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TERRORISM AND THE FEDAYEEN

Since mid-1970, elements of the fedayeen or Palestine guerilla movement have metamorphosed commandos dedicated to the overthrow of Israel into Marxist-Maoist-type terrorists. They are making a desperate attempt to survive in a disunited, uncoordinated, and crumbling movement. While once market places from Morocco to Saudi Arabia were plastered with posters proudly depicting the deeds of the fedayeen commandos, today the ruthless and violent actions by their terrorists evoke mainly fear. None but the most radical press or public is tempted to look upon the fedayeen terrorists or their followers as romantic folk-heroes or to view their violence as acts of patriotism.

The Origins

Palestinian guerrillas (fedayeen), organized in the early 1950's to harass newly created Israel, seek to become a rallying point for Palestinian irredentism. Their fortunes and following were low until the 1967 six-day Arab-Israeli war. The fedayeen by their bold, but ultimately self-defeating, anti-Israeli exploits rekindled a spark of Arab self-respect and served to restore a sense of Arab honor. A range of competing guerrilla organizations emerged - each seeking to become the reflection of Palestinian will to fight. Eleven fedayeen organizations have survived, most of them members of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) founded in 1964 to coordinate fedayeen and Palestinian efforts. They may be categorized as follows:

- a. Instruments of Political Parties: Al Saiqa, founded and directed by the Syrian left-wing Baath Party; the Iraqi-controlled Arab Liberation Front; Al Ansar, the instrument of established Arab Communist parties.
- b. Fatah: Fatah poses as a basically "conservative" guerrilla organization devoid of political bias but in fact supports extreme guerrilla tactics through its front, the Black September Group.
- c. Ideologically Oriented Groups: These include the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) with a number of offshoots. Political extremists and revolutionaries, they consider the overthrow of conservative Arab regimes (Jordan and Saudi Arabia) as prerequisites for the liberation of Palestine. Their hostility to the U.S. and most Western countries is intense.

Terror Tactics and Foreign Connections

The status of Palestinian fedayeen organizations is directly related to the level of tension in the Arab-Israel dispute: a decrease in tension leads to a decline in the prestige of and support for the fedayeen. The fedayeen organizations whose impact on Middle East affairs has been on the decline since their setback by the Jordanian Army during the 10-day conflict of September 1970, are seeking to rally their flagging fortunes. Their increasing links with other national revolutionary/terrorist groups and their continuing terrorist acts on an international level are intended to (a) compensate for their eroding influence, (b) move the resistance movement out of its doldrums and (c) keep the Arab-Israeli issue alive.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), believed to have the widest range of international links, is competing with other fedayeen groups and expanding its revolutionary activities at the international level. The only philosophical basis required to establish international connections is a common conviction in terrorism and violent revolution as the means to destroy the established order. The common bond among revolutionary groups, therefore, can be reinforced with relative ease. In addition, the material gain from international revolutionary action is not overlooked by fedayeen leaders, many of whom exploit the Palestinian cause to bolster their personal prestige and fortunes.

The Kamikaze attack on Israel's Lydda Airport last May by PFLP-trained members of the Japanese Red Army Faction, highlights the existing and growing international connections among revolutionary terrorist organizations. Even before the Lydda Airport massacre, the Japanese Red Army Faction had been dealing with the fedayeen for at least two years. Other terrorist organizations, the Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army and the Eritrean Liberation Front in Ethiopia have also been in contact with Palestinian guerrilla organizations as have radical organizations of Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere. The Soviet Union and China are also involved. For both material and ideological reasons, and out of an increasing sense of desperation, the fedayeen are continually attempting to expand their contacts with foreign radical groups.

The Red Army Faction (Sekigun-ha), a direct offshoot of Zengakuren, the extreme leftist Japanese student organization, is an underground organization that began its activities on the political and military levels in 1965. Violent revolution, in its view, is the "fundamental way of liberating people from exploitation and class domination domestically, and a means to combat imperialism on the international level." Links between the Red Army Faction and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) became

evident in late 1970 with the arrest in Japan of PFLP members publicizing terror via a film on Palestinian guerrilla operations. During their stay in Japan PFLP members also made arrangements to train Red Army Faction members at PFLP bases in Lebanon. In addition, plans were made to exchange officials for instruction in kidnapping and hijacking techniques and in producing sabotage devices. Beirut weekly Al Usbu Al Arabi reported last fall that when a PFLP leader visited Japan, ~~The~~ Red Army Faction "welcomed him by blowing up five police stations in Tokyo."

Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army. Although the Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army was not known as such until early 1972, militant leftist Turkish students were reportedly trained by the fedayeen as early as 1969. Training in such terrorist tactics as kidnapping, hijacking, guerrilla warfare, and preparation in the use of sabotage devices are provided by the fedayeen organizations under cover of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria. It is reliably reported that urban guerrillas, in addition to being trained by PFLP and its breakaway faction Peoples' Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), are equipped with arms smuggled from these and other fedayeen guerrilla organizations.

Eritrean Liberation Front. The Eritrean Liberation Front, founded in 1959, began effective anti-Ethiopian terrorist acts in 1964. Following the June 1967 war, fedayeen organizations began to provide the Eritrean Liberation Front financial support, arms and passports for its attacks against the Ethiopian established order. Training in guerrilla warfare as well as facilities for radio broadcasting are made available to the Front by the fedayeen.

West Europeans. In an attempt to gain the support of West European students, fedayeen organizations have recruited and provided travel to a Jordanian training camp for as many as 150 students. The project was administered through a London-based organization, "Friends of Palestine." Pro-fedayeen and anti-Israeli associations in France are usually headed by radical university professors or journalists. In England, student "revolutionaries" have joined Arab students in a group called the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. In the Netherlands, Dutch Communists have established a Netherlands-Palestine Committee that sponsors lectures and pro-Palestinian demonstrations. Austrian left-wing students have formed the Action Committee for the Support of the Palestinian Resistance, to conduct anti-Israeli campaigns. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) claims links with the fedayeen; some fedayeen members allege to have attended IRA conferences in Northern Ireland. Further, the IRA has reportedly been promised arms in exchange for fedayeen-directed terrorist operations in Europe. The Baader-Meinhof group, a band of West German anarchists whose actions date back to 1963, declare themselves as members of the Japanese-based Red Army Faction.

Reportedly, Baader-Meinhof members received guerrilla warfare training in the Middle East from Palestinian guerrillas during the summer of 1970.

Western Hemisphere. Before September 1970, members of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, a Communist dominated Nicaraguan terrorist organization, received guerrilla warfare training at a fedayeen training site in Jordan. Upon completion of their training and their return to Nicaragua, the Sandinists received Soviet and Chinese weapons which were later confiscated by Nicaraguan security officials. In January 1972, a planned attempt by five Nicaraguan-based Arabs to recruit Nicaraguans for fedayeen training in guerrilla warfare also was aborted by Nicaraguan government officials.

The Fedayeen, the Soviet Union and China

The Soviets, in a quandary over the fedayeen, support the anti-Israeli "national liberation" movement but are sensitive to the potential damage to their image for being openly associated with fedayeen terror tactics. The Soviets therefore channel material support to the fedayeen through indirect and clandestine means and in the process gain some degree of control over the fedayeen guerrilla organizations. Fedayeen chieftain Yasser Arafat's mid-July 1972 visit to Moscow to solicit increased material support and at the same time strengthen his weakened leadership position in both Fatah and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, attests to the cordial relations between the Soviets and the fedayeen. As recently as May 1972, the World Marxist Review quotes Pravda's endorsement of the Palestinian guerrillas as follows: "The Soviet public sides firmly with the Palestine Resistance Movement, which is a component of the Arab Peoples' National Liberation Movement."

By supporting the fedayeen, the Soviets align themselves with a militant, anti-Israeli "national liberation" movement that is popular in the Arab world. At this stage of development, Soviet dealings with the fedayeen indicate Moscow's confidence in providing indirect and clandestine support to the fedayeen short of causing flash point tensions in the Middle East. In part, the Soviets' assistance to the fedayeen guerrillas is conditioned by the open support given them by China. Peking backs the fedayeen in public statements with vigor; material support, however, is provided with somewhat dampened enthusiasm. To date, China has provided guerrilla warfare training to several hundred fedayeen activists and has made available to them unspecified amounts of military equipment. An article in the 20 July 1972 issue of Soviet Analyst entitled "The Soviet Involvement in Violence" by Brian Crozier, focuses on the dilemma the fedayeen poses for its communist supporters:

"To the extent that the (Palestine) guerrillas are anti-Israeli, the Russians are inclined to support them; on the other hand, the groups have proved, on the whole, to be a greater menace to the Arab governments than to Israel itself, and to support them outright might be counter-productive in terms of Soviet relations with friendly countries, such as Egypt or Iraq. Moreover, the Palestinians have a record of unsuccess, with which the Russians do not wish to be associated; and the wildest among them -- Dr. George Habbash's PFLP are not only boastful where the Russians would prefer discretion, but indulge in spectacular acts of violence with which, again, the Russians would prefer not be linked. . .

"There has certainly been some Soviet aid to the PFLP, however, and to the more moderate Al Fatah, if only to be able to claim, if challenged, that the Palestine liberation movement has not been left unaided. (Chinese aid to the PFLP is certainly greater than Russian.)"

Uncertainties occasioned by Egypt's recent ouster of the Soviet Military Mission and the pledged merger of Egypt and Libya render the fedayeen increasingly vulnerable to manipulation not only by Moscow and Peking but by the self-serving leaders of the fedayeen guerrillas.

#### Outlaws Among Their Own People

Founded in 1956 and headed by Yasir Arafat, a Jerusalem-born Palestinian, Fatah gained control of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1969. Fatah, larger and more heavily financed than all other fedayeen groups combined, claims to be without political bias and seeks the friendship of all Arab governments; it is supported by such disparate regimes as Saudi Arabia and Libya. Even though heavily financed, Fatah uses such terror tactics as hijacking and sabotage through its terrorist arm, the "Black September Group," as an additional source of income. The "Black September Group" enables Fatah to credibly disclaim its alliance with assassinations, hijacking and other forms of terrorism.

While Fatah presents itself as an organization of strugglers who battle in the front lines for their "occupied homeland" it is in fact involved in money-making schemes that are far removed from its original national revolutionary mission. Fatah's image as a moderate organization unencumbered by ideology is studiously promoted by its propaganda to permit Fatah to gain broad-based political acceptance. Sympathy for the Palestinian cause is translated into direct contributions from Arab states of varying political persuasion. In addition, a moderate image permits the

establishment of offices for fund raising throughout the world. Because of its dominant role in that organization, a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) office is often merely a cover for a Fatah office. Nevertheless, despite this ostensibly "moderate image," the "Black September" terrorist organization remains directly associated with and under the control of Fatah.

Publicly, Fatah denounces terrorists acts conducted outside the Middle East but in practice engages in hijacking, sabotage and political assassination as a source of income which to date has grossed more than \$100 million. These funds are transferred to European bank accounts and later invested in business ventures that promise a good return. Some of the ventures involve legitimate investment in European stocks; others include the establishment of "action cells" of which several exist in West Germany and France. These "action cells" provide arms and explosives and serve as bases for recruiting and training terrorists. A favored fund raising technique is for Fatah representatives to accept "contracts" for such specialized assignments as: elimination of political opponents, kidnapping an exile, exploding a refinery, smuggling and hijacking.

Such acts are carried out by the "Black September Group" whose operations are said to be planned and implemented by the heads of the Fatah intelligence unit. In addition to claiming responsibility for the tragedy at the Munich Olympics on 5 September, the group has also claimed credit for the following actions since November 1971: the assassination of Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal in Cairo on 28 November 1971; an assassination attempt against the Jordanian Ambassador to London Zayd Al Rifa on 15 December 1971; the sabotage of the Struever Electronics factory in Hamburg on 5 February 1972; the murder of five Palestinians in Bruehl, Germany, on 6 February 1972; and the hijacking of a Sabena jet en route to Tel Aviv on 8 May 1972.

As reported in the New York Times, 4 August 1972, a 21-year-old Arab woman accused of taking part in the hijacking of a Belgian airliner in May said that she had made several unsuccessful attempts to free herself from the grip of the Fatah guerrilla organization. She testified that she was warned by the fedayeen: "If you escape, we would kill you."

The Palestinian News Agency, 5 August 1972, reported that Palestinian guerrillas of the "Black September" terrorist organization blew up tanks at the Trieste oil-storage facility "in accordance with the Black September organization's policy of dealing blows to the enemies of the Palestinian revolution."

Istanbul's leading daily newspaper, Cumhuriyet, reported on 14 June that guerrilla groups are involved in the drug traffic; that Fatah has penetrated Turkish smuggling rings, established

courier routes from Turkey to Lebanon and is expanding its contacts with overseas narcotic rings to finance its (Fatah's) guerrilla operations. Fatah involvement in narcotics is so flagrant that some of the half-kilo nylon bags of hashish pushed in Europe are labelled with pictures of an Arab guerrilla armed with the Kaleshnikov submachine gun (standard Soviet infantry rifle).

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It is ironic that Palestinians, used as pawns by Arab and other politicians for more than 50 years, are currently being used by the very fedayeen originally organized to battle for their "occupied homeland." About 1,4 million Palestinians registered as refugees with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) survive on funds from UNRWA while Fatah, the largest and best financed exponent of the Palestinian cause, exploits Palestinian suffering to build an underworld empire that makes its own laws and seeks self-perpetuation as its prime objective.



U. S. NEWS &amp; WORLD REPORT, March 13, 1972

# A DEATH BLOW AIMED AT ARAB GUERRILLAS

Behind the latest flare-up in the Middle East:

Israel has had its fill of Palestinian raiders, is striking back harder than ever.

## BEIRUT, Lebanon

Israel seemingly has reached the decision that now is the time to crush, once and for all, the Palestinian guerrillas who have long plagued its borders.

In four days of ground, air and artillery attacks, the Israelis struck sharply in late February at guerrilla bases in Lebanon. Then, early in March, attention was shifted to Syria—where Israeli air strikes raised columns of smoke above camps at which the Palestinians train for frontier raids.

Lebanon and Syria are the only Arab nations on Israel's borders still harboring the anti-Israeli commandos. Last year, in a virtual civil war, Jordan liquidated the guerrilla presence. Egypt has never permitted operations by the Palestinians.

*A wider peril?* Sudden escalation of armed activity against the guerrillas, however, raised the possibility of a wider conflict being set off in the Middle East.

After Israeli air raids on guerrilla bases in Syria, planes of the Syrian Air Force attacked Israeli towns—the first such air strikes since the Mideast war of 1967.

But the immediate impact of the Israeli action was this: The Palestinian guerrillas are deep in trouble in the two regions where they are still permitted to operate.

In Lebanon, the question was quickly raised: Can the

country afford to continue harboring Palestinian commandos?

Signs are multiplying that the Government has decided it cannot.

The Israeli assault has brought home to the Lebanese—as it was meant to—that

Israel will no longer tolerate the presence of commandos along its borders, and will hold Lebanon directly responsible for any operations carried out from within Lebanon. The outlook for Lebanon is that more Lebanese are likely to be killed, that Israel eventually could occupy the southern part of the country.

The problem is whether the Lebanese can find any way to rid themselves of the commandos—or neutralize them—without sparking a bloody conflict within Lebanon itself. The conflict might even lead to civil war.

*Bitter, frustrated.* The 5,000 Palestinian commandos who have been holed up in the mountainous area of southeastern Lebanon are only the tip of the iceberg of the Palestinian presence in this country. Altogether, there are 350,000 Palestinians in Lebanon—more than 15 per cent of the entire population.

Of these, 85,000 live in refugee camps. Large numbers of them own weapons. Practically all of them are bitter, frustrated people who are capable of irrational violence.

Few observers doubt that, in a showdown, the Lebanese armed forces would be victorious over the commandos. But the result might destroy the very structure of the Lebanese regime, which is built on a delicate balance of a half-Moslem, half-Christian population.

There is little doubt, however, that the Lebanese will try to contain the

commandos, one way or another. Most Lebanese regard the Palestinians as strangers in their country. Says one Beirut businessman:

"If we could just get rid of those Palestinians, we would have no problems with Israel."

Getting rid of them, on the other hand, could be a messy business.

Many of the refugee camps are in the outskirts of the capital city of Beirut. Some observers fear that an aroused Palestinian population would be capable of isolating Beirut, at least temporarily, from its power, light and water supplies.

There is also a tiny but tough minority of left-wing Lebanese who might give aid to the Palestinians in their attempts to resist any crackdown on the commandos. This is what could lead to Lebanese fighting Lebanese.

In the face of this, the Lebanese Government is moving cautiously in its efforts to contain the commandos. Its opening action was to send the Lebanese Army into the guerrilla-held border territory, the first such occupation in two years.

*Reaction in Syria.* The Syrians also find the commando presence awkward, and for years have hobbled them with restrictions.

But as the noose tightened around the guerrillas in Lebanon, there was a resurgence of commando activity on the Syrian border with Israel. And the Israeli reaction to that was air strikes at the guerrilla encampments—which called forth retaliation by the Syrian Air Force.

What seemed to stand out in all this was the new sense of determination in Israel's campaign against the commandos.

The Palestine guerrillas, many observers believe, could now be in their final death struggle.

# Arab Guerrillas Call 3 Assassins 'Fantastic People'

By Lewis B. Simons

Washington Post Staff Writer

"They obeyed their orders. They were fantastic people."

In an apartment on one of Beirut's main thoroughfares, Bassam Zayix, spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), heaped delighted praise on the three Japanese terrorists who had turned Tel Aviv airport into a bloodbath Tuesday night.

"They were trained by us here in the Arab world," Zayix said. The mission of the Japanese trio, he said, was "to raise the temperature" of Arab-Israeli hostility. "I foresee that coming through Israeli reprisals—perhaps successful Israeli reprisals—and the Arab reaction to them," he said.

"Our operation could mark a turning point."

While the PFLP waited with anticipation for reprisals, officials in Lebanon and other Arab nations waited with apprehension. Special security cautions were taken at Beirut airport.

And in Tokyo, the Japanese government and press reacted with shock and disgust. "We can't believe it," most officials said.

The government expressed its regret to Israel that Japanese nationals were involved in the attack. And Israeli Premier Golda Meir told a special session of Parliament that she did not regard the three gunmen as representatives of their country. "The friendly relations between Israel and Japan will remain unhampered," she said.

As well as Tokyo police could determine initially, the three terrorists were members of the United Red

Army, an extremist, revolutionary organization.

Together with another Japanese radical group, the United Red Army has been linked with the murders of 11 police and defense officials since September, 1967. Earlier this year, 12 members of the United Red Army were discovered slain by their comrades in an intra-faction purge.

In March, 1970, several "soldiers" of the group hijacked a Japanese Airlines plane to North Korea. Later, other "soldiers" went to Beirut to make contact with the PFLP.

Last October, police reported, an Arab member of the PFLP, identified as Ruvasbi Ghanen, went to Japan and met with members of the United Red Army. The two groups issued jointly a booklet entitled "Arab Guerrillas and the World Red Army."

Israel's National Police Agency said there were four known Japanese "ultra radicals" in Israel. One of them, Mrs. Fusako Shigenobu, 25, is believed to be the official representative of the United Red Army to the PFLP.

The PFLP dismissed any suggestions that the Palestinians could not carry off the bloody airport attack themselves and so had to turn to a Japanese suicide squad. "Let them say what they like," retorted Zayix. "Arabs from the occupied territories participated in this operation, too. Besides, the three Japanese were members of the PFLP . . . We have Irish members too."

The Front spokesman also denied that the Japanese were a kamikaze unit. "They were not planning to kill themselves," he said.

The man who apparently died by his own hand grenade, has been identified as Ken Torio, 23. His accomplice who was found dead is identified as Jori Sugisaki, 23. The third man, Daisuke Nanba, 23, was captured. Japanese police said there was doubt that the names were real and that their passports were forgeries.

Zayix's allusion to Irish members of the PFLP corroborated a recent statement by the militant Irish Republican Army saying that the IRA had relations with Al Fatah, the largest guerrilla element of the Palestinians movement.

The Front also claims members from other foreign countries throughout Europe, the United States and Africa. Leaders of America's Black Panther Party have said some of their members received training in Palestinian guerrilla camps.

Black African liberation movements and the Syrian-based Eritrean Liberation movement, which operates in Northern Ethiopia, have especially strong ties with the Front.

The Palestinians have used young women in love with guerrillas to carry weapons on international flights. Last year, an Israeli military court convicted an elderly French couple and two Moroccan sisters of attempting to smuggle explosive devices into Israel for use by the guerrillas.

In addition to recruiting foreign members, a Front spokesman said, the PFLP "maintains close relations with all the revolutionary movements of the world."

But beneath this grandiose view of worldwide revolutionary brotherhood, the Front made clear that the raid by the three Japanese was a direct response to Israel's successful aborting of a guerrilla attempt to free imprisoned colleagues by hijacking a Belgian jetliner three weeks ago.

The guerrillas were infuriated by the "arrogant" way the Israelis have paraded their "invincibility" since then, Zayix said.

Asked if the PFLP had any moral misgivings about the Japanese assault, Zayix replied:

"None at all."

He said that the three terrorists were instructed to open fire not on the passengers of the Air France airliner which brought them to Tel Aviv, but on those disembarking from an El Al flight due to arrive 10 minutes later, as well as their friends and relatives waiting to welcome them.

"We were sure that 90 to 95 per cent of the people in the airport at the time the operation was due to take place would be Israelis or people of direct loyalty to Israel," he said.

"Our purpose was to kill as many people as possible at the airport, Israelis, of course, but anyone else who was there.

"There is a war going on in Palestine. People should know that. Why don't they go to Saigon?"

NEW YORK TIMES  
2 June 1972

# Anarchist Leaders Seized in Frankfurt

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

BONN, June 1—The state and federal police captured two ringleaders of a West German anarchist band in Frankfurt early today who are believed to have been responsible for a wave of bombings that killed four American soldiers and injured 30 persons last month.

The two were identified by the authorities as Andreas Baader, 29 years old, and Holger Meins, 30. Two other suspects were seized but not immediately identified and one was later released. The group is popularly known as the Baader-Meinhof gang.

Baader and Meins had been sought in a countrywide dragnet along with 17 other alleged gang members, including a former journalist, Miss Ulrike Meinhof, 37, in connection with a series of terrorist actions dating from 1963.

The Baader-Meinhof group had declared its participation in these bombings and other terrorist acts as members of

an assemblage of leftist-anarchists the Red Army Faction. This group preaches terror against "imperialism" as a means of achieving "revolution."

### Group Clashed with Police

They are believed in police circles here to have international connections to like-minded groups in Italy, Japan and France. Baader and Miss Meinhof and others reportedly received weapons training in the Middle East from Palestinian guerrillas during the summer of 1970 after Baader was freed from jail in Berlin by masked gunmen. He had been sentenced for setting fire to a Frankfurt department store in 1968.

Last year the group turned for a time to bank robbery, operating with fast cars and armed with automatic rifles, and amassing hundreds of thousands of marks. Then came a series of clashes with the police that left at least three gang members and three patrolmen dead.

The well-appointed three-story apartment house in north Frankfurt where today's action took place had evidently been under police observation for some time.

Shortly after 5 A.M. a special squad of Frankfurt, Hessian state and federal police cordoned off the corner building and called on the suspects to leave their hideout, a garage on the property. "Come out, your means are limited but ours are unlimited," called an officer through a bullhorn, as recorded by West German television.

When there was no response, tear-gas grenades were fired into the building from an armored car in the courtyard.

The suspects began firing with pistols and automatic rifles. Some of the bullets were later found to have been filed down to dumdums. The police fired a few rounds in return. When the armored car started to ram the closed garage door the man identified as Holger Meins came out. He was stripped to his undershorts and led away.

Then out came Andreas Baader, shooting wildly with a .45-caliber pistol.

Baader was hit in the right hip by a police bullet and he cried out twice.

From a stretcher he called the police "pigs, pigs." With huge sideburns and bleached hair, he was scarcely identifiable from the police photo that showed him with short dark hair.

The two were later identified by fingerprints. Like other members of the gang under arrest, they refused to answer interrogators.

A red Porsche Targa outside the apartment was found to contain hand grenades and a large homemade bomb, police officials reported later.

### Other Cars Are Sought

West German authorities who are overseeing the dragnet disclosed the license numbers of five other cars being sought and warned that they might contain bombs.

A bomb went off in a West Berlin apartment this afternoon and was also attributed to the terrorists.

A bomb threat in Frankfurt this evening, reportedly by a cell of the Red Army Faction, caused the police to strengthen patrols, close theaters and warn people to avoid the downtown area.

THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY  
10 June 1972

## FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

The Kamikazi attack on Israel's Lydda Airport last week, and the subsequent declaration by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claiming responsibility for that attack, have raised a big question mark over the presence of foreign elements in the Palestinian resistance movement. Many journalists and newspaper correspondents were making strenuous efforts to find out how many and how influential these foreign elements were. To their disappointment, they could find little or nothing at all to satisfy their curiosity.

After the Lydda Airport incident, in which 26 were killed and more than 80 wounded, wild speculations spread throughout the international press about the presence of Japanese suicide squads in the Palestinian resistance movement. Some press reports put the figure at 400 men and women who had allegedly joined the PFLP in Lebanon. It later became clear that the entire Japanese community in Lebanon was less than 400.

The PFLP, approached by a number of foreign journalists, would not reveal any information for obvious security and strategic reasons. However, on several occasions in the past, the Palestinian resistance movement did publish pictures of non-Palestinian men and women who were said to be helping the movement in various ways. In the first place, the movement made no denial of the fact that Arab nationals from various Arab countries have joined the movement as fighters, medical officers, social workers etc.

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But the PFLP in particular has always been discreet about its cooperation with foreigners even though there have been reports about its cooperation with extremist groups in foreign countries such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Turkish Liberation Army, the Black Panthers in the United States, the Topamaros in Chile and the United Red Army in Japan.

Although the PFLP has never confirmed officially that it had any links with these organizations, it is part of PFLP strategy to establish and deepen relations with the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces wherever they may be. The organization believes that "revolutionary violence at this stage is the only way to maintain the existence of the Palestinian commando action and, consequently, the Palestine case."

As PFLP leader Dr. George Habash declared in last March's congress of the organization, revolutionary violence means more than planting an explosive on a road, or blowing up a bridge or shelling an Israeli settlement 300 times without causing any real harm to it. Habash strongly emphasized the role of revolutionary violence at this stage for the strategic interests of the Palestinian revolution.

The congress last March clearly defined the principles of revolutionary violence: 1- Avoiding large-scale military confrontations; 2- adopting the policy of hit-and-run whereby surprise and swift strikes are made after which the organization's men would go into complete hiding; 3- choosing enemy targets which, when destroyed, would get the widest popular support among the masses and, at the same time, would evoke no conflicting arguments about the legitimacy or the soundness of such operations; 4- adopting the most adequate security measures to protect the revolution and its men, cadres and leaderships against sabotage, repression and intelligence aimed at destroying the revolution; 5- raising the political, psychological and fighting qualifications of the fighters; 6- making a profound and comprehensive acquaintance with all the principles and tactics of guerrilla warfare and learning from the experiences of other struggling peoples.

The PFLP is perhaps the only Palestinian commando organization with the widest international connections. Being an extremist Marxist organization it is believed to have set up links and ties with similar organizations in various other countries.

The leader of PFLP, Dr. George Habash, has paid more than one visit to Far Eastern communist countries such as China and North Korea, and was last week reported to have started a visit to the Soviet Union (ostensibly for medical treatment). Since the 1967 war in the Middle East, reports have been circulating all around saying that Communist Chinese arms and experts were being supplied to the PFLP as well as to its associate guerrilla group fighting the regime in the Sultanate of Oman. The number of such experts has never been ascertained. But it is almost a confirmed fact that some Palestinian guerrillas, including PFLP men, have had military training in China and North Vietnam.

As an atmosphere of fear, tension and anticipation prevailed in the Middle East and several world capitals last week, following the Lydda Airport incident, there were some speculations which said that the PFLP was studying plans to pay back the "debt" to the Japanese Red Army. How this was to be done was not in any way clear. But, the speculations said, the PFLP might carry out some suicidal action against the Japanese authorities on two counts: 1- If they continue harassing the families and relatives of Japanese nationals in the employ of the Palestinian commando movement; 2- if they go ahead to pay compensation to Israel for the human and material losses inflicted as a result of the Kamikazi attack on Tel Aviv Airport last week, or even if they supplied the Israelis with information considered to be detrimental to the Palestinian resistance movement.

First Contact. According to a report in Beirut's wide-circulation weekly AL USBU AL ARABI this week, the first contact between the PFLP and the Japanese United Red Army was made in 1967. The PFLP leader Dr. George Habash said, "We have established contact with the Japanese Red Army and they have agreed to supply us with arms and explosives."

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The ground on which this contact was made, according to the report, was purely ideological. It was obvious to both sides, said the report, that the "essence" of their struggle against the forces of imperialism, reaction and exploitation was the same. The two sides also agreed on a definition of "the genuine forces of the international revolution."

These forces included "the socialist camp, the labor forces and toiling masses in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movements."

Last autumn, the weekly said, a PFLP leader visited Japan and the Red Army "welcomed him by blowing up five police stations in Tokyo." The weekly defined the Red Army as being "an underground extremist organization that commenced its activities on the political and military levels in 1965." It believes in the armed struggle as "the fundamental way of liberating peoples from exploitation and class domination domestically, and a means to combat imperialism on the international level."

AL USBU reported that Dr. Habash had called on the Red Army to participate "practically" in the Palestinian struggle in order to materialize the strong relationship between the two sides. It added that a number of Red Army members have since joined the PFLP and received training in PFLP camps in the Jordanian Ghor (valley) in 1970.

The Red Army has also helped the Palestinian resistance movement, through its relations with the PFLP, to establish some presence in Japan, mainly in the field of information. A few months ago, according to AL USBU, a documentary film was shown in Japan and some Arab countries projecting cooperation between the PFLP and the Red Army. Within the framework of this cooperation, said the weekly, several Japanese nationals lived with the Palestinian refugees in the camps and helped in medical and social work.

The weekly quoted a PFLP spokesman as saying after the Lydda Airport incident that the operation there was "the beginning of a new phase in military operations against the Israeli enemy. The purpose of these operations is to get the resistance movement out of its present stagnation. We did not start this operation in order to stop after completing it. On the contrary, we will continue the struggle in accordance with a new plan dictated by the requirements of the situation."

In fact, security men in various countries were busy last week trying to foil another Kamikazi operation which was allegedly being planned by a Japanese who had been involved in the Lydda Airport operation, in which two Japanese were killed and a third captured by Israeli authorities.

Security precautions were increased on the Israeli embassy in Tokyo and on Japanese officials after reports circulated saying that the fourth man was planning to carry out another Kamikazi operation. Kazo Okamoto, who was captured by the Israelis, had reportedly told his interrogators that more commando operations would be launched until the 10th of June. Japanese authorities declared last week that they were checking their files of some seven million persons to find fingerprints that match those of the lone Japanese survivor, Okamoto (24).

In the meantime, the authorities said they were trying to learn the identity of the mysterious woman who is believed to be the fourth person involved in the Lydda operation. She was to have acted as liaison for the Arab commandos and to have contacted the three Japanese activists in Rome where she allegedly gave them their passports and weapons before they flew to Tel Aviv.

Three Women. At least three Japanese women were reported to be with the PFLP. They are Fusako Shigenobu (26), Mariko Nakanu (29) and Dr. Takako Nobuhara (31). They are said to be in Lebanon.

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Dr. Nobuhara was reported to have returned to Japan last March when she allegedly approached some radical students during her visit before she returned to Lebanon. She, and Mariko Nakano, both of whom worked together in the Palestine refugee center in Osaka, western Japan, left Japan in April 1971 for Beirut, press reports said last week. The doctor took medical equipment from the Japan-Arab society for the Red Crescent Hospital in Beirut.

Press reports said Dr. Nobuhara became acquainted with Miss Shigenobu, the one-time Red Army activist, took interest in the PFLP movement and quit the hospital last December. She reportedly joined the PFLP commandos in south Lebanon. Miss Shigenobu has been with the Palestine commandos since 1970. She is suspected of having worked to establish routes for Japanese radicals and sympathizers to travel to the Middle East.

The older brother, Takeshi Okamoto (26) of Kazo Okamoto, the lone commando survivor of the Tel Aviv incident, was among nine hijackers of a Japanese airliner to North Korea in March, 1970. Takeshi apparently influenced Kazo to join the activist movement.

Nakano Interviewed. Meanwhile, Miss Mariko Nakano, a Japanese nurse working at Al Quds (Jerusalem) Hospital at Hazmieh, near Beirut, was interviewed by reporters at the hospital last week.

Nakano denied she had anything to do with the Lydda Airport incident, but said that the "Kamikazi spirit is sweeping the Middle East." She made no secret of her admiration for the three Japanese who carried out the Lydda operation. "They have my congratulations. It has made my Palestinian brothers happy," she said. She added, "They were revolutionaries and I support revolution. For me, revolution has no country. What is wrong with fighting imperialism in Tokyo or Tel Aviv? It is all the same."

Miss Nakano said she has been in Lebanon only ten months. "I am a nurse," she said, adding, "I treat the sick, women and children. I am at the side of the Palestinian people for humanitarian reasons."

She denied she was the mysterious woman, code-named "Jun", who is suspected of having been the liaison between the Japanese Red Army and the PFLP. She said she had no knowledge of such a person and denied she was acquainted with any of the three Japanese who carried out the Lydda operation.

"I am poor, but amongst the Palestinians I am happy," she said. "I have freedom here which I did not enjoy in Japan." Since the Lydda airport attack, her parents and relatives were harassed by Japanese authorities. "Poor mama, poor papa! It was not their fault," she said.

Nakano was non-committal about her future plans, but hoped she might one day return to Japan. "But there is so much yet to be done for world revolution, and so much more to do with my Palestinian comrades," she said.

\* \* \*

GERMAN OFFER. On June 8th, Beirut's independent daily AL NAHAR carried a front-page story claiming that a German "terrorist extremist", wanted, and later arrested, by the West German authorities had been in Lebanon early this year when he held contacts with Palestinian commandos (specific organization not identified) and offered them his services in carrying out terrorist operations against Israel and Israeli targets throughout the world.

The man was identified as 29-year-old Andreas Baadar, allegedly the head of a radical group that aims at dealing blows to "imperialist targets even if Germany burns down." He later was joined by another revolutionary extremist called "Aurlich Meinhoff", and their group came to be known as "Baadar-Meinhoff" group.

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Daadar was reported to have entered Lebanon on a forged passport, thus misleading Lebanese authorities. He held several meetings with Palestinian commando leaders, but no agreement was reached. AL NAHAR said that some of his offers were "very attractive", but the commando leaders found loopholes in them. They also feared the consequences of letting Baadar into their plans and operations.

The German authorities, according to the paper, had put up an award of 420,000 Lebanese pounds for the arrest of Baadar, who had carried out a series of terrorist operations in Germany since 1968, and was, therefore, considered as "an extremely dangerous outlaw."

After what has been described as the "biggest man-hunt in Germany since the Second World War," Baadar was arrested and is now awaiting his trial. His colleague is still at large. German newspapers claim that Baadar had relations with the Japanese Red Army to which the three Kamizakis who attacked Lydda Airport last week belonged.

THE ECONOMIST JULY 8, 1972

Palestine

## Bond Street gang?

Britain's part in co-sponsoring last week's Security Council resolution—which "condemned" the recent Israeli raids into Lebanon, while only "deploring" the guerrilla attacks that led to them—has detonated an Israeli reaction. The Israeli government was angered by the resolution, particularly by the clause which called for it, albeit in convoluted phrasing, to return the Syrian officers captured during the previous week. Hence, one must assume, Israel's decision to embarrass the British Government by challenging Britain's supposed decision to allow the guerrillas' Palestine Liberation Organisation to set up an office in London—although the Israelis had already been informed that under British law and tradition neither decision nor permission was involved.

The Government has indeed been embarrassed, with members of parliament on both sides protesting at the thought of a terrorist nest in the centre of London. In Parliament on Monday Mr Joseph Godber, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, reiterated what Sir Alec Douglas-Home had replied to Mr Abba Eban last week: there are no means of preventing anyone establishing such an office so long as it operates within the framework of

British law. This means that a PLO office, like the other offices in Britain which are or have been attached to a wide variety of political movements, can provide information or lobby anybody who is available to be lobbied but cannot operate as a guerrilla base for planning terrorism or training terrorists.

The distinction can be a fine one and there is no doubt that the activities of a PLO office, when established, will be closely scrutinised. So too, as Mr Godber assured Mr Callaghan, the shadow Home Secretary, will its personnel. The most likely head of the new office will be Mr Said Hammami, a PLO representative who has been in London for about a year attached to the Arab League information office. With his own office and staff, Mr Hammami's job will be extended but will remain, he insists, for information only.

A PLO office has existed more or less quietly in New York since 1965. The quiet was broken last year when the office was raided, and its chief beaten up, by militant Jews. There is also an office in Geneva but in most European capitals information about the Palestinians and their cause is disseminated, if at all, by the Arab League and its PLO representatives. It may be these who were meant by the resolution passed last week by the political committee of the Council of Europe, which called on the council's 17 members (who include Switzerland

and Britain) to close what it called their PLO offices.

Israel's desire to prevent the propagation of more efficient information about the Palestine guerrilla movement (at present scanty and even more confused than the movement itself) is understandable, although it comes rather curiously from Mr Menahem Begin, the leader of the Jewish guerrilla organisation which fought both Arabs and Britons in the last years of the British mandate. The past being the past, Mr Begin was correctly given a visa for his recent visit to London. The Palestine guerrillas being very much part of the present, it is questionable whether their leader, Mr Yasser Arafat, should receive similar hospitality if, as rumoured, he applies for a visa to open the London office. As chairman of the PLO's executive committee, Mr Arafat is, in theory at least, ultimately responsible for all acts of violence by the guerrilla groups which belong to the organisation.

But it is improbable that Mr Arafat will make the attempt. The information office can do its work as well, and in fact a good deal better, without the hullabaloo of a controversial opening. And Palestinians in London, pointing to the rock-bottom state of the fortunes of the guerrilla movement, say starkly that Mr Arafat has, or should have, a great many more important things to do than ceremonial openings.

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CPYRGHT  
EVENING STAR AND DAILY NEWS  
14 July 1972

# World Terrorist Link Hinted

By TAD SZULC  
New York Times News Service

The Central Intelligence Agency and other Western intelligence services reportedly have traced numerous connections between the Japanese terrorist "Red Army," a Palestinian guerrilla organization, the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the Irish Republican Army and a number of other revolutionary movements.

Intelligence officials here say that an international revolutionary organization has developed from contacts between the Japanese terrorists, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the other groups, among them the Turkish "People's Liberation Army" and the Italian "Red Brigade."

Officials said that a central office was established in Zurich, Switzerland, late last year and that agents and "safe houses" were maintained in Beirut, Lebanon, and other Middle Eastern countries, in a number of European cities and in Tokyo.

According to the intelligence officials, the killing of 26 bystanders at Tel Aviv airport May 20 by three Japanese terrorists of the "Red Army," in concert with the Marxist-oriented Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was the first known instance of such international cooperation between guerrilla groups.

The intelligence officials said there was evidence of increasing clandestine contacts among many separate groups.

Representatives of some of the guerrilla groups conferred secretly with officials of the Irish Republican Army in Dublin between May 26 and 28, according to the intelligence officials.

Each of the underground groups represented in the new international organization has carried out guerrilla actions such as kidnappings, killings of officials and bank robberies, in the country in which it is based.

The intelligence officials said that many of the revolutionary leaders appeared to have concluded that their ef-

orts would be more effective if they were coordinated internationally.

In the case of the Popular Front and the Japanese terrorists, the intelligence officials said, they had reached an "action" agreement late in 1970, after a series of hijackings of airliners by Palestinian commandos.

As a result of the agreement, they said, a training camp for Japanese revolutionaries was established near Beirut, in January 1971 by an unidentified Japanese woman and by Lella Khaled, a member of a Palestinian commando team that sought to hijack an Israeli airliner between London and New York in September, 1970.

Miss Khaled was released by British authorities in October 1970 in exchange for a group of Arabs imprisoned in West Germany.

The intelligence officials noted that Miss Khaled's companion, who was killed in the at-

tempted hijacking, was Patrick Arguello, an American of Puerto Rican parentage and a member of an American group sympathizing with the Palestinians' cause.

In November 1971, a Popular Front delegation reportedly visited Tokyo secretly, leaving behind a liaison agent with the "Red Army."

Subsequently, the officials said, a number of Japanese terrorists, including those who were to participate in the Tel Aviv airport killings, were sent to a training camp of the Popular Front in Baalek, Lebanon.

The intelligence officials noted that the surviving Japanese terrorist from the airport massacre, Kozo Okamoto, testified at his current trial in Israel that he received a fake passport in Frankfurt and then joined his two companions in Rome for the trip to Tel Aviv.

They said this confirmed reports that the guerrillas had well-organized supporters in a number of European capitals

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
August 1972

CPYRGHT

# Oil as political fuel for guerrillas

## Cairo

Last weekend's sabotage at the Trieste oil pipeline terminal in Italy has reactivated the debate about uses of Arab oil as a political weapon against the United States and Israel.

Palestinian guerrillas of the "Black September" group claimed the burning inferno of African and Mideast crude oil bound for Italy, Austria, and West Germany as part of its "revolutionary policy" of attacking the interests of Israel's friends and allies.

There was visible concern among Arab as well as Western governments and oil circles. The highly professional sabotage of the Trieste terminal of the 300-mile-long Transalpine pipeline hit one of West Europe's main oil-supply arteries, completed just before the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

The pipeline was owned by a group of some of the largest firms that are customers for Arab oil, including Esso, Shell, Mobil Oil, British Petroleum, and Italy's national oil company, Eni.

## Relief for Rotterdam

The pipeline was built to relieve the heavy load on the other main West European tanker terminal at Rotterdam.

Oil sources here say most of the crude-oil supplies pumped through the pipe come from areas west of the closed Suez Canal: mainly Nigeria, Algeria, and Libya, with which Egypt Aug. 2 announced its intention to form a total union by September, 1973. Some of the crude oil also came from the Persian Gulf area.

Such sabotage acts, Egyptian officials say, were not meant by Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat when in an interview with Newsweek magazine he recently predicted "A long, hot autumn for U.S. interests." Confirmation that Black September — the group that assassinated former Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tell here last November and that has claimed other sabotage in Western Europe — really was responsible



would be regarded here as proof that Palestinian guerrilla acts may conflict with Arab governmental as well as Western interests.

**Milder means considered**

However, more pacific means of using oil as a pressure device to compel the United States to soften its support for Israel are under discussion.

Economy ministers of Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon are to meet here Aug. 20 to consider feasibility studies on the subject, commissioned by the Arab League's Economic Council last November.

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia last week exasperated Arab partisans of oil action against Washington. He opposed it in an interview published in the Cairo newspaper Al-Mussawar.

King Faisal was quoted as saying there is "no use in reviving such a call at present" since Arab oil, he maintained, would not be a critical import for the United States until 1985.

He recalled that the late President Nasser had opposed political use of oil at the last Arab summit conference in Morocco in December, 1969, because it "impaired the economies of the Arab countries."

King Faisal's rejection followed a month after a Saudi royal cabinet warning of July 10.

**Participation urged**

The Saudi Government urged Western oil firms to fulfill Arab demands for participation (part ownership) by producer-governments in the companies.

It said a positive response in the participation talks, being conducted on behalf of the Persian Gulf-area members of OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) was desirable if the companies wished "not to forfeit their key position in the oil industry as a consequence of their position at the production stage."

Oil experts interpreted this as a hint of possible government take-overs of production operations, as have already occurred in Iraq, Algeria, and Libya, if the participation talks finally break down.

Iran, one of the world's and OPEC's biggest producers, has, however, indicated it would not follow the Arab policy. It has been negotiating new accords with the Western oil consortium without regard to the participation issue.

MARCH OF THE NATION, New Delhi  
12 August 1972

# Arabs Use Drugs To Prime Killers And Finance Them

Narcotics are usually associated with hippies and social misfits who use them as an escape from reality. But drugs also have their political uses, and play an important part in the control and overthrow of governments.

Use of narcotics for political ends is nothing new. Hundreds of years ago in the turbulent Middle East, impressionable youngsters were gathered together, introduced to drugs, turned into addicts, and set loose to murder their sponsor's political rivals.

To deaden their conscience, to give them courage enough to face certain death if caught, these young men were primed with massive doses of hashish.

Since these young men killed under the influence of hashish, they were called "Hashishin", and in time the word has become part of the English language as "assassin."

**KILLERS PRIMED**

The idea of priming killers with drugs has recently been revived, and hashish, opium, morphine and refined heroin are part of the regular weaponry

of Arab guerrilla organizations as well as of an important source of funds for liberation groups.

The leading Istanbul daily Cumhuriyet, in its issue of June 14, carried a special report from Beirut which flatly stated it was well known that in many countries today hired militants used hashish to boost their courage before they attempted robbery—or murder.

The Cumhuriyet article makes it clear that use of hashish, morphine and other narcotics for political purposes is far more widespread than in the past.

A leading police chief of the Lebanon, a Muslim who is openly in sympathy with the Arab struggle in Palestine, states that Palestine comandos deal in vast quantities of drugs and that the traffic is increasing.

The narcotics pipeline originates in Turkey, where opium poppy has traditionally been a lucrative cash crop.

Recently Turkey outlawed the growing of the opium poppy and imposed stiff penalties for smuggling, but even when farmers are given generous compensations, an extensive illegal opium market persists because of the fantastic profits.

Instead of getting personally involved and clashing with the tough Turkish drug laws, the Arab guerillas make use of Turkish anarchists.

**IDEAL COURIERS**

Many of these anarchists had to leave Turkey in a hurry with the political police on their heels. The Arab guerrillas would welcome them, offer them shelter and sympathy, and later recruit them for smuggling operations in Turkey.

Most of the Turkish anarchists were familiar with smuggling routes, knew the regions where poppy growers were willing to do illegal deals, had the advantage of Turkish as a mother tongue—and were blindly courageous.

Apart from using some of the drugs to boost the courage of their would be assassins, the Arab guerrillas have found narcotics an excellent way of raising funds.

The crude morphine base collected by Turkish sympathisers is sent into Lebanon either by fishing boats or across the land frontier.

The Arab guerrilla groups take charge of the crude "opium base" and sell it to international drug rings in Beirut at a fantastic profit, the money being used to buy arms for the liberation struggle in Palestine.

**SOVIET ARMS**

Large quantities of the Soviet-built Kalishnikov sub-machinegun and Katyusha rockets (these can be carried easily by guerrillas and have a range of seven to eight kilometers) are bought from the Russians. Phosphorus grenades, bombs and other weapons of Soviet origin also find their way into guerrilla armouries.

Neither side asks awkward questions and since the final deal is conducted through Lebanese "cutouts" neither Russians nor Arabs are in the picture if something should go wrong.....

Lebanese Intelligence is well aware of the drug traffic. It also knows all about the purchase of clandestine arms by the Arab guerrillas.

It prefers, however, to turn a blind eye since the political situation in the Lebanon is very delicately balanced and the Government does not want trouble with the pro-Palestinian segment of the population.

**HOOKE**

Though at first the guerrillas regarded narcotics merely as the quickest and most convenient way to gather funds, they soon noticed that some of their couriers were showing

symptoms of drug-use.

There is a fatal attraction about drugs, and even those chosen after careful screening for courier duty found themselves diverting small amounts of the drugs for their own use—and getting hooked permanently.

The guerrilla organisations realised the dangers and tried to put a stop to this "sampling", but recent reports show that addiction is spreading like wild-fire among the Palestinian fedayin.

The Cumhuriyet report lists a number of guerrilla groups involved in the drug traffic. There is, for example, the Rasd intelligence and terror unit of Al Fatah, whose main work is to penetrate Turkish smuggling rings, organise sources of supply, establish courier routes from Turkey to the Lebanon, and to cultivate contacts with overseas narcotic rings to finance Al-Fatah's military operations.

The head of the Rasd project is Abu Hassan (real name Hassan Salamah), a shadowy figure who has wide-ranging contacts in the region and possesses two diplomatic passports issued by Algeria, one under the name of Abdul Kadar Madani, the other under

the alias Ahmed Bel Hassan.

Secondary leaders of the Rasd group include Avni El Hilu, Abu Sakir, Abu Said and Abu Fatah; they usually confine their operations to Beirut.

Hassan Salamah, on the other hand, makes regular trips all over Europe as a drug courier.

The guerrilla groups are not at all ashamed of involvement in the drug traffic. Their semi-refined morphine is highly regarded by narcotic rings in Europe and it also has quite a high reputation with the European urban guerrilla groups, who buy fair amounts of "snow" from Salamah and his friends.

**NO COMPUNCTION**

So indifferent are the Arabs about involvement in the drug trade, that some of the half-kilo nylon bags of hashish they unload in Europe carry pictures of an Arab guerrilla armed with the Kalishnikov sub-machinegun.

But the increase in drug addiction has so alarmed the world, and so many of the liberators themselves are turning into addicts that saner Arab elements consider this labelling of drug packets with pictures of Arab guerrillas deplorable bad taste.

According to Cumhuriyet, the guerrillas themselves see nothing wrong in Hasan Salamah bragging about his hashish operations. They maintain that hashish is an accepted symbol with young anarchists all over the world and there is nothing wrong with pushing sales through pictures of guerrillas.

**END OF THE LINE**

Nevertheless, such views represent only a minority opinion, and the more sober Arabs feel they should get out of the drug traffic, pointing out that trading in human misery by peddling drugs is sure to destroy much of the sympathy that exists towards the Palestine struggle.

While the guerrillas continue to debate the issue, both Turkey and Iran have taken stern measures to stop the drug traffic at its source.

In Iran the death penalty has been imposed—and carried out—against drug peddlars, while in Turkey, border patrols have been stepped up and farmers quietly warned that unless they stop illegal cultivation of opium they will be in serious trouble.

With enforcement fairly lax in the past opium producers were too dazzled by easy profits to bother about the moral aspects of their trade. Things are likely to be very different from now on.

Despite the great influence wielded by the Arab drug traffickers, Turkey and other opium growing countries at last seem determined to root out the drug evil once and for all.

# Foreign Report

CPYRGHT

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## The black hand of Black September

There are signs that the Israeli intelligence service is getting worried about the score-card of the most recent of the Palestine guerrilla movements – the Black September organisation, which has claimed responsibility for the Trieste oil terminal sabotage of 4 August.

The first significant exploit of the Black September terrorists was the assassination of the Jordanian prime minister, Wasfi Tal, in Cairo in November, 1971. The following month they attempted to assassinate the Jordanian ambassador to London. On 6 February the group says it blew up a natural gas plant in Ravenstein, Holland; and on the same day shot and killed five Jordanians in Bruehl, near Cologne. On 8 February, again according to its own claims, the Black September movement detonated explosions at business premises near Hamburg, and on 22 February it sabotaged oil pipelines.

All these targets allegedly had some links with the Israelis. In May the organisation unsuccessfully attempted to hijack a Sabena airliner at Lydda airport; of the four hijackers, two were killed by the Israelis.

Previously believed to be operating without central direction, the Black September organisation is now reliably reported to be under the control of Fatah, the principal Palestinian guerrilla movement. All Black September information is printed and distributed by the Fatah office in Beirut, and access to the movement can be obtained only through Fatah channels.

The question of the role of the guerrilla movements is known to have been on the agenda of the recent talks in Benghazi, between Presidents **Sadat** of Egypt and **Qaddafi** of Libya. Egypt has been financing Fatah in recent years to a greater degree than is popularly supposed; and for some time Egyptian direction of its activities has been substantial. From now on there will be Libyan money to back the Cairo control. This means that the threat from the Black September movement will increase; it will probably – though this is arguable – be under more effective central control, and will undoubtedly have an increased supply of funds.

At the moment, the other guerrilla movements, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP) and the Popular Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PRFLP) are keeping their heads down. It is now virtually certain that the assassination of **Ghassan Kanafani**, the spokesman for the PFLP, on 8 July in Beirut, was the work of Israeli intelligence agents – in retaliation for the Lydda airport massacre of 30 May. Since then the leaders of these three Palestinian movements have gone underground, until the Israeli threat of direct reprisal has eased. Saiqa, the Syrian-based guerrilla movement, has now virtually lost its quasi-official Syrian protection, which is in keeping with the relatively moderate new policy of President Assad. The probability is that Saiqa will soon come under more direct Fatah control.

But it is not only the Israelis who are watching these developments, or probable developments, with anxious interest. **King Hussein** of Jordan and **King Faisal** of Saudi Arabia are disturbed by the increased control that Egypt and Libya exert over the most radical and fanatical of the guerrilla movements.

But Jordan is already embarked upon a counter-stratagem. The Jordanians have been providing, with some eagerness, police and intelligence training for the security forces of the Gulf emirates; and they and the Saudis are giving similar assistance to the opposition 'liberation' movement that is currently harassing the marxist government of South Yemen. Recent evidence has confirmed that Jordanian 'mercenaries' are involved in this obscure conflict.

With the withdrawal of the normal British forces from the region and the recent expulsion of the Russians from Egypt, the atavistic forces of conflict within the Arab world are fast reasserting themselves.

NEW YORK TIMES  
25 August 1972

## Nihilism—Turkish Style

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

By C. L. SULZBERGER

ISTANBUL, Turkey—Turkey's urban guerrillas seem to have philosophical ties with nineteenth-century Russian nihilism. Their goal is purely destructive—to bring down the lumbering Turkish social structure.

The principal laboratory where they learn violent techniques is the Middle East. Terrorists from the three extremist branches—Turkish People's Liberation Army (T.P.L.A.), Turkish People's Liberation Front (T.P.L.F.), and Turkish People's Liberation Party (T.P.L.P.)—have known connections with two far-out Arab guerrilla groups based in Lebanon and Syria.

These are the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.), a small but disciplined outfit which has specialized in hijacking international airliners, and its breakaway faction, the People's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.D.F.L.P.), which claims to be more Maoist than Mao.

If all this sounds like some weird word game, one should not forget that the anagrams are written in blood, and, although the Turkish guerrillas probably number less than a hundred activists with only three or four hundred active sympathizers and a few thousand passive supporters, they managed to throw a deep scare into this country.

The reasons are manifold. To start with, the Turks are tough and Turkish nihilists have done some unusually nasty things: kidnapping American soldiers, British and Canadian radar technicians; murdering an Israeli consul general; burning one of Istanbul's most splendid edifices; sinking two ships, and so forth.

The apparent idea, as far as can be discerned, is to bring down the Government, prompt an open military takeover and thereby cause a public reaction sympathetic to the guerrillas. All that is an opium-dreamer's Turkish delight and opium farming is now banned.

In the late nineteen-sixties revolutionary literature was allowed to appear for the first time and discontented students found it possible to study—in Turkish—such textbooks on violence as Carlos Marighella's treatise on the urban guerrilla. Leftist university scholars both here and in the large Turkish colony of workers in West Germany literally accepted the technical possibilities thus offered and also, incidentally, were encouraged by Bizim Radyo, a Turkish language broadcasting station in East Germany.

A nucleus of professional terrorists was trained here and in Lebanon and Syria, and equipped with arms smuggled from the Palestine guerrillas all across the Bulgarian border. Last month fourteen Turkish revolutionaries were caught on the Syrian frontier. When they were expelled from that country, Ankara was tactfully notified.

There has been an effort to link the tiny urban guerrilla movement with the large and restless Kurdish minority in southern and eastern Turkey and committees of so-called Maoist or New Left Turkish agitators have also been established in West German cities.

Nevertheless, although Turkish students and many professors have been actively discontented for years, and although there is growing frustration at the lack of adequate jobs for new intellectuals and technicians, the nihilists seem to have been thwarted. Three T.P.L.A. leaders were hanged this year.

Several T.P.L.F. and T.P.L.P. leaders have been killed in shootouts with security forces. And an effort to enlist the support of junior military officers (mainly reserve and mostly in the air force) was smashed.

The present unrest originated with a leftist body established among students less than a decade ago and called *devgenç*, or "revolutionary youth." Prior to last year's intervention by the armed forces and establishment of martial law, a reign of terror had begun to creep through Turkish cities. Some prosperous men even sent their families abroad.

But public confidence now seems to have been restored and the security forces believe the small but vigorous terrorist organizations have been decapitated. Moreover, police analysis has disclosed that the urban guerrillas here have less extensive connections abroad than had sometimes been rumored; that, for example, there is no reason to link them with the Uruguayan Tupamaros or the I.R.A.

The explosions that have been rocking Turkey seem to have been limited but the factors within the Turkish social structure that ignited these explosions have yet to be improved. The country has by no means advanced enough economically, educationally, or politically in the half-century since Ataturk's revolution assumed full control.

In addition to a generation gap so immense that it prevents even the semblance of a dialogue between old and young, there is still a cultural gap which prevents even the pretense of consensus on any major national issue. Until this is bridged, nihilism of one or another sort will remain endemic.

NEW YORK TIMES  
6 September 1972

# Attack at Olympics Guerrillas, in Cairo, Take Responsibility for Attack

CAIRO, Sept. 5 (Reuters)—An Arab guerrilla organization called Black September claimed responsibility today for the attack on Israeli athletes' quarters at the Olympic Village in Munich.

The group, in a statement handed to foreign journalists, demanded the release of Arab guerrillas held by Israel and threatened to "liquidate" the Israelis held hostage in Munich if West Germans tried to storm their position in the Olympic quarters.

The organization's statement, on four mimeographed pages headed "Communiqué of the Operation in Munich," was distributed to news agency offices.

The statement said that "our revolutionary forces" were "taking over, right now, the Israeli house at the Olympic Village in Munich." It said, "All members of the Israeli delegation in the house are under armed arrest."

### List of Demands

About six words were cut out of the paper at the beginning of the next sentence, which read, "We demand of the Israeli

military authorities in occupied Palestine to comply strictly with the following."

A list of demands was then given, calling for the release of Arab guerrillas held in Israel.

The statement also warned against what it called "tricky maneuvers or delaying tactics of any sort." If the Israeli authorities used any, they "will pay then for their arrogance and their disregard for human rights and lives, as well," the statement added.

The second part of the statement termed Israel "an American client state" and said she posed a permanent threat to the people of the Middle East.

### Method of Release Specified

CAIRO, Sept. 5 (Agence France-Presse)—The document said to have been distributed by the Black September guerrilla organization said that the released prisoners were to board any non-Israeli plane and fly to any Arab capital other than Amman, Jordan, or Beirut, Lebanon.

After their safe arrival, it said, negotiations could begin with West German authorities for the release of the Israeli

hostages and the departure of the Arab guerrillas. Black September will tolerate no compromise, it said.

### No Surprise in Beirut

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Sept. 5—

The Black September guerrilla organization's claim of responsibility for the attack on Israeli athletes in Munich came as no surprise here.

Arabs have been expecting the radical group to retaliate for Israelis' storming of a hijacked Belgian Sabena jetliner to the Tel Aviv airport last May.

Black September guerrillas had hijacked the plane with 100 persons aboard to Tel Aviv

and demanded the release of guerrillas held in Israeli prisons. Israeli soldiers disguised as airline servicemen attacked the plane, killed two male hijackers and captured the two Arab women helping them. Black September vowed vengeance.

Late in May, three Japanese terrorists acting on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a Marxist group, attacked the Tel Aviv airport with machine guns, killing 28 persons and wounding 73.

The Black September organization is made up of about 200 young guerrillas who were members of Al Fatah, the main guerrilla organization. Some observers believe Black September is a secret Fatah arm, operated by Fatah's intelligence unit.

Black September was so named symbolize the plight of the Palestinian guerrillas, suppressed by King Hussein of Jordan in September, 1970. The group first appeared last November when four of its men assassinated the Jordanian Premier, Wasfi Tal, in Cairo.

The group also claimed responsibility for an attempt on the life of a former Jordanian Ambassador in London, the sab-

otaging earlier this year of a factory in West Germany that manufactured electric generators for the Israeli Air Force, and the blowing up of the oil complex at Trieste, Italy, in August.

Black September's activities have evoked mixed Arab reactions—disapproval from most governments and support from some Palestinians and other Arabs.

Arabs appeared today to be stunned by the action in Munich. Their immediate reaction was dismay.

Lebanon indicated disapproval when the Government radio made no mention of the developments in Munich. Other Arab radios reported the attack without comment.

Lebanese wondered whether Israelis would find an excuse for an attack in Lebanon. They noted that the guerrillas here had kept their promise made in June to freeze all operations against Israel from Lebanon.

The Lebanese-Israeli border has been quiet since then. This followed Israeli land and air attacks on guerrilla bases and villages in southern Lebanon.

NEW YORK TIMES  
6 September 1972

# Fedayeen Fulfill '71 Vow By Major Raids Abroad

By ERIC PACE

"We shall continue the struggle," a member of the Arab commando Central Committee declared a year ago in Amman, Jordan, and since then the commandos have staged a succession of major attacks outside Jordanian soil.

In their statements, the various guerrilla spokesmen have long been saying that they were using violence to dramatize their grievances and to

harry Israel and her supporters.

The guerrillas' ultimate aim is to bring about the dismantling of Israel somehow. They argue that it was unjustly established on land that rightly belonged to the Palestinian Arabs.

Before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the fledgling Palestinian guerrilla movement went about its business largely behind Israeli lines. But since then, and

since the Jordanian Army of offensives against the commandos in 1970 and 1971, the guerrillas, or fedayeen, have often found it more expeditious to mount their raids abroad.

It was the 1970 crackdown that gave rise to the name of the shadowy Black September organization. In a statement issued in Cairo yesterday, the group claimed responsibility for the attacks on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich.

In November, 1971, four Palestinians assassinated the Jordanian Premier, Wasfi Tal, at Cairo's most luxurious hotel, the Sheraton, and when they were arrested they said they were members of the Black September group. Last February, an Egyptian state security force freed them on bail of \$2,300 each.

### 'Scorched-Earth'

At the time of the assassination, Arab informants in Beirut, Lebanon, reported that the or-

ganization had come into existence in July, 1971 and had issued a statement at the time saying it would mount a "scorched-earth" policy against the Jordanian regime of King Hussein.

But soon afterward, a Jordanian Government spokesman charged that Black September was really only "a mask used by Fatah to hide its treacherous schemes." Al Fatah is the main guerrilla organization.

But no Arab commando group claimed responsibility for the next major guerrilla incident, the hijacking of a Lufthansa jumbo jet to Aden, the desolate capital of Southern Yemen, last February.

The West German Government was reported to have paid a \$5-million ransom to the Arab gunmen who took over the plane, which had carried more than 100 passengers including a son of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

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September 1972

NEOCOLONIALISM ARRIVES IN LATIN AMERICA

"Cuba will always be true to the revolutionary movement. We put loyalty to the Soviet Union above everything else."\*

With these words, enunciated in Moscow on 4 July of this year, Fidel Castro Ruz became the first Latin American leader to pledge allégiance to a European power since Bolivar and San Martin cast off Old World rule. Ironically, Castro owes his rise to power to the strong spirit of independence of his fellow countrymen. But, after 13 years of revolution increasingly patterned on the Soviet model, Castro had so thoroughly shattered Cuba's economy, its political viability and the morale of the people that he saw as his only recourse to turn over to Moscow complete responsibility for Cuba's political and economic future.

The final, formal act in the Sovietization of Cuba came at the 26th session of Comecon, an economic grouping of primarily East European states that make up the Soviet dominated Warsaw Pact Bloc, held in Moscow from 10 to 12 July. At this meeting, Cuba, which had been content to attend past sessions as an observer, ostensibly "requested" and, by Soviet diktat, was "unanimously" granted full membership in the group.

As a member of Comecon, Cuba has "voluntarily" placed itself in the "Socialist Commonwealth", subject to the Brezhnev Doctrine which limits the sovereignty of states and provides the ideological rationale for Kremlin interference in the internal political affairs of member states. Soviet media coverage of the event noted that Cuba was the "first country in Latin America to take part in socialist integration." A Pravda editorial said proudly that "states of three continents are now members of Comecon."

Comecon, also known as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), is made up of Bulgaria, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, Hungary and Mongolia, which lies on the Asian border of the USSR, as well as the Soviet Union and now, Cuba. Yugoslavia attends Comecon meetings as an observer; however, since Tito managed to free Yugoslavia from the manacles of "Soviet state capitalism" in 1948, he has been careful to keep the extent of his

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\*Krasnaya Zvezda, (Red Star), 5 July 1972, (The daily newspaper of the Soviet Ministry of National Defense.)

economic dealings with Comecon well below the level considered dangerous to Yugoslavia's autonomy.

The reduction of Cuba to the status of a Soviet colony began in earnest in early 1968, when Castro, faced with the realities of mounting economic and morale problems caused by his erratic and irresponsible leadership, agreed to terms for massive Soviet economic and technical support in exchange for his open espousal of Moscow's ideological supremacy and an increase in his support for Kremlin foreign policies. As a result, Castro, once considered an independent revolutionary and for several years a major proponent of "separate - national - roads to socialism," shocked the more liberal elements of the socialist world by endorsing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Four years of carefully doled Soviet aid only managed to keep the Cuban economy on a bare subsistence level while it drove Castro into deeper economic dependence on Moscow and increased his political bondage to the Kremlin. By early this year the total Cuban debt to the USSR had risen to over 4 billion dollars and according to unofficial but reliable estimates this figure of indebtedness has been increasing at the rate of nearly 2 million dollars per day.

When it became clear that the key sugar harvest for this year would barely top 4 million tons, making it one of the poorest harvests in recent Cuban history and disastrously below the 10 million tons which Castro had staked "the honor of the revolution" on attaining by 1970, both Havana and Moscow became alarmed. The Soviet solution, which Castro could resist only by admitting his failure to the Cuban people and giving up his position of power, called for placing the Cuban economy completely in the hands of Soviet planners and managers for the foreseeable future. Bringing Cuba into Comecon would not only provide a thin ideological face-saving veneer for Castro when the full extent of Moscow's role in Cuba became evident, but it would also provide the basis for the Kremlin's having its East European "partners" share in the ever-rising costs of maintaining Cuba while the Soviets continued to reap all of the political benefits.

To lay the groundwork for Cuba's entry into Comecon, Castro made an extensive "good-will" tour of the six East Europe Comecon member states and the Soviet Union itself. The eight-week journey, lasting from 17 May until 6 July, marked the first time Castro had visited this area since 1964. Included in the tour were as many public appearances and meetings with national leaders as could be squeezed into the schedule. Short speeches, press conferences, interviews and communiques were everyday occurrences. The themes highlighted by Castro throughout were unrestrained praise for Soviet policies and a call for greater solidarity of the socialist community under Moscow's "magnanimous" leadership.



The trip came at a time when Soviet pressures for greater integration and consolidation of its hold over Eastern Europe were intensifying while nationalist-minded East European leaders were seeking a variety of unobtrusive means for loosening Moscow's reins. Such timing led many in East Europe, where experience has taught the people to be wary of the Kremlin, to conclude that the trip was conceived and directed in its entirety by Moscow. Castro, nevertheless, played the role of the innocent and grateful Third World beneficiary of Soviet munificence, much to the chagrin and dismay of his hosts, especially in Romania, Hungary and Poland.

In Czechoslovakia, where trials of the patriots and intellectuals involved in the "Prague Spring" were in progress, Castro "proudly" accepted an award for "the position taken by the Cuban Communist Party in connection with the international assistance of the Warsaw Pact countries in 1968." Quite appropriately the award was presented by the Soviet-installed leader of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak, who remarked, "Your position was a great help then and still is today." In accepting the award Castro responded, "The position we took on the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69 is perfectly normal, because we are allergic to any manifestation of liberalism or deviationism... ."

Shortly after his return to Cuba, and just two weeks after Cuba's entry into Comecon, Castro delivered his traditional speech to the Cuban people on the anniversary of the 26th of July movement. He assured them that the trip was a great success and that Cuba would only benefit from its new status in Comecon. He obviously assumed that the Cuban people knew little about the realities of Comecon and the true status of the subjugated East European states that make up this body. Ironically, he used much of his speech to lecture other Latin American countries and their leaders on the meaning of "true sovereignty," "real freedom," "independence" and "national self-respect." In marked contrast, these are the very subjects he feared to mention in the dozens of public utterances he made throughout Eastern Europe, where they are as cherished by the peoples of these captive nations as they are by the free Latin Americans.

The Cuban people should be aware of what East Europeans really feel about Comecon. While the press in Albania failed to mention Cuba's admission to Comecon, it did report the following on 17 July:

"CMEA (Comecon) held its 26th session in Moscow last week. While the Soviet leaders continue to publicize its benefits and prospects for the future to member states, such propaganda cannot obscure the bitter reality concealed behind the activity of this bloc. As time goes on it becomes ever clearer that CMEA

and its many organs are only instruments used by Moscow to plunder the other members of this neo-colonialist-type entity in the most highly organized manner possible."

What is the significance for the other Latin American countries of Cuba's new status as a full-fledged vassal of Soviet neo-colonialism? How can the other Latins deal with Castro's pledge to "put loyalty to the Soviet Union above everything else?"

Cuban policies in Latin America, which, since 1968, had been gradually changing to conform with Soviet policies in this area, would now be planned, coordinated and financed in Moscow. Many observers have noted a superficial easing of Cuban policies since 1968; a shift from outright Cuban support for the most radical and violent left-wing revolutionary movements to what appears to be a more moderate stance involving open Cuban support of responsible revolutionary leaders. Such a view can be not only misleading but extremely dangerous for Latin America in the future, for Havana will now be manipulated in the much more subtle and sophisticated ways characteristic of its Soviet master. It must also be remembered that a goodly portion of Cuba's 4 billion dollar debt to the USSR represent's indirect Soviet funding of Latin American revolutionary movements.

Old, experienced communists such as Yugoslavia's Tito and China's Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, learned long ago that the wily Kremlin politicians, much like their Tsarist imperialist predecessors, are more interested in extending their own power, and the power of the Russian Empire, than they are in altruistically supporting revolutions designed to improve the lot of the masses. Soviet Latin American policy has been characterized for a number of years by what appears on the surface to be a good deal of flexibility and moderation. In reality, however, it has been marked by a cynical duality which combines diplomatic niceties and carefully doled foreign aid and open displays of friendship along with clandestine intrigue and subversion calculated in the long run to extend Soviet political influence throughout the area.

Soviet hegemony over eastern Europe. That is why even those Comecon integration projects under discussion in Moscow last week which can be justified in terms of economic rationality have a sinister ring for the more independent-minded east Europeans.

The main news from last week's meeting of this supposedly economic organisation was political. The entry of Cuba as a full member is dictated no doubt by Russia's desire to keep a closer watch on Dr Castro. There is also the near-entry into membership of

Jugoslavia, which has recently found itself obliged—mainly through its lack of success in western markets—to enter into closer co-operation with Comecon. Politics, not economics, is still king in eastern Europe.

Hanging over all Comecon members is the growing political problem of how to react to the enlargement of the common market. Rumania has approached Brussels in the hope of being included in Europe's generalised preference scheme. Jugoslavia has a trade agreement with the common market, which is currently being

re-negotiated. Poland and Hungary would like to get larger quotas for their textile exports to the community but obviously cannot until Comecon has sorted out the recognition problem. But in a year when the Ten are jointly preparing their approach to the European security conference, and when the Brussels commission is expected to take over the future common commercial policy of the Ten towards eastern Europe, there is an increasing fear that Russia will use the issue of recognition of the EEC to bludgeon its Comecon partners further into line.

SHORT SUBJECTS

THE VIETNAM WAR: SWEDEN'S PROXY TARGET

Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme used the occasion of the Socialist International Congress in Vienna (26-29 June) to return to one of his favorite themes: American intervention in Vietnam. At a time when many of his fellow European socialists have acknowledged the fact of the massive North Vietnamese invasion of the South, Mr. Palme has persisted in characterizing the American presence as a continuation of French colonialism and asked the Socialist International Congress to take a stand against American "intervention." The Prime Minister's moral indignation was boundless: "We are socialists; we are on the side of the poor, the downtrodden."

The Palme government's latest propaganda offensive against the United States began on 17 May when Education Minister Carlsson joined a march on the U.S. Embassy sponsored by the Swedish Vietnam Committee. Speaking to the demonstrators, Carlsson condemned the American role in Vietnam as "only one" instance of U.S. efforts to dominate other countries. On 23 May Foreign Minister Wickman told the Swedish parliament that the North Vietnamese invasion of the South was simply another example of cooperation between liberation movements, whereas U.S. intervention was directed against all the Vietnamese people. And in mid-June Swedish Ambassador to North Vietnam Oeberg claimed that U.S. bombing of the North had severely damaged dikes and dams and could cause massive flooding during the rainy season.

Since most Swedes are pre-occupied, at the moment, with more parochial problems, such as unemployment, inflation and higher taxes, the government's sudden re-obsession with the fate of a Southeast Asian nation is difficult to understand. Could it possibly relate to something more than the "humanitarian concern," Mr. Palme is so fond of emphasizing?

In the 1970 elections, Palme's Social Democratic party lost its absolute majority in parliament, when many of its left-wing supporters turned to the communists. The government is currently experiencing a severe mid-term slump. Sweden has been slow to recover from last year's economic recession: consumer prices rose approximately seven percent between May 1971 and May 1972; unemployment remains high. Last winter Swedish housewives demonstrated against the soaring price of food and the government is worried that there may be new demonstrations.

Unable as yet to resolve his domestic problems, and faced with new elections in 1973, Palme has turned with obvious relief to the

Vietnam issue which is popular with the young and disaffected elements of his electorate. His use of the Socialist International forum to placate the Swedish left was noted by other participants in the meeting. Responding to the Swedish Prime Minister's remarks, German Chancellor Willy Brandt noted "anti-Americanism is often an excuse for our own failings." The congress, for its part, did not condemn the U.S. role in Southeast Asia. Palme subsequently admitted that the Swedish Social Democratic position on Vietnam is not always appreciated.

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#### TERRORISM AND THE SOVIET UNION

In a series of two articles, The Soviet Involvement in Violence, appearing in the July 1972 issues of the fortnightly Soviet Analyst, Brian Crozier, Director of the London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict, examines the extent of Soviet sponsorship of terrorism and guerrilla warfare on one hand while, on the other, it assiduously cultivates an image of detente and peaceful co-existence -- which image also provides cover for the continuing subversive activities of the KGB and GRU. The documented evidence of Soviet-supplied materiél, funds and training to revolutionaries in Western Europe, the Arab world and Near East, Africa and Latin America at the same time as the Soviets exhibit a popular front, constitutional non-revolutionary image, can serve as a take-off for careful examination of Soviet motivation.

Attached are reprints of the articles from the Soviet Analyst. To facilitate exploitation of these articles in Latin America, an unofficial Spanish translation of them is also attached (for selected areas only).

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#### DISILLUSIONED WITH SOVIET OIL TECHNICIANS

The Nigerian press reflects disillusionment with the recent Moscow/Lagos agreement which calls for Soviet technicians to assist in Nigerian oil production. An article in the 19 July issue of Renaissance, an official daily newspaper of the Nigerian government, questions the wisdom of seeking Soviet oil technology experts when in fact the Soviets have no major oil discoveries to their credit despite more than 15 years of drilling in such countries as Egypt, Iran, Syria, Morocco and India. "In oil technology as is generally known, the West is far ahead of the East. It is not a question of ideology. That is why questions are bound to be asked whether the government in making its leap eastward, got the best possible advice." The article also cites Jidda's Al Madina, which quotes Egypt's former Deputy Premier and oil minister Mahmud Younes as noting that "the reputation of the Soviet Union in matters

of oil technology is not very good." Reference is also made to the World Oil Congress held in Moscow in June 1971 as a "dazzling show... (that)...may convince gullible unsophisticates that topflight Soviet oil technology, of which the Russians have a certain amount, ...is available for export under aid projects. But the facts and past experience show that the USSR needs all its best help for itself, not for foreign countries."

Arab countries are not the only ones being short-changed by Soviet technology. In February 1971, India abandoned its off-shore explorations in the Gulf of Cambay because of inadequate Soviet equipment. "India's heavy reliance on Soviet equipment and technical assistance for the past 15 years has slowed exploration for crude oil the country needs... Soviet exploration techniques are at least ten years behind Western industry." "Russia's Drilling Hit by Equipment Problems," an article that appeared in the authoritative monthly magazine World Petroleum, is also referred to: "Spare parts were lacking and design was recognized by the Soviets themselves to be obsolete, backward and inefficient."

The concluding theme of the Renaissance article is that the Soviets' limited experience in computer technology will hamper progress in a rapidly modernizing oil industry. As far back as 1963 Western exploitation had benefited from digital seismic technology which by 1966 was being used in Libya. It wasn't until 1969 that the first computerized digital seismic unit was available to the USSR. The required accuracy for locating Libyan petroleum reserves, currently being attempted by Soviet technicians in Tripoli, "will inevitably be impaired by a shortfall in computer technique. It is the same story in Iraq as in Egypt and elsewhere of ineffective Soviet oil 'help' often extended for political motives."

Another setback in the Soviets' drive to expand their influence in Africa is reported in the 20 July 1972 edition of the oil trade journal Platts Oilgram. In mid-July, the Libyan government denied entrance to a large delegation of Soviet oil experts on "technical grounds." The article indicates that the Libyan government may be reconsidering the agreements signed by Premier Jallud in Moscow in early 1972 for Soviet assistance in oil production. The Libyans, as the Nigerians, are probably aware of limited Soviet expertise in petroleum technology. It is noteworthy that Iraq, Moscow's most loyal friend in the Middle East, turned to France to market oil and continues to seek European help in oil production. Some sources indicate that Libya's refusal to accept Soviet technicians is partially based on an Egyptian report that intelligence officers were among the "technicians." Through this often used guise, the Kremlin hoped to offset recent Libyan demands for the reduction of personnel at the Soviet Embassy in Tripoli.

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IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED

Moscow is busy corralling its front organizations for a series of youth meetings where European security will be the major topic.

The Soviets seem undaunted by the spectacular failure of the Assembly for Peace and Security in Europe (ARPO) which met in Brussels in early June. That conference was the first of a series of international non-governmental gatherings aimed at keeping up pressures on West European governments to accept the Soviet precepts of European Security. Despite the meager results of ARPO, the Soviets are still touting these youth gatherings, claiming ARPO gave youth in particular an opportunity to participate in peace deliberations. The first such gathering is the European Youth Security Conference in Helsinki (August 26-30), supported by the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Moscow claims that more than 100 youth festivals, conferences and meetings will take place this year, some of which are in preparation for the Tenth World Youth Festival, scheduled for late July 1973 in East Berlin. The Festival's Preparatory Meeting will be in East Berlin in October; Moscow has already announced that its traveling saleswoman-astronaut, Valentina Nikolayevna-Tereshkova, will be among the Soviet members in attendance. A "World Meeting of Working Youth" will follow in Moscow in November; its theme will be "youth condemns imperialism."

It is doubtful that these meetings will achieve the desired propaganda impact but it is obvious that the Soviets are willing to take the gamble and are expending considerable time and money in cultivating youth groups from abroad.

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SOVIETS OBJECT TO CHINESE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

On 7 August the Soviet government newspaper Izvestiya voiced loud complaint over a new Chinese atlas, accusing Peking of reheating the Sino-Soviet border controversy. The new Chinese book called The Peace Atlas claims more than 900,000 square miles of Soviet-influenced territory for China which Moscow says is an "absurd demand." Izvestiya described the new Chinese atlas as aimed at "fanning hostility between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, educating the population of China in the spirit of hatred for other peoples...particularly neighboring peoples...in the spirit of revising the borders of China with adjacent countries." Izvestiya goes on to say that China, with which the Soviet Union shares a 4,300 mile border, claims in its new atlas Mongolia, most of the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, and parts of the Republics of

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Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Siberia. (An English translation of the Izvestiya article is attached.)

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JAPAN OBJECTS TO SOVIET TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

Soviet pique over "Mao's Geography" ties in well with the matter of Japan's Northern Territories which the Soviet Union usurped during the closing days of World War II...the main difference in the cases being that the Pacific islands under dispute are by tradition Japanese, while the Soviet territories claimed by Mao's atlas are not by tradition Chinese.

Japanese Foreign Minister Ohira and the Soviet ambassador to Japan, Oleg Troyanovsky, are about to begin preliminary discussions designed to lead eventually to the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty. Soviet refusal to comply with Japanese insistence on the return of the Northern Territories continues to be the major irritant in existing Japanese-Soviet tensions. Most recently, this was attested to by Japan's strongly negative reaction to the latest hints (surfaced via Victor Louis) that the USSR "might be willing to rent or lease" to Japan the islands under dispute.

The islands lie just off the northernmost Japanese island of Hokkaido and just south of the Kuril Island Chain, which was handed over to the Soviets under terms of the Yalta Agreement and has since been incorporated into the RSFSR. The disputed islands, referred to as the Northern Territories are the islands of Shikotan, Etorofu, Kunashiri and the Habomai archipelago. Shikotan and the Habomais are the islands to which Japan has the best claim as they are neither geographically nor geologically part of the Kuril Chain but like the Kurils have been under Japanese dominion since 1798. Japan claims Etorofu and Kunashiri as the northern extension of Hokkaido; the Soviets claim them as the southernmost part of the Kurils and thus as covered under the Yalta Agreement. However, they too have been continuously under Japanese dominion since 1798 and have been traditional Japanese fishing grounds for centuries.

Precedent for disputing the fallacy of the Soviet definition of the Northern Territories as part of the Kuril Chain dates back to the Nineteenth Century. A treaty of amity of 1855 established the Russo-Japanese border on a line running between Etorofu Island (Japanese) and Urrupu Island (Russian) thus recognizing the legality of a Japanese presence in the Northern Territories. The Kuril-Sakhalin exchange of 1875 defined the Kuril Island Chain as starting at its southern tip with Urrupu and as not including the Northern Territories. No leader of Imperial Russia or the Soviet Union ever questioned this definition before.



Obviously more important to the Soviet Union than historic precedent is what the USSR sees as the strategic value of the Northern Territories. Together with the Soviet Union's ownership of the Kuril Chain, the Soviet presence in the Northern Territories practically guarantees the USSR control over access to the Sea of Okhotsk and plays a major role in Soviet antisubmarine activities. These activities are centered at the large military base that the Soviets have built on the northernmost island in the Northern Territories, Etorofu. Maintaining this toehold may take on even added significance in Moscow's eyes as relations between Japan and China warm up.

When it was pointed out to the Soviets last spring that the reversion of Okinawa from the U.S. to Japan should set a precedent for the reversion of the Northern Territories, another fallacious Soviet argument was heard as Ambassador Troyanovsky told the Japanese press: "Keeping aside any historical or legal comment, I would like to call just one matter to everyone's attention. One million Japanese live on Okinawa; but for 25 years only Russians have been living on the southern Kurils" (meaning the Northern Territories). Undeniably so, but only because the Soviet occupying forces evicted some 16,000 Japanese from the Northern Territories while the Americans allowed the residents of Okinawa to stay in place.

Fallacious arguments and precedents aside, as the preliminary peace discussions open this month, the determining factor may well be one of economics. The Soviet Union, eager for Japanese aid in developing its resources in Siberia and the far eastern provinces, will undoubtedly use the Northern Territories issue to try to get liberal terms on potential future Japanese investments. Prime Minister Tanaka, however, has already declared Tokyo's intention to take an all-or-nothing position on the return of the islands. In fact, the Japanese government will be willing to wait several years if need be in order to conclude a treaty on its own terms.

SOVIET ANALYST, London  
6 July 1972

CPYRGHT

## *The Soviet involvement in violence*

by *Brian Crozier* Director, Institute for the Study of Conflict, London

The proposition that the Soviet Union is still involved in the sponsorship of revolutionary violence tends, nowadays, to be greeted with incredulity. The new image of Russia, carefully cultivated over the past decade or more, is that of a super-Power impelled by traditional imperial drives, capable, it is true, of unfortunate lapses such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, but not, after all, guilty of major outrages like Vietnam. Of course, not all people accept this new image of reassuring normality, but many leader writers, television commentators and politicians do accept it, as they accept other popular fallacies such as the notion that the Cold War is over, the "normality" of Communist parties (for example the Italian) or the reality of the detente now being offered by Mr. Brezhnev.

The fact is, however, that the Russians *are* involved in sponsoring terrorism or guerrilla war in many countries and in varying degrees. Where and to what degree it is the purpose of this article to examine.

The lot of the analyst was enviably simpler in Stalin's day, and especially during the last eight years of his life from the end of the Second World War when Moscow was the unchallenged centre of authority of the world Communist movement. During those years, the capacity of the Russians to stir up trouble in distant places (for instance in South-East Asia) was so patent, the hostility of the Western Communist parties and their commitment to revolutionary violence so evident, that the Western Powers sank their differences and formed a defensive alliance in the interests of survival.

I am not here concerned in any detail with the causes of the altered image of the Soviet Union and of the great majority of the Communist parties that are still, broadly speaking, aligned with Moscow. The roots of change are well known: Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and recognition that in some circumstances it might now be possible for the "people" to attain power by constitutional, even parliamentary, means; Togliatti's polycentrism; the Sino-Soviet split.

### After Khrushchev

More directly relevant is the change in Soviet tactics and techniques since the removal of Khrushchev from the role of the chief conductor of foreign affairs and of relations between the Soviet Communist Party and lesser parties

was erratic; and, during his last two years in power (after the humiliating confrontation with President Kennedy in the Caribbean), uncertain and even timid. There were signs of a declining involvement in Indo-China, and in the promotion of revolution in parts of Africa. Some curious heresies were perpetrated, such as the conferment of the title of "Hero of the Soviet Union" on Presidents Nasser and Ben Bella, and the forging of "fraternal links" with the ruling political organisations of the United Arab Republic and Algeria.

With Khrushchev out of the way, the Brezhnev-Kosygin team moved swiftly to restore the momentum of Russia's drive throughout the world. As Professor Erickson pointed out (SOVIET ANALYST, Vol. 1, No. 4), a vast expansion of the Soviet nuclear armament programme was initiated. But the complementary activities should not be overlooked. In December 1964, the Russians invited the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam to set up a permanent office in Moscow. The curious thing was that Khrushchev had not seen fit to do so, as the NFLSV already had offices in Peking, Algiers, Jakarta, Prague, East Berlin and Havana. Soviet help to Left-wing Congolese rebels was resumed.

In February 1965, Kosygin led a high-powered delegation to Hanoi and initiated a massive military aid programme to North Vietnam; the consequence today being that about 90 per cent of the heavy and modern war material being used by the North Vietnamese in its invasion of the South is of Soviet origin.

The Soviet Union's expansionist drive throughout the world is indeed in full flood, and Russian involvement in support of revolutionary violence must be seen in this context, as an important element but by no means the only one or even the most important. Illusory comfort has been derived by Western wishful-thinkers from the dissensions within the International Communist Movement, the Chinese challenge to Soviet authority, the obstinate adventurism of Fidel Castro, and above all from Brezhnev's readiness to meet Herr Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* half way with treaties and arrangements, his offer of a detente in Europe and a European Security Treaty, and his decision to spell out the rules of super-Power co-existence with President Nixon.

None of this affects the realities of the Soviet expansion, which has always been—to incorporate as many countries of the world as possible into the Soviet system. Indeed, the Nixon-Brezhnev agreements provide the perfect umbrella for the espionage and subversive activities of the KGB, and its military counterpart the GRU, throughout the world. For "peaceful co-existence" (as both the Chinese and the Russians agreed under the World Communist Declaration of 1960) means "the intensification" of the international class struggle, and the Soviet support for "national liberation" movements has been reaffirmed on many occasions. This Soviet commitment needs, however, to be critically examined. At one level, it is a propaganda commitment: the Russians wish it to be known that they are committed to "national liberation", because their revolutionary credentials are under challenge from Peking and from the proliferating groups, either new or revived, which together constitute the New Left. And since a verbal commitment may be insufficient, they do provide arms, money and training to numerous revolutionary groups. But this does not necessarily imply a naive belief in the chances of ultimate success of terrorists and guerrillas—especially in the rural insurrections ideologically favoured by Peking. Still, however, they cannot afford to be "out of it": if the Chinese, or the Cubans assist violent revolutionaries, then the Russians must also do so, at least in selected cases. This is the phenomenon I call "competitive subversion".

The Soviet commitment to revolutionary violence should be seen in the context of Soviet strategy and of developments over the past four years. It has become clearer than ever that an important objective in this strategy is the establishment of client-States far from the borders of the USSR. The first was Cuba, which fell into Russia's lap almost by accident. Next came Egypt, as a deferred consequence of the "Czech" arms deal of 1955, and of the Soviet decision to build the High Dam at Aswan after John Foster Dulles had declined to finance it. Latterly, the process has been accelerated, with the conclusion of treaties with Egypt and India last year, Soviet support for India in its war with Pakistan, with the consequent extension of Soviet influence to Bangladesh; the new treaty with Iraq (signed in April this year); and the powerful Soviet military assistance to North Vietnam, which is consistent with a Soviet policy objective of encouraging the emergence of a greater Vietnam (with Laos and Cambodia, together with South Vietnam, all under North Vietnamese control) as yet another client-State, this time on the southern border of China. A possible further candidate for client-State status is President Allende's Chile, in which the well-organised local Communist Party, adopting Moscow's favoured "constitutional road" to power, has achieved office in a coalition government.

To the extent that the creation of client-States, by revolutionary violence, then Soviet sponsorship will be forthcoming—either secretly, or semi-overtly. The other objectives include: the "Finlandisation" of Western Europe, prior to its incorporation into the Soviet system; the isolation of the United States; control over Middle East oil and the denial of economic resources in that area and in Africa to the Chinese. European and North American acceptance of a detente on Soviet terms is an important element in this total picture, together with the achievement of rough nuclear parity with the United States and the rapid expansion of Soviet naval power in the Mediterranean and latterly in the Indian Ocean. Detente gives ammunition to those American politicians who wish the United States to withdraw its forces from Europe. In the meantime, Soviet efforts to weaken capitalism, to undermine the confidence of Western governments, and to destroy the stability of non-communist States on a selective basis continues unremittingly.

The Soviet attitude towards the non-communist extremist groups of the Left in many countries is conditioned by their ability, as assessed in Moscow, to further Russian objectives. For several years, Moscow treated the New Left with contempt or derision. But the events of 1968 are now seen to have provoked an agonized reconsideration in Moscow. That spring, President election; Prague enjoyed its brief moment of euphoric freedom from Soviet control; and in Paris, the riotous students came within an inch of removing General de Gaulle from power. All three of these events were triumphs, however short-lived, for the New Left. The Russian policy-planners took note and drew the consequences. Ideally, they favour the constitutional road to power through united front or popular front tactics, as happened in Chile in 1970, and as may well happen one day in Italy or France. This does not rule out clandestine support for the more violent revolutionaries. This new and more sophisticated approach is a case of "heads we win, tails you lose". Revolutionary violence has in fact been denounced by the Communist parties of Italy, France, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile. Such parties pose as the champions of order, and as candidates for government. But to the extent that terrorism and guerrilla tactics weaken the State and present Communist parties with their "constitutional" opportunity, they are worth supporting.

Let us turn now to actual examples. The clandestine nature of many such activities rules out comprehensive evidence. But there are sufficient indications to prove the point. In South and East Asia, the Russians are by and large content to leave the support of revolutionary violence to the Chinese. The apparent exception is Vietnam, but Soviet aid to the North Vietnamese is given on a State-to-State basis, and direct Soviet support for the Viet Cong has been minimal.

In the Middle East, Africa and Latin-America, Soviet involvement with extremists has been far more extensive. There has also been some selective involvement in Western countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States. Details of these activities will be published in a concluding article.

*To be continued.*

SOVIET ANALYST, London  
20 July 1972

CPYRGHT

## ***The Soviet involvement in violence II***

by *Brian Crozier* Director, Institute for the Study of Conflict, London  
(exclusive to *Soviet Analyst*)

In an earlier article, we looked at the Soviet attitude towards revolutionary violence in general terms. Let us now be more specific:

### **Western Europe**

The main concentration of the Soviet effort is on espionage, both military and industrial, and the mass expulsion of KGB agents from Britain in September, 1971 drew attention to the scale of Russian activities in this field. I am not here concerned with spying, as such, or with subversion—of which there is a great deal. As regards revolutionary violence, there are indications, as yet insufficiently precise, that the Russians are trying to penetrate Maoist and Trotskyist extremist groups in France, Belgium and Italy. It would be surprising if they were not making a similar effort in the United Kingdom, but with what success is not publicly known. The most striking sign of Soviet involvement in violence was the seizure of a £30,000 consignment of Czech arms at Schiphol airport, Amsterdam, last October. Two points were of special interest. One is that the arms were destined for the non-Marxist Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army—a striking confirmation of the theory that the Russians are prepared to help non-Marxist terrorists while maintaining normal diplomatic relations with the host country and preaching the "constitutional" road to power. The second point is that, although the Provisionals' arms deal was with the Czech government agency, Omnipol, it could not have been concluded without the knowledge and assent of the KGB.

### **Arab world and Near East**

The Palestine terrorists and guerrillas face the Russians with a dilemma. To the extent that the guerrillas are anti-Israeli, the Russians are inclined to support them; on the other hand, the groups have proved, on the whole, to be a greater menace to the Arab governments than to Israel itself, and to support them outright might be counter-productive in terms of Soviet relations with friendly countries, such as Egypt or Iraq. Moreover, the Palestinians have a record of unsuccess, with which the Russians do not wish to be associated; and the wildest among them—Dr George Habbash's *Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine* (PFLP)—are not only boastful where the Russians would prefer discretion, but indulge in spectacular acts of violence with which, again, the Russians would prefer not to be linked. Thus in September, 1970, after the PFLP had hijacked and destroyed four international air-liners, two Soviet lawyers condemned the incident in an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

There has certainly been some Soviet aid to the PFLP, however, and to the more moderate *Al Fatah*, if only to be able to claim, if challenged, that the Palestine liberation movement has not been left unaided. (Chinese aid to the PFLP is certainly greater than Russian.) Here, as elsewhere, the Russians have shown some distaste for giving aid to groups which they do not control and which, moreover, seem determined to go their own way. They have tried to meet this situation by fostering the creation (in February, 1970) of *Quwwat al-Ansar* (Partisan Forces) by the pro-Soviet Communist Parties of Lebanon, however not of Palestinians but of "volunteers" from

the countries of the sponsoring parties. It cannot be ignored by the Palestinian groups since it fought well in Jordan against King Hussein's forces; but it was left out of the United Palestine Liberation Army set up under Yassir Arafat's leadership in November, 1970.

In Oman, where Chinese-backed guerrillas of the *Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf* (PFLOAG) have been fighting the Sultan's forces in the Dhofar area with some success, the Russians seem to have decided to complete with Peking. A PFLOAG delegation visited Moscow and East Berlin last autumn and returned with claims (which the Russians have not denied) that Soviet assistance would soon be doubled—a claim reminiscent of the percentage increases from an unknown base during Stalin's five-year plans. Encouragingly, however, a Soviet camera team has shot a film of the Dhofar rebellion entitled "Hot Winds of Freedom", which has won a prize.

In the non-Arab Middle East, too, there is Soviet involvement in revolutionary violence both directly and through intermediaries. East Germany is host to the banned Iranian Communist Party (as the Shah himself complained a year ago) and serves as a contact point for meetings between Soviet agents and the leaders of the violent *Dev Genç* (Revolutionary Youth) organisation and its *Turkish People's Liberation Army* (TPLP). The TPLP has received arms from Bulgaria, perhaps the most assiduous of Russia's satellites in the provision of aid to terrorists.

### Africa

Sino-Soviet competition is at its fiercest in east and southern Africa. An earlier phase of almost indiscriminate Soviet subversion ended with the overthrow, in February, 1966, of the Nkrumah regime in Ghana, to which Moscow was deeply committed. Nowadays, Soviet assistance tends to go mainly to movements "struggling" against regimes that can be labelled "neo-colonialist", "imperialist", "feudal" or "racist". In contrast to Soviet practice in most other areas, the Russians give much publicity to their aid to such movements as the *Zimbabwe African People's Union* (ZAPU), which is based in Zambia with aim of "liberating" Rhodesia; the *Front for the Liberation of Mozambique* (FRELIMO); and the *South-West African People's Organisation* (SWAPO). The many claims of assistance appearing in the Soviet press are, however, couched in general terms, avoiding details.

It is known that at any given moment, several hundred Africans—mainly from Rhodesia, South and South-West Africa and the Portuguese territories—are undergoing training in terrorist tactics in Soviet camps, the largest being at Simferopol in the

Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. In addition, Soviet arms are sent to the guerrillas through numbers through the *Organisation for African Unity* and the *Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies*.

### Latin America

More is known about Soviet involvement in Latin America than elsewhere, largely because of the disclosures of high-ranking Cuban Intelligence defectors. An unwilling and unpredictable satellite, Fidel Castro thwarted Soviet efforts to take over the Cuban Communist Party from within by gaoling the pro-Soviet Anibal Escalante early in 1968 and purging the Party of its Moscow-leaning "micro-faction". The Russians turned to direct pressure, including the threat to cut off all economic aid unless Castro stopped criticising the Soviet Union and launching plans for guerrilla actions in many countries without consulting Moscow. Shortly after the expulsion of the "micro-faction", Castro was compelled to sign a secret agreement binding himself to support the Soviet line.

So much was known through the revelations of Orlando Castro Hidalgo, a top defector who has since told his own story. A more recent high-ranking defector, whose name has not yet been revealed, has been adding fascinating touches to the picture. At issue is Soviet control over Fidel Castro's revolutionary adventures. The Russians were not amused when "Che" Guevara's attempt to stir revolution in Bolivia ended in fiasco and his own death in 1967. They were determined not to find themselves footing the bill for more disastrous Cuban enterprises.

After prolonged pressure, the KGB's men in Havana forced Fidel's brother, Raúl Castro, in 1970, to get rid of all anti-Soviet personnel in the Cuban *Directorate General of Intelligence* (DGI), including its chief, Pineiro Losada. As Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Major Castro has theoretical control (subject, now, to Soviet approval) over the DGI. The purge of the DGI was not, however, the end of the story. Under Fidel Castro's protection, Pineiro Losada and the anti-Soviet staff dismissed from the DGI, set up a new organisation, the *Directorate of National Liberation* (DLN).

An unprecedented situation has resulted. The Russians are prepared to finance DGI operations that have their approval: these include training in Chile for units of the *National Liberation Army* of Bolivia, and also for guerrillas of the *Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left* (MIR). These training activities take place in Chile because President Allende agreed last year to allow the Cubans to use their embassy in Santiago as their main centre for revolutionary operations in South America. (*Spy for Fidel*: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Miami, 1970).

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Fidel Castro's DLN, however, has plans for operations in many countries for which there is neither Soviet approval nor money. A Soviet near-stranglehold on the Cuban economy is exercised through the joint Cuban-Soviet Economic Commission and the Moscow Narodny Bank in Havana. To finance non-approved revolutionary ventures, therefore, Fidel Castro has had to take what he can from Cuban-controlled internal revenues and foreign trade—inadequate sources for an ambitious man. Now, according to the defector, he has turned to an unexpected source for financial and military aid: North Korea, which has emerged over the past eighteen months as a major new subversive centre.

Under a triangular deal, Chile recognised North Korea, which opened an embassy in Santiago; a North Korean guerrilla training mission, stationed in Cuba since 1970, was thus enabled to transfer to Chile and set up new training camps.

The Chilean involved in these arrangements was the extreme left-wing secretary-general of Allende's own Socialist party, Senator Carlos Altamirano, who flew to Pyongyang a year ago from Moscow in Kim Il Sung's luxurious Presidential aircraft. On 30 June, 1971, on his return to Santiago, Altamirano briefed a plenum of the Socialist party on his visit, having returned with a North Korean offer to train the Chilean Socialist para-military forces, not to be confused with the larger forces of the MIR, with which they are in rivalry.

The present situation is thus incredibly confused, and Allende's recent cabinet crisis, in which he dismissed the non-party left-wing extremist, Pedro Vuskovic, as Minister of the Economy, has merely added to the confusion. Once again, the Russians are seen to be playing a dual role: on the one hand, supporting the cautious but disciplined Moscow-line Chilean Communist Party (a member of the ruling Popular Unity coalition) which supports the government's "constitutional" take-over of the economy and denounces the MIR and its land seizures

in the south; on the other hand, the KGB has sanctioned the Cuban DGI's training of MIR guerrillas. The North Koreans, for their part, despite assurances that they would in no way compete with the KGB-DGI programme, are helping to train the Socialist extremists, with the approval of Fidel Castro and his autonomous Directorate of Liberation.

The only sufferers in this free-for-all are the Chileans. For there is a fundamental difference between the North Korean and the Cuban approach to revolutionary violence. The Cubans and other Latin Americans hitherto have supported a gradual policy of bombings, bank robberies and assassinations, avoiding a direct confrontation with local security forces, but sapping the will of governments. The North Koreans, however, preach more aggressive tactics: immediate and large-scale acts of sabotage (the blowing up of railway lines, bridges, telecommunications installations and military barracks) to force the armed forces into premature action. Harassment by fast-moving guerrillas, and ultimately the decimation of the military, are supposed to ensue. Both the MIR and the left-wing Socialists are committed to creating an "irreversible" revolutionary State. But the Socialists, with North Korean backing, want to go further still by cordoning off the southern third of Chile and setting up a "Revolutionary Republic of South Chile", regardless of what happens to Allende's Communist backed experiment in the cities. Chile is where competitive subversion has gone mad.

And thus, over a greater part of the world's surface we note a Soviet involvement—of varying overtness—in the preparation or encouragement of violent action against a whole range of authorities. We should not, perhaps, be misled by the comparative immunity of those areas which are for the time being exempt from these attentions. For that is clearly a matter of tactics, rather than principle, and there seems little reason to regard it as permanent.

NEW YORK TIMES  
8 August 1972

## MOSCOW ASSAILS CHINESE ON ATLAS

Attack Read as Sign of New  
Impasse on Border Talks

MOSCOW, Aug. 7—The Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia today issued a lengthy, hard-hitting attack on a new Chinese atlas, accusing Peking of making "absurd demands" on Moscow by laying claim to 600,000 square miles of territory. The Soviet position was not

new but its publication was taken as a probable indication of a renewed deadlock in the Chinese-Soviet border talks that have been going on since clashes between the two Communist states over territory on the Amur River in 1969. The Izvestia commentary was the first major attack on the

Chinese on the border issue since the latest round of border talks began March 20. The Soviet Communist party leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev, indicated publicly at that time that Moscow was making a new effort at resolving differences with Peking. Since then, Moscow has muted its polemics

against China.

Any progress in the border talks, believed to be taking place in the foreign-embassy quarter of Peking, has been kept secret, though from time to time during the last three months the Chinese media have reported the absence of a set-

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tlement.

The Atlas (Chinese geographical Atlas of the World, Izvestiya declared, is aimed at "fanning hostility between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, educating the population of China in the spirit of hatred for other peoples—particularly neighboring peoples—in the spirit of revising the borders of China with adjacent countries."

The commentary, reasserting that the current Soviet-Chinese border dispute is "historical" and legal bases, asked why China was claiming territory "where Soviet people are living" and answered rhetorically: "Is it not in order to fabricate a 'territorial problem' which would complicate the course of relations between neighbors for many years?"

It was such language that prompted the interpretation that the authors of the Atlas were bitterly disappointed at being unable to reach some resolution of the border dispute and decided to present China to Soviet readers once again as hopelessly intransigent on this issue.

IZVESTIYA, Moscow  
8 August 1972

"GEOGRAPHY MAOIST STYLE"  
Article by G. Apalin

CPYRGHT

[Text] In Peking the state publishing house "Ditu Chubanshe" has published and is giving widespread circulation to a new "World Atlas." It appears to be a harmless geographic publication; however, in fact it far exceeds the framework of pure geography. Looking at it, one is overcome with astonishment. Chinese propaganda resorts to any tricks to "justify" and to impose--this time in geographical wrapping --its great-power view of the world and its interpretation of the events and situation in any given country, an interpretation frequently very different from the true state of affairs.

The pages of the "Atlas" are imbued with disdain for individual states and their histories and with great-power arrogance: Peking is establishing political and trade contacts with Malaysia and stresses its desire to expand trade with Singapore, but it acts as though these two countries are not independent states. The authors of the "Atlas" are entirely unable to reconcile themselves to Malaysia's official title, calling it by its former name of "Malaya" and thereby letting it be understood that they do not recognize its state identity. The material on Singapore is arranged in such a way that it is not immediately possible to understand what is being talked about--an independent state or a part of some country.

The Peking leaders have frequently tried to create the impression that they have changed their attitude toward Burma. They have announced their intention of normalizing contacts with this country, which reached an acute state as a result of Chinese intervention in Rangoon's internal affairs in 1967. Nevertheless, Peking has given no assurances that it does not intend to intervene in the future or that it will refuse to support antigovernment forces in Burma. Following this line, the authors of the "Atlas" unambiguously express their admiration for the "vast success" (which exist purely in their imagination) of the "armed struggle" of these forces against the Burmese Revolutionary Council.

The history of Mongolia's struggle for its national liberation is treated disrespectfully, to put it mildly. Peking would like to force the Chinese people to forget that since the first days of its existence the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian People's Republic have pursued a policy of support for the struggle of the Chinese working people for a new life and that the aid which the Soviet people granted the Chinese people passed through Mongolia. The PRC leadership is clearly quite unable to forgive the Mongolian people for throwing off the yoke of Chinese colonialism 60 years ago. According to the assertion of the authors of the "Atlas," the liberation of Mongolia from the yoke of the Chinese emperors in 1911 was, it turns out, not the result of the long struggle of the Mongolian people but the consequence merely of the "incitement of Tsarist Russia." The historical victory of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal people's revolution of 1921 is arbitrarily deleted from the history of Mongolia.

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The Chinese leadership has tried by all means to foment dissension in the relations of the socialist community countries and to undermine the results of their joint efforts in the international arena. In reality the Chinese leadership's antagonism to the foreign policy of the socialist countries underscores its collusion with the imperialist reactionary forces. This is because it has taken a stand which is incompatible with the objective of strengthening peace and security--stands which are the concern of all peoples, including the Chinese people."

MYSL I POLITYKA Article

Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 9 Aug 72 B

[Text] Recently, MYSL I POLITYKA, a Polish monthly magazine, published a lengthy article on the Chinese leaders' changes in policy toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries from 1949 to the present. The article discussed the two historical periods of the PRC: the period in which the Chinese leadership pursued a policy of promoting friendly relations and cooperation with socialist countries; and the period in which the Chinese leadership followed an anti-Soviet road and tried to create splits in the socialist community.

The entire section on Mongolia reconfirms the correctness of the assessment made by Comrade Yu. Tsendenbal at the international conference of communist and workers parties in 1969: "The Mongolian People's Republic, as one of the countries which borders on China, bears the direct brunt of the action of the Mao Tse-tung antisocialist political group and is subjected to its hostile attacks in the most varied directions....The anti-Mongolian policy and actions of the Mao Tse-tung group are based on its great-power, chauvinist claims to our country inherited from the Chinese militarists and the Chiang Kai-shekists. It is well known that in an interview with a group of Japanese socialists. Mao Tse-tung made one of his regular statements about his intention to annex Mongolia to China no later than 1964."

Pursuing the current Peking doctrines, the authors of the "Atlas" do not want to acknowledge the existence of the socialist system. It is true that they mention that in Asia after World War II China, Korea, and Vietnam achieved victories in the popular revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle and followed a socialist path, while in Europe the majority of central and southeastern European states broke away from the capitalist system and embarked upon the socialist path. However, it transpires from the subsequent text that only China in Asia and Albania in Europe are the "great beacons of socialism."

The compilers of the "Atlas" have somehow forgotten to mention the emergence and development of the first socialist state in Latin America--Cuba.

Peking's current aspiration to counterpose some countries to others and to engender mutual distrust in them by any means is also expressed in the "Atlas." Misinformation and various provocative versions about the socialist countries, their history, the nature of foreign economic contacts and so forth are stealthily fed to its readers.

In the "Europe" section the publishers of the "Atlas" also attack the nature of mutual relations between the CEMA countries. For a long time there has been no reaction from Peking to the important measures of the socialist CEMA states to further strengthen and improve their cooperation. The "Atlas" has apparently tried to compensate for the period of "restraint." In this publication Chinese propaganda attempts to denigrate CEMA activity to the maximum possible extent.

Socialist economic integration, the coordination of national economic plans, and production cooperation and specialization among the fraternal countries are clearly not to the Peking leadership's liking. In their attempts to discredit the socialist countries' cooperation the compilers of the "Atlas" ascribe to CEMA members the

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establishment of some sort of "supranational structures" in the sphere of finance, industry and commerce, and so forth. Not knowing what else to invent to discredit the benefits of the socialist countries' cooperation, the authors of the "Atlas" launch into unfounded allegations that, as a result of CEMA activity, "in the CEMA countries many sectors for which there are raw materials in abundance have still not been developed." It is obviously not fortuitous that in this connection the "Atlas," which contains many various figures, completely fails to provide either information about the standard of the CEMA countries' economic development or statistics showing the swifter growth rates of their development in comparison with the development rates of capitalist economies. It is not difficult to see through this trick, since the correct statistics would entirely refute the fantasies of the Peking compilers of the new geographical publication.

The clearly expressed sympathy for the aspiration of a number of capitalist states to extend the "Common Market" and for the economic integration of West Europe stands out noticeably on this background. Here the words "economic integration" are not put in quotation marks, as happens when it is a question of the socialist countries. Even this detail clearly shows Peking's inclinations. The processes taking place in West Europe are presented as a means of the notorious struggle against "intervention and control from the two superpowers." Incidentally, this geopolitical concept, devoid of class content and adapted to Peking's hegemonistic aims, is the leitmotif of all the sections of the "Atlas."

The doctrine of the "two superpowers" was advanced by the Maoists to justify their struggle against the Soviet Union. In the "Atlas" it is used to turn readers primarily against the Soviet Union. Peking's new geographical "research" abounds in obvious exaggerations and slander and is extremely hostile to our country. It is a collection of all the anti-Soviet material which Chinese propaganda has used in the past few years and which the "voices" and press of the imperialist states pounce upon with satisfaction. "Social imperialism," "the division of spheres of influence," "the plunder of the peoples" of the whole world and other similar rubbish is all here.

But this is not the only striking thing about the sections of the "Atlas" devoted to the Soviet Union. Falsifying the history of relations between Russia and China, the authors of the new geographical research try to "substantiate" the Chinese leadership's territorial claims to 1.5 million square kilometers of age-old Soviet territory. Dissertations on the "unequal treaties" between Russia and China on border questions and on the alleged "seizure" of Chinese lands by Russia, and so forth, are used as an "argument." These dissertations are nothing but an open claim to Soviet territory and an aspiration to raise doubts as to the border between the USSR and the PRC.

The "arguments" cited here are drawn from official statements of the Chinese leadership published when, having embarked along the path of open enmity toward the Soviet Union and expansionist aspirations in its foreign policy, it made illegal territorial claims on our country and went as far as to organize armed conflicts on the Soviet-Chinese border. The Soviet Government repeatedly particularly in its 29 March and 13 June 1969 statements, showed most exhaustively the complete lack of substance of Peking's attempts to claim Soviet lands. It is well known that there are no "unequal treaties" determining the present border between the USSR and the PRC, which has taken shape historically and is registered in Russian-Chinese treaty documents.

Immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution all unequal and secret treaties which Tsarist Russia had concluded with foreign states, including China, were annulled. The Republic of the Soviets solemnly declared its renunciation of the spheres of influence of Tsarist Russia in China and of extraterritorial and consular jurisdiction rights. A Soviet Government address to the Chinese people and the governments of North and South China listed the treaties which the Soviet Government regarded as unequal. The abrogation of unequal treaties was legally drawn up in an agreement on general principles for settling questions between the USSR and the Chinese Republic dated 31 May 1924.

Neither the 1919 address nor the 1924 agreement between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Republic contains any indication that the treaties establishing the line of the present Soviet-Chinese border are unequal or secret. There has naturally been no question of their annulment or review. 8

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Not a single document of the Soviet state or the statements made by Lenin puts the treaties on the border with China in the category of "unequal" or subject to review. V.I. Lenin never at any time cast doubt on the border between the USSR and China.

This question was clear to the Chinese revolutionaries who, relying on Soviet aid and support, waged a struggle for the national and social liberation of the Chinese people. It is not out of place to mention that both the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and subsequently the PRC Government frequently stressed that after the October Revolution the Soviet state built its relations with China on the basis of equality and respect for the sovereign rights of the Chinese people. Mao Tse-tung noted in 1945 at the Seventh CCP Congress that "the Soviet Union was the first to renounce the unequal treaties and to conclude new, equal treaties with China." Mao Tse-tung also spoke about this in Moscow on 16 December 1949. In accordance with the 14 February 1950 treaty on friendship, alliance and mutual aid between the USSR and the PRC, both sides pledged to build their relationships proceeding from the principles of "mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity."

Everything would seem clear. Why then have the Chinese powers used the publication of the "World Atlas" to make a new attempt to cast doubt on the historically formed and legally established border between the USSR and the PRC and claim territory in which Soviet people live and which is a part of the USSR? It is perhaps to manufacture a "territorial problem" which would complicate relations between neighbors for many years to come?

The PRC is in fact that only big state whose leadership is raising territorial disputes with its neighbors in the north, south, east and west. However, those who make absurd demands from the USSR and cast doubt on the Soviet Union's possession [prinalezhnost] of certain sectors of territory should bear in mind the Soviet people's attitude to these claims.

In their aspiration to impose Maoist political concepts on the reader, the authors of the "Atlas" frequently prove to be out of tune with geography itself. They have declared the Soviet Union to be only a "European country." But, as always happens in these cases, the authors of the "Atlas" have difficulty in making both ends meet. Having called the Soviet Union only a "European power," they start to list the countries it borders on, and it turns out that of the 12 countries with which the USSR has land borders, six are Asian states, while with one of them along--China-- the length of the border is nearly 7,500 kilometers. Once again, it is clearly not fortuitous that the "Atlas" does not mention that two-thirds of USSR territory is in Asia. The USSR's position as a European-Asian country certainly does not suit the Peking politicians and geographers! Indeed, the denial of this truth conceals intentions which are far from geographical.

Taking all this into account, it can be said that it is not an "atlas of peace" but an "atlas of enmity" which has been published in Peking. [pun on the Russian word "mir" which means either "world" or "peace"] The people who issue such publications pursue the aim of fanning enmity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and educating the Chinese population in a spirit of hatred for other peoples, particularly neighbors and in a spirit of the revision of China's borders with contiguous countries. It is a dangerous trend fraught with serious consequences.