a senior police official near his home in Mestre.

April 1981 - Killed two guards and wounded a secretary while kidnapping Naples city councilor Ciro Cirillo. He was held until July when he was released through "revolutionary magnanimity" and the payment of \$1.2 million in ransom.

December 1981 - Kidnapped US Army Brigadier General James Dozier in Verona. He was held for 42 days and was freed in a rescue operation by Italian counterterrorist forces.

April 1982 - Ambushed a police van in Rome and wounded three policemen in the machinegun and grenade attack.

October 1982 - During a bank robbery in Turin, forced two unarmed bank guards to lie on the floor where they were shot and killed.

January 1983 - Murdered a female prison guard in Rome after subjecting her to a "people's trial."

February 1984 - Shot and killed the UN Middle East Peacekeeping Force Director General in Rome. American Leamon Hunt was hit with a blast from a Soviet AK-47 assault rifle as he sat in his auto in the driveway of his home.

March 1985 - Murdered Enzo Tarantelli, a University of Rome economics professor and labor union official.

February 1986 - Shot and killed former Florence mayor Lando Conti.

## Fighting Communist Cells

Date Formed: 1984

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Brussels

Area of Operations: Belgium

Leadership: Pierre Carrette

Other Names: Cellules Communistes Combattantes (CCC)

Sponsors: None known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Destruction of the capitalist system and opposition to "imperialist war."
- Destruction of NATO.

Background:

The CCC literally burst onto the European terrorism stage with a series of bombings that began in late 1984. Prior to the CCCs emergence, Belgium had not been plagued with its own terrorist threat. Throughout the 1970s, it had been a refuge for European terrorists who had to flee their own countries, but a domestic terrorist threat did not exist until the CCC.

Belgian authorities have speculated that the CCC may have operational ties to the French group, Action Directe (AD). In early 1975, these two groups and the German Red Army Faction (RAF) announced they were forming the Anti-Imperialist Armed Front, which "declared war" on NATO and established an umbrella organization for closer European terrorist operations. All three groups shared ideological goals and overlapping areas of operations, so the coalition was a likely, if unholy, alliance.

The CCC considers terrorism to be a necessary part of a total revolutionary program that includes civil unrest and inflammatory political action. As the militant sector of the movement, the CCC says its function is to be "the spark that must set us free from the sticky traps of parliamentarianism and consultation."

To date, the CCC has used bombing as its only mode of attack. Originally, the bombings were conducted at places and times of day when the likelihood of injury was minimal. However, in January 1985, CCC announced its policy would be to injure and kill "Yankees".

Studies of the communiques and propaganda of the CCC seem to indicate that the leadership is well educated and sophisticated. However, virtually nothing is known about the organizations infrastructure.

The political orientation of the CCC is clear, and the targeting of NATO has become its consistent expression. Opposition to the stationing of cruise missiles in Belgium has become a major theme. Because of the low-risk attacks it conducts, it is probable that CCC will be able to continue its operations in the foreseeable future. Very successful police operations in December 1985 nearly decimated the group, so a lull in operations is expected while rebuilding takes place.

It is not known if the CCC has weapons other than explosives because they have restricted their attacks to that mode up to this point. They have displayed a high degree of sophistication in their bombing attacks, including the capability to carry out widely separated incidents.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

October 1984 - Bombed the headquarters of Litton Data Systems in Brussels. Three buildings and 25 vehicles were severely damaged. Also bombed during the month: the parking lot of the M.A.N. Corporation, the headquarters of Honeywell-Bull, and the Belgian Party Research Center, all in the Brussels area.

November 1984 - Bombed two telecommunications towers at the NATO air base near Leige.

December 1984 - Conducted simultaneous bombings of points along the NATO fuel pipeline, forcing a temporary shutdown of operations.

January 1985 - Wounded two American military policemen in the bombing of a NATO support facility in suburban Brussels.

## Revolutionary Cells

Date Formed: 1973

Estimated Membership: 100-200

Headquarters: West Germany

Area of Operations: West Germany

Leadership: Rudolph Raabe, Sonja Suder, Christian Gauger

Other Names: Revolutionaere Zellen (RZ)

Sponsors: No known foreign sponsors

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Conduct "urban guerrilla" terrorist activity in support of antifacism, anti-imperialism, anti-Zionism and antimilitarism.

- Direct pressure on US forces in West Germany through terrorist attacks that create fear and suspicion.

### Background:

"We will not hesitate from shooting, bombing, extortion, and taking hostages. The whole ruling class will be made to feel insecure..." With those words the Revolutionary Cells sums up its organizational goals.

The RZ is occasionally linked with the Red Army Faction (RAF), with whom it has had contact but from whom it has maintained a clear distance. The RZ believes in a decentralized form of terrorism which is directed at targets within the immediate vicinity of each cell. It has long been a principle of covert operations that a cellular structure with minimal linkage to other groups is the most secure mode of operations. The RZ have exploited this thoroughly. Its cells are typically composed of less than 10 members.

It is believed that the RZ picked up members from small and defunct antiestablishment radical groups of the early 1970s. In addition, one former terrorist and police informer claimed that the RZ has ties to Middle Eastern terrorist organizations. Ties to other European Marxist or anarchist groups undoubtedly exist.

In its publication Revolutionaerer Zorn (Revolutionary Wrath), the RZ declared its intent to "immediately and everywhere begin the armed struggle..." In the same publication, it further contends that the situation is a "struggle of workers, youth, and

women." This is an apparent effort to gain the broadest possible base of support from the various sectors of the radical community. The RZ wants a pool of semi-independent strike teams to be spread across Germany and carefully "covered" by the appearance of normal civilian lifestyles. From this position, they can strike quickly and without warning at a variety of locations and without the need to set up elaborate chains of support.

RZ members have given evidence of mastery of a wide variety of terrorist skills. They are not only competent with typical military weapons, they also have the ability to make their own explosives and sophisticated timing devices. Their favorite method of attack by far is the time-delayed bomb. However, West German authorities report that the RZ has significant caches of infantry weapons in rural forest areas.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

June 1976 - Injured 16 in a bomb attack on the US Army V Corps headquarters in Frankfurt.

December 1976 - Injured seven with a bomb blast at the US Air Force Officers Club at Rhein/Main Air Base.

May 1977 - Plotted to kidnap the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cologne to exchange for imprisoned terrorists. Police foiled the attempt.

May 1978 - Shot and wounded a court-appointed terrorist defense attorney and set a car bomb in the auto of another (the bomb was defused before it detonated).

December 1979 - Caused property damage with a bomb at the Frankfurt office of the Morgan Trust Company of New York.

November 1980 - Firebombed the Munich office of the West German Draft Board.

May 1981 - Claimed the murder of West German economics official Heinz Karry. In a message they said: "the death of Karry was not intended, but (rather) an accident. The plan was to keep him in bed for a long time by shooting him in the legs."

October 1981 - Bombed the offices of a Frankfurt construction company.

June 1982 - Detonated a bomb on a bicycle outside a US Army communications center at Frankfurt.

January-November 1983 - Carried out 19 bombings and incendiary attacks on government facilities and civilian companies.

May 1983 - Bombed the US Officers Club in Bamberg.

February 1984 - Claimed responsibility for bombing the Turkish consulate in Cologne.

June 1984 - Bombed the NATO fuel pipeline near Lorch in Baden-Wurthemburg.

December 1984 - Bombed a US military office building in Duesseldorf.

March 1985 - Claimed responsibility for bombings at mining and shipping offices in Bochum, Essen, and Hamburg.

January 1986 - Bombed a Daimler-Benz auto dealership, causing considerable damage.

## Red Army Faction (RAF)

Date Formed: 1968

Estimated Membership: Less than 50 hard-core members, hundreds of sympathizers

Headquarters: Federal Republic of Germany

Area of Operations: Primarily Federal Republic of Germany

Leadership: Joerg Lang, Barbara Meyer (nee Metzger), Susan Albrecht

Other Names: Baader Meinhof Gang, Baader Meinhof Group

Sponsors: No major foreign sponsors

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Destroy Western capitalism by conducting acts of terrorism that will help precipitate a world Marxist revolution.

- Use terrorism to destroy FRG-US solidarity, especially by attacking American military who are stationed in West Germany.

- Use specific acts of terrorism to try to force authorities to release imprisoned RAF members.

### Background:

The RAF began its existence as part of the student antiwar movement. Originally called the Baader Meinhof Gang, it was dedicated to general terrorism and antiestablishment activity as part of its perceived role as a stimulus to the worldwide Marxist revolution it envisioned. The RAF obviously had origins similar to a number of radical leftist groups throughout western Europe and in the United States.

The RAF has never had a clearly articulated plan. It has chosen to espouse the general "destruction of capitalist imperialism," which has become the hackneyed but menacing policy statement of a variety of Marxist terrorist groups.

Early RAF leader and primary theoretician Ulrike Meinhof said that the RAF is "not itself a party, but is organizationally, practically, and conceptually an essential component of a Communist party worthy of the name." Those who represent the western governments, particularly the police and military, have been favorite targets of the RAF. As Meinhof put it: "We say the person in uniform is a pig, that is, not a human being, and that we have to settle the matter with him. It is wrong to talk to these people at all, and shooting is taken for granted."



The RAF has suffered many changes of fortune during its considerable history. All of its original leaders were captured or forced out of the country by the mid-1970s, but a new and more bloodthirsty group replaced them. Most of the RAF leadership are well educated. Many have medical, legal, or technical training.

The RAF organizational concept calls for a two-level structure. The "illegals" are the combatants who lead underground lifestyles and conduct virtually all of the actual atrocities. The "legals," of whom there are probably several hundred, are the vital support base that provides necessary funding, shelter, and communications for the operatives.

The RAF is known to have gotten support from many sectors. Members have been trained at Libyan-sponsored terrorist training camps in the Middle East. Contacts are maintained with French, Dutch, Belgian, Danish, Swiss, Irish, and American groups and individuals of like interests. They are co-founders, with the French Direct Action and the Belgian Fighting Communist Cells, of the Anti-Imperialist Armed Front, which has "declared war" on NATO and has the goal of furthering terrorist cooperation.

Of particular concern is the very high level of technical expertise in the RAF. Their medical specialists are known to have worked on biological weapons for terrorist operations. Radio-controlled model aircraft equipped with high explosive warheads are known to have been developed. In addition, the RAF has had access to a wide variety of firearms and to Soviet RPG-7 antitank weapons.

Although the RAF has had an irregular history due to the periodic capture of its primary leaders, the group has shown a very disturbing ability to resurface with renewed and vicious attacks. Due to its relatively large support base of "legals," it will probably continue to be a serious terrorist threat in the foreseeable future.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

May 1972 - Carried out 6 separate bombing attacks, killing 1 and injuring 13, at a US Officers Club in Frankfurt; bombed the vehicle of German Supreme Court Justice Buddenburg seriously injuring his wife; and killed 3 and wounded 5 in a blast at the US Army European Headquarters in Heidelberg.

November 1974 - Killed German Supreme Court President Guenther von Drenkmann.

February 1975 - Kidnapped two leading German politicians and held them to force the release of six imprisoned terrorists.

April 1977 - Ambushed and murdered German Federal Prosecutor Siegfried Buback, his chauffeur, and a police bodyguard.

September 1977 - Kidnapped German businessman Hanns-Martin Schleyer; killed his chauffeur and three police guards. While they were holding Schleyer, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine skyjacked an aircraft in a supporting attack. After German counterterrorist forces successfully foiled the skyjacking, the RAF murdered Schleyer.

August 1981 - Injured 18 Americans and 2 Germans with a bomb at the US Air Force headquarters in Ramstein.

September 1981 - Fired an RPG-7 into the automobile of US Army European Commanding General Kroessen, slightly injuring him and his wife.

December 1984 - Bombed the French Embassy in Bonn and the NATO school in Oberammergau.

January 1985 - Firebombed the home of the US Consul General in Frankfurt and the US airfield at Heidelberg. Firebombed a number of West German government facilities throughout Germany.

February 1985 - Broke into the home of West German businessman Ernst Zimmermann, bound him and his wife, and then shot him in the head.

March 1985 - Injured nine with a bomb blast at a department store in Dortmund.

April 1986 - Believed responsible for bombing the NATO fuel pipeline near Vollersode.

May 1986 - Severely damaged a US military fuel pumping station and destroyed two trucks with a bomb that also ignited over 1,000 gallons of fuel.

## Direct Action

Date Formed: 1979

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Paris

Area of Operations: France

Leadership: Jean-Marc Rouillan, Nathalie Menigon, Eric Moreau

Other Names: Action Directe (AD)

Sponsors: None Known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Furthering class confrontation between the masses and "Western imperialism."

- opposing US presence on the Continent, which is viewed as causing the "Americanization" of Europe.

- carrying out attacks in support of anti-Zionist causes.

Background:

AD states its goals very simply: "To wreck society through direct action by destroying its institutions and the men who serve it, and by relying on the people's forces." This statement not only makes clear the intent to carry out acts of terrorism, but it also conveys the group's leftist/anarchist political philosophy.

The level of activity and wide range of targets selected by AD gives clear indication of its threat to French society and to those allied nations who maintain a presence in France. AD is believed to have evolved from French radical groups of the 1970s that had the same political ideology and militant goals. However, these former groups, such as GARI (Groupe d'Action Revolutionnaire Internationale) and NAPAP (Noyaus Armes pour l'Autonomie Populaire), never showed the organizational sophistication or operational capability that AD has displayed in abundance.

AD is a member of the Anti-Imperialist Armed Front, along with the German Red Army Faction and the Belgian Fighting Communist Cells. This coalition obviously increases the capabilities of all three groups. In addition, ties to Middle Eastern groups are reasonably certain. AD is known to have worked with the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Front (LARF) on several attacks carried out in France.

Detailed information about the organizational structure of the group is not available, even though some of its key members have been captured and questioned. It appears that the anarchistic orientation of the group has led to a highly decentralized structure in which specific terrorist acts are planned and conducted in relative isolation. This poses obvious problems for police and counterterrorist forces.

Occasionally, AD will surface bearing the name of a specific "fighting unit" that has a specialized target and a political or social orientation. One example is the Committee for the Liquidation or Neutralization of Computers, which, as the name implies, specialized in such attacks. The French acronym for this group is CLODO. Other names that have been used include Young Mole, Nutcracker, and Angry Sheep.

One of the major goals of AD appears to be the destruction of any cooperative activities by the European allies, particularly those in the scientific and military spheres.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

May 1979 - Machinegunned the building of the National Council of French Employers in Paris.

March 1980 - Bombed and completely destroyed the police station in Toulouse.

May 1980 - Injured eight with a bomb at Orly Airport in Paris.

April 1981 - Wounded a policeman in an attack on a Paris bank.

December 1981 - Conducted bomb attacks against a toy store, a Rolls Royce dealership, an expensive restaurant, and a clothes store.

June 1982 - Bombed the American School in Paris and the European headquarters of the World Bank.

August 1982 - Machinegunned an empty Israeli Embassy auto, and bombed a hardware store and a bank that were Jewish owned.

May 1983 - Killed a policeman during a bank robbery in Paris (joint operation with the Lebanese Armed Liberation Front (LARF)).

September 1983 - Killed 1 and injured 23 with a bomb at the Marseilles Trade Fair.

November 1983 - Injured one in the bombing of a church in Paris.

December 1983 - Killed 4 and injured 46 with a bomb on the Paris-to-Marseilles "bullet train" (joint operation with the Organization of Armed Arab Struggle).

March 1984 - Shot US Consul General Robert Howe in the head and neck in a murder attempt (joint operation with LARF).

August 1984 - Wounded seven in the bombing of the European Space Agency.

January 1985 - Murdered French General Rene Audran by shooting him eight times with .45 caliber handguns as he backed his automobile into his driveway (apparently a joint operation with the German Red Army Faction).

April 1986 - Attempted to murder Guy Brana, vice president of the French Employers' Union.

Popular Forces 25 April

Date Formed: 1980

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Lisbon, Oporto, Barcelos

Area of Operations: Portugal

Leadership: Unknown

Other Names: Forces Populares 25 de Abril (FP-25), Autonomous Revolutionary Groups (GAR)

Sponsors: No major foreign sponsors, although Libya has provided some support.

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Stimulate the violent overthrow of the Portuguese government and establish a Marxist state.

- Demonstrate violent opposition to US and NATO presence in Portugal.

- Conduct attacks in Portugal in support of other European terrorist groups.

Background:

"To use armed force against imperialism" and lead a "workers's assault on bourgeois power" are the stated goals of FP-25. The group is clearly aligned ideologically with most of the other neo-Marxist/Leninist European terrorist groups. This similarity is not just abstract. FP-25 has conducted acts of terrorism in Portugal directed at US, British, French, and West German targets in support of and to express solidarity with the leftist terrorist groups in those countries.

The organizational details of FP-25 are not well known. In an interview given to a Portuguese Communist Party journalist in 1974, two men who claimed to be group members said that the group's structure was cellular and placed a high degree of emphasis on internal security. They said that only armed militants are allowed in the leadership hierarchy. Those in the support and information-gathering elements are kept at arm's length to minimize the chance of penetration by the police.

The FP-25 has a solid organization. Not only has it been able to conduct a very wide range of operations across Portugal, but it has proved capable of very quickly regrouping and of renewing its

attacks even after a very successful police crack-down in mid 1984 which netted nearly 70 of its members.

In recent years, FP-25 has apparently chosen to focus more of its energy on attacking US and NATO targets. This, of course, is a pattern that seems to have developed among various European terrorist groups. Although most of these groups initially emerged with indigenous issues at the fore, their activities have increasingly become more directed at the US and the NATO alliance in the last few years. Direct ties of the FP-25 to Communist countries, however, are not in evidence.

Extensive foreign support for FP-25 is not known to occur. However, press reports have indicated that Portuguese authorities are aware of some financial support from Libya. FP-25 has impressive financial resources. It has conducted a consistent campaign of bank robberies during the years, including one in 1984 that netted over \$800,000.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

May 1980 - Killed a guard outside the home of the Minister of Finance in an abortive kidnap attempt.

- Murdered a Portuguese businessman after failing in efforts to extort money from him.

May 1981 - Bombed the British Airways office in Oporto and rocketed the Royal British Club in Lisbon as a show of support for the Provisional Irish Republican Army.

October 1981 - Lamed a textile industrialist in Famalicao (near Oporto).

December 1982 - Murdered the head of a porcelain factory in a Lisbon suburb.

November-December 1983 - Over a six-week period, detonated a series of bombs around Lisbon to protest labor policies. There were several injuries.

April 1984 - Killed an old woman and an infant in the bombing of the home of a prominent landowner.

October 1984 - Attempted to fire two antitank rockets at the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon. The terrorists accidentally damaged the firing circuit of the rockets during loading.

November 1984 - Fired four 60mm mortar rounds at the U.S. Embassy compound. Two vehicles were damaged.

December 1984 - Damaged an auto and some buildings in a 60mm mor-

tar attack on the NATO headquarters in Oeiras (20km west of Lisbon).

January 1985 - Fired three mortar rounds at NATO ships anchored in Lisbon harbor. None of the ships was hit.

February 1985 - Set off eight firebombs in the German Air Force compound at the Portuguese Air Base in southern Portugal. Eighteen autos and many houses were damaged.

February 1986 - Murdered Gaspar Castelo Branco, Director General of the Portuguese prison system.

- Bombed the US Embassy in Lisbon.



## First of October Group of Anti-Fascist Resistance

Date Formed: 1975

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Area of Operations: Spain

Leadership: Manuel Perez ("Camarada Arenas")

Other Names: Grupo de Resistancia Antifascista, Primero de Octubre (GRAPO)

Sponsors: None known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Violent overthrow of the Spanish government and establishment of a Marxist state.

- Opposition to Spain's participation in NATO and US presence in Spain.

Background:

GRAPO was established as the "military" arm of the outlawed Spanish Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (PCE-R) which is a splinter group of the official and recognized Communist Party of Spain (PCE). GRAPO thereby has links throughout the Marxist community in Spain.

Like the other major terrorist group operating in Spain, the ETA, GRAPO finances its operations through kidnap ransoms, bank robberies, and a protection racket they call the "revolutionary tax." These sources of funds have proved adequate for financing a range of operations and for obtaining adequate quantities of weapons and explosives. GRAPO killers prefer light sub-machineguns and machine pistols for their favored form of murder, the quick multiple-gunman ambush.

Direct ties of GRAPO to foreign terrorist groups or sponsor states have not been established. However, GRAPO has made public statements in support of a number of other terrorist organizations, including the German Red Army Faction and the Italian Red Brigades. They have also been vocal defenders of the POLASARIO Front, an insurgent group which is trying to push Moroccan forces out of the former Spanish Sahara colony.

The organizational structure of GRAPO is based on a cellular concept to create maximum internal security. Most of these cells

are probably quite small in view of the types of attacks usually conducted. Terrorists are "legal commandos" if they are not known to the police and they live in the open. The "liberated commandos" are those who have been identified by police and must live underground. They usually act as planners and supervisors rather than as attack participants.

Spanish police have nearly decimated GRAPO on several occasions, but the group seems capable of reconstituting itself when required. The most recent police crackdown in 1984 has forced GRAPO into one of its rebuilding programs. GRAPO may emerge soon with a new round of violence.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

January 1977 - Kidnapped the president of the Supreme Military Tribunal and former Army chief of staff. He was rescued in a police raid in February 1977.

May 1977 - Blew up the US Cultural Center in Madrid on the day of Vice President Mondale's visit.

March 1978 - Murdered the Director of Penal Institutions in Madrid.

March 1979 - Murdered a semi-retired Spanish Brigadier General and claimed it was a protest of Spain's pending entry in NATO.

May 1979 - Killed 8 and wounded 40 with a bomb blast at a Madrid cafe frequented by rightists.

September 1980 - Sprayed an Army staff car with submachinegun fire killing a general and wounding his aide-de-camp and driver.

April 1982 - Ambushed two policemen in Barcelona killing one and wounding the other.

August 1982 - Exploded bombs at the Bank of America in Madrid and at a Sears building in Barcelona.

May 1983 - Shot and killed a Civil Guardsman as he sat in a school bus in La Coruna (in northern Spain).

January 1984 - Shot and killed two policemen in Madrid.

May 1984 - Exploded a series of bombs at government offices in Madrid, Barcelona, and several other cities.

September 1984 - Murdered two businessmen in separate shootings, in Madrid and La Coruna.

## Basque Fatherland and Freedom

Date Formed: 1959

Estimated Membership: 500

Headquarters: Basque provinces of Spain: Vizcaya, Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Navarra

Area of Operations: Spain

Leadership: Domingo Iturbe, Eugenio Echeveste, Juan Ramon Aramburu, Jose Miguel Lujua

Other Names: Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)

Sponsors: None confirmed

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Establishment of an independent Basque nation through the use of terrorism to spark a mass revolt, and

- Creation of an economic crisis in the Basque provinces by terrorizing businesses in the region.

Background:

The ETA is one of the oldest West European terrorist groups currently operating. Although the leadership of the ETA generally espouses a Marxist-Leninist ideology, the primary motivation for many of its members is a simple, fierce nationalism. The ETA is actually composed of two major factions who established a loose alliance, but still maintain separate identities.

The more vehemently aggressive faction is known as the ETA-Military Front (ETA-M). It espouses a relentless campaign of terrorist violence directed at the Spanish government. The other faction, the ETA-Political-Military Front (ETA-PM), also pursues a program of terrorism, but tries to blend it with grassroots political agitation in order to broaden the base of revolution.

The ETA is considered to be responsible for over 400 deaths since 1968 and can claim to be one of the most murderous groups in Europe. In addition, it is one of the wealthiest. It has extorted several million-dollar plus ransoms in kidnappings, and "liberated" millions in bank robberies. It also routinely extorts large sums of "protection" money in a program it calls the "revolutionary tax."

The organizational structure of the ETA is very sophisticated. It has "legals," who are terrorists not known to the police who live open lives; "illegals" who operate entirely in an underground existence because they have been identified by police; and an extremely large support group of "civilians" who provide information, communications, logistical support, etc. Resources for a wide ranging and extensive program of terrorism are clearly available not only in the Spanish Basque provinces, but in the French Basque areas along the border as well.

The international connections of the ETA are quite extensive. It is not surprising that it has close ties with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) with whom it has numerous common characteristics. Its other connections may not always be as easy to understand except that they generally share a Marxist orientation. ETA members have frequented Middle Eastern terrorist training camps. The Cuban government has provided safe havens and training for ETA militants. Exiled ETA gunmen have been used by the Sandinista government of Nicaragua to murder political opponents. A Spanish government report said that ETA gunmen went to El Salvador to shoot the Salvadoran Minister of Defense in 1983, and a Colombian government report in 1984 claimed that ETA members were aiding that country's M-19 terrorist group.

Police operations against the ETA factions have been continuous and often successful. However, the ETA seems able to rebound from even the most successful counterterrorist operations. Due to the very large size of its support base and the high level of nationalist fanaticism it embodies, the ETA is expected to continue to plague Spain for the foreseeable future.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

December 1973 - Murdered the Spanish Prime Minister, his chauffeur and a security officer with a remote-controlled bomb planted under the street over which they were driving.

September 1974 - Bombed a crowded cafe next to a security headquarters in Madrid. Thirteen civilians were killed and 70 wounded.

October 1976 - Killed a senior advisor to King Juan Carlos, his driver and three security guards.

March 1978 - Exploded a powerful bomb at the Bilbao nuclear power plant, killing 2 and wounding 14.

June-July 1979 - Initiated a "tourist war" in the Spanish seaside resort areas. Fourteen time bombs were detonated which injured two and caused extensive property damage.

January 1980 - Murdered seven Spanish businessmen who refused to pay the "revolutionary tax."

January 1981 - Kidnapped one of the wealthiest men in Spain and held him for 58 days before receiving \$3.29 million in ransom.

January 1982 - Kidnapped a leading industrialist and held for a month before extorting \$1.3 million.

March 1982 - Killed two policemen and a woman in an attack on a restaurant.

October 1982 - Exploded nearly two dozen bombs at several banks in Basque provinces.

February 1983 - Killed three and wounded nine in the bombing of a Bilbao bank that refused to pay "revolutionary taxes."

February 1984 - Murdered a former ETA member who had been pardoned by the Spanish government.

December 1984 - Killed three soldiers and wounded a dozen more with a remote-controlled car bomb.

January 1985 - Kidnapped a Basque industrialist and held him for \$1 million ransom.

March 1985 - Killed the chief of the Basque Autonomous Police by placing a bomb in his auto.

January 1986 - Severely wounded two members of the Civil Guard in a machinegun attack in Madrid.

March 1986 - Shot and killed a member of an opposition organization in Bilbao.

## People's Revolutionary Struggle

Date Formed: 1973

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Athens

Area of Operations: Athens and Northern Greece

Leadership: Alexandra Langadinou

Other Names: Epanastikos Laikos Agonas (ELA)

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Pressure the Greek government to force NATO and U.S. military out of Greece.

- Strike against "facism and imperialism" as a stimulus to revolution.

Background:

The ELA grew out of the opposition to the military junta that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. It espouses the typical leftist ideology popular in neo-Marxist/Leninist circles in various West European nations in its public statements and documents. In essence, ELA sees its role as opposition to "imperialist domination, exploitation, and oppression."

Not a great deal is known about the ELA's structure and organization. The group appears to be the largest of several Greek terrorist organizations. It may serve as a kind of umbrella group which coordinates activities and maintains communications flow.

Most of the attacks perpetrated by the ELA are bombings of a relatively unsophisticated type. The U.S. seems to be the primary target for the ELA, but they also focus on Greek government and industry. The group does not appear to have been very active since 1982, but this is probably due to the fact that several "new" groups have appeared since that time and it is suspected that some of these are simply cover names for the ELA. In one very recent incident, the ELA's name has appeared. By using a variety of names, a terrorist group can give the appearance of a growing revolutionary movement.

Greek police have succeeded in arresting ELA activists, but the group has apparently been able to retain its operational capability. In early 1985, the ELA proclaimed that it was going

to coordinate its actions with the German Red Army Faction (RAF), French Direct Action (AD), and Belgian Fighting Communist Cells (CCC). Obviously, increased linkages among the European terrorist organizations could pose increased problems for police.

In July 1983, the Greek government renewed for five years the U.S. basing rights in Greece. It is quite probable that the ELA and its allied Greek terrorist groups will plan increased activity to coincide with the renegotiation of that agreement in the 1987-88 timeframe.

Selected Incident Chronology:

November 1975 - Firebombed the U.S. Air Force commissary store in Athens.

October 1977 - Detonated a bomb outside the U.S. Air Force Non-Commissioned Officers Club at Glyfada, an Athens suburb.

January 1978 - Bombed the U.S. Information Agency and American Express Company offices in Athens just prior to the visit of the American Secretary of State.

May 1980 - Claimed responsibility for firebombing 17 Greek- and foreign-owned vehicles in the Athens area.

April 1981 - Firebombed and destroyed four unoccupied vehicles belonging to U.S. servicemen assigned to the Air Force facility near Athens airport.

July 1981 - Claimed responsibility for firebombing the toilets at a resort beach outside Athens.

June 1982 - Detonated five bombs in Athens to protest the visit of the NATO commander. The U.S.-owned Honeywell-Bull Company suffered damage from two of the blasts.

March 1986 - Bombed the Greek-American Association building in Athens. A second bomb at the facility failed to explode and was disarmed by police.

## Revolutionary Organization 17 November

Date Formed: 1975

Estimated Membership: Unknown

Headquarters: Believed to be Athens

Area of Operations: Athens

Leadership: Unknown

Other Names: Epanastaiki Organosi 17 Noemvri

Sponsors: None known

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Force NATO and the US military out of Greece through a terrorism campaign based on murder of Americans and Greek NATO supporters.

Background:

Details on the origin and organizational structure of this especially vicious and bloodthirsty terrorist group are sketchy. Close association with other Greek leftist groups, especially the People's Revolutionary Struggle (ELA), is suspected due to their common goals and operating area.

Murder by shooting is the attack of choice by 17 November. Americans are usually the targets, but Greeks who support NATO or voice opposition to leftist revolutionary goals are also subject to attack.

In killing Americans, 17 November claims to be targeting "an occupation terrorist force in Greece." Their attacks on Greeks are rationalized as "armed and dynamic defense of the people's movement." The bloody history of the group proves it to be as ruthless as it is creative in its propaganda.

It is suspected that 17 November is a small organization. Ballistics tests have shown that the same pistol was used in shooting three Americans and four Greek police officials over the period of 1975-84. The modus operandi for the shootings also tends to indicate a small organization.

So far, attacks on Americans have been limited to the military or to US governmental personnel. Of concern is that the group may begin to target civilians or tourists if the security consciousness of the official targets makes attack too difficult.



The rhetoric espoused by 17 November would make it very likely for them to feel justified in killing American civilians which they would excuse as attacks on "American imperialists."

Selected Incident Chronology:  
(All incidents in Athens)

December 1975 - Shot and killed US Embassy official Richard Welch.

January 1979 - Murdered a former senior Greek police officer.

January 1980 - Killed the Deputy Chief of the Greek Antiriot Police and his chauffeur.

November 1983 - Shot and killed US Navy Captain George Tsantes and his driver.

April 1984 - Wounded US Army Master Sergeant Robert Judd as he was transporting mail to the Hellenkion Air Force Base outside Athens.

February 1985 - Murdered conservative editor Nikos Momferatos and seriously wounded his chauffeur. The communique claiming credit denounced the journalist as one of the "fascist agents of the CIA."

## Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front

Date Formed: 1980

Estimated Membership: 5,000 hardcore members

Headquarters: Managua, Nicaragua

Area of Operations: El Salvador

Leadership: Joaquin Villalobos (a.k.a. Rene Cruz), Jorge Shafick Handel

Other Names: Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberation Nationale (FMLN)

Sponsors: Nicaragua, Cuba

### Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Create and sustain a war of attrition against the elected government of El Salvador in order to cause its destruction and replacement by a Marxist state.

- Convince the US that support of the Salvadoran government is a lost cause and to heighten US public awareness of the situation by periodic attacks on Americans in El Salvador.

### Background:

The FMLN is the umbrella organization for five terrorist and insurgent groups which loosely share Marxist ideology, and pro-Cuba/pro-USSR orientation. The groups are the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC), and the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES).

Ultimate support for FMLN activity is presumed to emanate from the Soviet Union, although its role is largely camouflaged by the use of more prominent Cuban and Nicaraguan intermediaries. The FMLN headquarters is located in Managua, Nicaragua, and its main source of ammunition, arms, and other supplies is via overland or coastal supply from Nicaragua. FMLN members are routinely trained at camps in Nicaragua and Cuba, and Nicaragua is the primary rest and recreation area for the FMLN hard core.

FMLN is involved in broad ranging activities including the control of the guerrilla war in rural regions, coordination of urban terrorist operations, and operation of its newly organized political arm, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). Terrorism is seen as a necessary tool and part of the total program.

In addition to Soviet/Cuban/Nicaraguan support, some of the weapons used by FMLN elements are US arms such as M-16 rifles and M-60 machineguns which were lost during the Vietnam War and later filtered through Communist channels into Nicaragua. In addition, weapons, and ammunition are sometimes captured from the Salvadoran Army in ambushes or raids on supply facilities. The FMLN certainly has no problem in maintaining adequate weaponry for terrorist operations, and, even when the government is successful in suppressing guerrilla activities, the capability of terrorist attack is not really diminished.

Operational funding for FMLN comes from a variety of sources. Specific funding from Cuba and the Soviet Union has long been suspected, but direct links have not yet been proved. Money is believed to come from radical Islamic states as well. In September 1980, Cuba reportedly "laundered" a \$500,000 grant from Iraq that was used to pay for Salvadoran training in Palestinian camps in the Middle East. As with most Latin American groups, FMLN also conducts extensive kidnapping and ransom operations, and it extorts "war taxes" from businesses in contested areas.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

January 1977 - Kidnapped a Salvadoran industrialist and killed three bodyguards in the process. A ransom of \$1 million was paid, but the victim was handed over dead. (ERP)

May 1978 - Held two prominent Salvadoran businessmen and received a ransom of \$4.8 million. (ERP and FPL)

May 1979 - Killed the charge d'affaires of the Swiss Embassy in an apparently botched kidnapping attempt. (FPL)

November 1980 - Murdered the chief of the territorial branch of the Defense Ministry, his wife, and two children in an armed assault on their home. (FARN)

March 1981 - Sprayed the US Embassy with automatic weapons fire for several minutes and fired a rocket propelled grenade into the side of the building. (FPL)

November 1982 - Killed a Japanese business in an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap him in San Jose, Costa Rica. (PRTC)

January 1984 - Mined a landing strip in San Miguel Department and blew up a light civilian aircraft. The intended target was a Salvadoran Air Force C-47 which was carrying US trainers and high ranking Salvadoran officers. (ERP)

June 1985 - Machinegunned an outdoor cafe in San Salvador killing 4 US Marine Embassy guards and 13 Salvadoran civilians. (PRTC)

February 1986 - Murdered a US civilian contractor who was working for the Salvadoran Navy. The communique issued to claim the killing said the victim was a high ranking US officer. (FMLN)

Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front (CERF)

Date Formed: 1983

Estimated Membership: 10-20

Headquarters: Sal Salvador

Area of Operations: San Salvador

Leadership: Unknown

Other Names: None Known

Sponsors: Cuban training is suspected.

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Conduct high visibility acts of urban terrorism to force government over-reaction and thereby raise public discontent.

- Target US citizens in El Salvador to try to force withdrawal of American support for the Salvadoran government.

Background:

CERF is believed to be a splinter element of the Popular Liberation Forces. As such, CERF actions are probably outside the control of the coordinating mechanism which oversees actions by those groups comprising the the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. In some respects, CERF is considered to be the "left wing of the left wing" in the Salvadoran Marxist movement.

Very little is know about the organizational structure of CERF except that it is very small and extremely security-conscious. CERF specializes in murder and operates in the urban setting, unlike many of the other Salvadoran leftist radical groups which conduct both rural guerrilla operations and urban terrorism. It is suspected that CERF members are highly trained and quite skillful in small unit tactics. Such training most likely came in Cuban-run training bases where many members of the various Salvadoran guerrilla groups have trained since the mid-1970s.

CERF has shown a very high degree of interest in American targets and it represents a particular threat to US civilians and military in El Salvador. Some intensive and successful counterterrorist operations directed against it by the Salvadoran government in mid-1985 apparently hurt its operational capability because it has not been active since that time.

However, there is extreme concern that the group is merely using the intervening months to further hone its skills and to bolster its already strict security measures. Because of the viciousness

of its past actions, CERF continues to pose major problems for the security of US and Salvadoran government interests, especially in San Salvador. Once they began operations, they were able to sustain a very high level of activity. Prospects of renewed operations are viewed with real concern.

Selected Incident Chronology:

(All incidents in Sal Salvador)

May 1983 - Shot and killed US Navy Lieutenant Commander Albert Schaufelberger as he sat in his auto waiting for a friend outside the University of Central America.

November 1984 - Murdered a Salvadoran guard of the the US Embassy as he walked down a sidewalk a few block from the Embassy.

- Attacked the US Embassy buildings with small arms fire.

December 1984 - Machinegunned the Honduran Embassy building as a protest against the presence of US forces in Honduras.

March 1985 - Shot and killed Lt. Col. Ricardo Cienfuegos, top military spokesman for the Salvadoran Armed Forces, as he sat next to a tennis court at a downtown athletic club. The murder was conducted without attracting attention, and the killers left their flag draped over Cienfuegos head when they left.

## Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia

Date Formed: 1966

Estimated Membership: 4,000 to 7,000

Headquarters: Several regional headquarters, primarily in rural regions south of Bogota

Area of Operations: Colombia

Leadership: Manuel Marulanda (a.k.a. Pedro Antonio Marin), Jaime Guaraca, Luis Alberto Morantes

Other Names: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC)

Sponsors: Some support from Cuba and Libya

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Overthrow the Colombian government and replace it with a Marxist-Leninist regime.

- Combine terrorism, rural guerrilla operations, and legal political action to create a broadly based revolution.

- Force US and other "imperialist" interests out of Colombia.

Background:

The FARC is the oldest terrorist/insurgent group in Colombia. It had its beginning as an armed front of the Colombian Communist Party, but over the years both groups have tried to downplay any links. In 1985, FARC established its own political organization, the Patriotic Union, known as FARC-UP.

The history of FARC operations has been as varied as it has been lengthy. There were periods in the 1960's and 70's when FARC could manage little more than sporadic guerrilla operations in isolated areas. In recent years, it has been able to develop a very broad-based program combining terrorism, guerrilla attacks, and open political activities.

FARC has claimed to abide by a cease-fire proposed by the Colombian government in 1984 but has used the intervening time to rebuild its guerrilla capabilities and establish its legal political arm (FARC-UP). Also, during this time, it has continued its terrorist operations and has established a very lucrative narcoterrorism enterprise as well.

Over half of the FARC forces are based in cocaine and marijuana producing regions of Colombia. FARC has developed a mutual support arrangement with many of the drug producers whereby the guerrillas in the region provide protection and warn of law enforcement operations in exchange for a "tax" that often produces more than a million dollars per month. FARC also takes advantage of the transient workers who harvest drug crops by "drafting" them when the work is completed. Thus, there is little doubt that FARC and the other Colombian terrorist/insurgent groups who support the narcotics trade are a major factor in the supply of illegal drugs that enter the US.

With their narcotics revenues and large sums extorted through kidnapping and bank robberies, FARC has been able to buy a large quantity of arms and ammunition including automatic weapons, mortars, and antitank rockets. The Colombian military has said that it has detected the arrival of weapons from Nicaragua and the Soviet Union. The newspaper, El Tiempo, has reported an Iran-Cuba-Nicaragua weapons network which serves FARC and M-19, another major Colombian group.

In recent months, official FARC statements indicate their interest in de-escalating armed confrontation with the military and the police. However, their armed attacks in rural areas have not abated. Indications are that FARC will attempt to gain legitimate political power if possible, but will also continue its guerrilla and terrorist activities, perhaps through groups using new "front" names. This combined approach, sometimes called the "mass strategy" in revolutionary literature, offers maximum opportunity for FARC to achieve its goal of overthrowing the government.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

February 1977 - Kidnapped a US Peace Corps volunteer and held him until receiving a ransom reported to be \$250,000. One policeman was killed and another injured in the incident.

August 1980 - Kidnapped a US citizen from his farm in Central Colombia and held him until receiving \$125,000 in ransom.

August 1983 - Kidnapped a US ranchowner in the San Martin municipality of the Meta Department. He was released after a large, but unreported, ransom was paid.

May 1984 - Exploded bombs in and around Bogota with the following results: killed 2 and injured 11 at offices of the Honduran airline, damaged the Colombian-American Center, damaged facilities of IBM and ITT.

February 1985 - Bombed seven businesses in a midnight attack in Medellin: IBM, General Telephone and Electronics, Union Carbide,



Xerox, a local refrigerator distributor, the offices of a conservative Catholic organization, and the headquarters of the Hare Krishna group.

April 1985 - Attacked a police office in Toribio, of northeast Cauca Department with machineguns and rocket grenades. Five policemen were killed.

January 1986 - Murdered three ranchers in the San Rafael district. All three were killed while resisting kidnapping attempts.

## April 19 Movement

Date Formed: 1974

Estimated Membership: 2,000 hardcore members

Headquarters: Bogota and six regional sub-headquarters

Area of Operations: Columbia

Leadership: Carlos Pizarro Leongomez, Navarro Wolff, Gustavo Arias Londono

Other Names: Movimiento 19 de Abril (M-19)

Sponsors: Support provided by Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya.

Political Objectives/Target Audiences:

- Spark a mass revolt in Colombia which will lead to a Marxist revolution and government.

- Oppose the presence of US and other "imperialist" political and economic interests in Colombia.

- Conduct full scale guerrilla war in regions of the country where it is possible.

### Background:

M-19 claims its founding was April 19, 1970, the date of the election defeat of former dictator Gustavo Rojas. In actuality, the group appeared in early 1974. It was formed by leftist extremists from the National Popular Alliance, a populist political party.

With a basic Marxist orientation, the group quickly established its goal as "total liberation from oligarchic and imperialist bonds." With the support of the "workers, peasants, the common people," M-19 looked forward to a "prolonged continental war." In spite of a basic Marxist-Leninist philosophy, there has been continuing internal disagreement on whether Maoist, Guevarist, Castroite, or Trotskyite orientations ought to be the primary thrust. Periodic leadership upheavals have resulted.

M-19 is the junior member of the two large Colombian Marxist groups. The older and larger Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) has direct ties to the Colombian Communist Party, and a longer history of terrorism and insurgency. Along with these two organizations, the National Liberation Army (ELN) forms a Marxist triumvirate that poses continuing problems and a very real threat if they should become more united in their efforts.

Like most of the Latin American terrorist groups, M-19 receives very significant support from Cuba, particularly training at Cuban bases. In addition, Nicaragua is said by the Colombian government to have trained up to 1,400 M-19 and FARC members at one time. Finally, some M-19 members have reportedly been trained at Libyan camps.

M-19 conducts guerrilla operations in the rural region of the country in direct contests for territorial control with the Colombian government. At the same time, it conducts urban terrorism such as kidnapping, robbery, and murder, primarily to gain publicity or funds.

Another disturbing development in M-19 operations is its entry into the arena of "narcoterrorism." In this lucrative venture, M-19 smuggles large quantities of narcotics to the United States where they are sold for cash or exchanged for arms and ammunition. Some of the drug operations are conducted exclusively by M-19, and others are cooperative efforts with established narcotics kingpins such as Jaime Guillot Lara, who is known to have been a link between Cuba and M-19 for the transfers of weapons and money.

When government efforts at controlling the situation in Colombia show success, M-19, like FARC, begins to negotiate and may even agree to cease-fire provisions. However, past history indicates that these periods are used as respites from government pressure during which rebuilding and reorganizing take place. Once rejuvenated, guerrilla and terrorist operations begin anew.

#### Selected Incident Chronology:

August 1975 - Kidnapped a Sears manager who was held until payment of a \$1-million ransom.

May 1978 - Kidnapped the manager of Texaco's Colombian subsidiary in Bogota. He was killed during a police rescue attempt.

February 1980 - Seized the Embassy of the Dominican Republic in Bogota and seized 80 hostages including the US ambassador and ambassadors from 13 other countries.

January 1981 - Kidnapped US language teacher Chester Bitterman. He was murdered in March after his employer refused to pay the ransom demanded.

January 1982 - Skyjacked a Colombian 727 airliner with 138 on board. After police shot out the tires at the Cali, Colombia, airport, the hijackers demanded a small executive jet which flew them to Cuba.

April 1983 - Exploded a high-powered bomb at the Honduran Embassy in Bogota, seriously injuring the Consul and a secretary.

March 1984 - Killed 4 and wounded 23 in simultaneous attacks on a police station, military building, and bank in Florencia, capital of Caqueta Department.

November 1985 - Occupied the Palace of Justice in Bogota after an armed assault in which several guards were shot. Over 300 people were held hostage and 100 died (including 11 Supreme Court Judges) during a shoot-out with police.

March 1986 - Kidnapped 80 workers from the state-owned Alcalis Company and held them hostage. Simultaneously, a Franciscan Seminary was occupied and priests were forced to listen to a set of demands for Church involvement in the Revolution. Following this, the hostage workers were released at the Seminary and the terrorists fled the area.