

D R A F T -- for D/PAO's signature

Mr. David Halevy  
TIME, Inc.  
Suite 850  
1050 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear David,

Here are a few of the matters which the Director has addressed more precisely than he was able to in your discussion yesterday.

First, on the methods and the record on combatting terrorism, I enclose a talk the Director gave on Monday of this week to a symposium sponsored by the Stanford Research Institute. On pages 5, 6 and 7, some paragraphs are marked which elaborate on methods of responding to terrorism, as well as on pages 11, 12 and 13.

On the higher academy in Moscow which trains young Communists in the methods they use to destabilize and achieve control of target countries, there is elaboration in a speech made in May at the Metropolitan Club in New York. The relevant materials are marked on pages 6, 7 and 8.

On the impact of this activity in subjugated countries, gory details are set out in a speech to the Union League Club in New York. The relevant passages are marked on pages 3, 4 and 5.

Sincerely,

Enclosures:  
3 Speeches

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE THE SYMPOSIUM ON

TERRORISM AND INDUSTRY: THREAT AND RESPONSES

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THE STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC  
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

MONDAY, 14 OCTOBER 1985, 1:00 P.M.

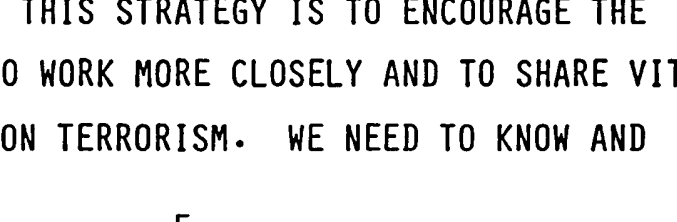
INTERNATIONAL CLUB

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAKES IT EASY FOR TERRORISTS TO MASK MOVEMENTS AND MUNITIONS DELIVERIES--AND THEN FIND SAFEHAVEN IN A SPONSORING STATE AFTER AN ATTACK. SO THE BACKING OF GOVERNMENTS ENORMOUSLY ESCALATES THE SCOPE AND POWER OF EVEN THE SMALLEST TERRORIST GROUPS.

ALL OF THIS IS TO SAY THAT IMPROVED PHYSICAL SECURITY FROM TERRORISM--WHILE IMPORTANT--IS NOT ENOUGH.

NOW I WANT TO OUTLINE FOR YOU A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM. BASICALLY, THERE ARE THREE BROAD FRONTS ON WHICH WE CAN CHALLENGE THE TERRORIST. FIRST, WE CAN IMPROVE OUR INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES AND WORK TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES VICTIMIZED BY TERRORISM. SECOND, WE CAN WORK TOWARD A STRONGER LEGAL FRAMEWORK TO DEAL WITH TERRORIST ACTS AND WITH PROSECUTING TERRORISTS THEMSELVES. THIRD, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN WORK TOGETHER TO ISOLATE TERRORIST GANGS AND THE STATES THAT SPONSOR THESE GANGS. IN THIS WAY, THE COMMUNITY OF CIVILIZED NATIONS CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY PREVENT TERRORIST VIOLENCE, PREEMPT HIS PLANS AND OPERATIONS, AND--WHEN WE CAN--RESPOND SWIFTLY AND APPROPRIATELY TO HIS ATTACKS. AND I WISH TO STRESS THE POINT THAT ONLY COLLECTIVE RESPONSES ARE LIKELY TO MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE. AGAINST A THREAT WHICH OBSERVES NO BORDERS AND RESPECTS NO NATIONAL FLAG--AND WHICH CAN MOVE SO QUICKLY, WIDELY, AND QUIETLY--IT IS IMMEDIATELY APPARENT THAT NO ONE COUNTRY CAN FIGHT TERRORISM ALONE.



THE FIRST PART OF THIS STRATEGY IS TO ENCOURAGE THE VICTIMIZED COUNTRIES TO WORK MORE CLOSELY AND TO SHARE VITAL INFORMATION THEY HAVE ON TERRORISM. WE NEED TO KNOW AND

UNDERSTAND THE VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS BETTER--THEIR OPERATING METHODS, THEIR SUPPORT STRUCTURES, AND THEIR TRAINING CAMPS WHICH SPROUT UP AROUND THE WORLD. THIS IS A TASK OF CONTINUING COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE IN WHICH THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF THE WORLD NEED TO COOPERATE CLOSELY.

NOW, TERRORIST GROUPS ARE VERY TOUGH NUTS FOR INTELLIGENCE TO CRACK. THAT IS ALMOST SELF-EVIDENT. THEY ARE SMALL, NOT EASILY PENETRATED, AND THEIR OPERATIONS ARE CLOSELY HELD AND COMPARTMENTED. ONLY A FEW PEOPLE IN THE ORGANIZATION ARE PRIVY TO SPECIFIC OPERATIONS. MOREOVER, TERRORISTS MOVE QUICKLY AND PLACE A VERY HIGH PREMIUM ON SECRECY AND SURPRISE. YET PROMPT REPORTING AND FOLLOW-UP ACTION DOES FREQUENTLY FORESTALL TERRORIST INCIDENTS. THE MOST COMMON EXAMPLE IS FOREWARNING TO U.S. AND FOREIGN EMBASSIES OR OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF ACTUAL THREATS, OR STRONG INDICATIONS OF PLANNING FOR ATTACKS ON INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS. THE USUAL RESPONSE TO THIS KIND OF KNOWLEDGE IS HEIGHTENED ALERT, INCREASED PROTECTIVE MEASURES, OR CHANGES IN PLANS AND SCHEDULES WHICH FREQUENTLY DISRUPT THE TERRORISTS' PLANS AND RESULT IN A FAILURE OR A DECISION NOT TO MAKE THE ATTEMPT.

RECENTLY, FOR EXAMPLE, INTELLIGENCE ON A THREATENED HIJACKING OF A FOREIGN COMMERCIAL AIRLINER, COMBINED WITH EFFECTIVE POLICE WORK, RESULTED IN A CHANGE OF TRAVEL PLANS WHICH PREVENTED THE INTENDED HIJACKING. IN OTHER INSTANCES, IN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA, U.S. OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN

DIRECTLY TARGETED BY TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN TEMPORARILY REMOVED FROM THEIR POSTS. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, WARNING AND DETAILED INTELLIGENCE HAS DIRECTLY ASSISTED FOREIGN AUTHORITIES IN CAPTURING TERRORISTS AND THWARTING THEIR EVIL PROGRAMS. SHARING OF INTELLIGENCE ON TERRORIST PLANS AND THE WHEREABOUTS OF KNOWN OR SUSPECTED TERRORISTS IS ANOTHER WAY THESE SERVICES CAN ASSIST EACH OTHER. SO THIS PROCESS OF COOPERATION DOES WORK.

THROUGH INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGES, TRAINING AND OPERATIONAL COOPERATION AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT, WE HAVE, WITH THE INTELLIGENCE, SECURITY AND POLICE ORGANIZATIONS OF SCORES OF COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD, DEVELOPED A WIDESPREAD COUNTER-TERRORISM NETWORK WHICH NEEDS TO BE STRENGTHENED AND IMPROVED UPON. AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE, AS THE ONLY WORLDWIDE APPARATUS OTHER THAN THE KGB, IS AT THE HEART OF THIS. SO FAR THIS YEAR THERE WERE SOMETHING LIKE 80 TERRORIST ACTS AROUND THE WORLD WHERE PREVENTIVE ACTION WAS TAKEN BASED ON ADVANCE INFORMATION FROM U.S. INTELLIGENCE.

THE SECOND MAJOR PART OF OUR PROGRAM IS TO CONTINUE WORKING-- AS A COMMUNITY OF NATIONS SUBJECT TO LAW--TO CONSTRUCT A VIABLE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR DEALING WITH TERRORISTS AND THEIR SPONSORS. THIS FRAMEWORK MUST BE TRANSNATIONAL IN CHARACTER AND SUPPORTED BY VIGOROUS LEGAL ACTION.

INTERNATIONAL LAW REQUIRES A STATE TO CONTROL THE ACTIVITIES OF PERSONS WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION OR TERRITORY WHICH CAUSE INJURY TO THE CITIZENS OF OTHER STATES, AND TO PUNISH ANY PERSONS ENGAGING IN SUCH ACTIVITIES.

IF WE CAN DO THIS, THE TERRORIST WILL WATCH IN FRUSTRATION AS HIS POWER OVER THE MEDIA DRIES UP AND, WITH IT, HIS POWER TO ASSAULT THE MIND. IF CUT OFF FROM HIS SPONSORS, THE TERRORIST WILL WATCH WITH GROWING APPREHENSION AS HE LEARNS THAT THE COSTS AND RISKS OF HIS OPERATIONS SKYROCKET WHILE THE IMPACT OF HIS ACTIONS PLUMMETS. IN MY VIEW, THE FUTILITY OF TERRORISM WILL AT LAST BE MADE OBVIOUS TO THE TERRORIST HIMSELF, AND HIS DEVASTATING WAR ON THE MIND WILL SLOWLY COME TO AN END.

YOU MIGHT WELL ASK THE VERY PERTINENT QUESTION: BUT DOES ALL THIS WORK? I BELIEVE IT DOES. AND I CAN MENTION TWO SUCCESS STORIES IN THE WAR ON TERRORISM.

IT MAY SURPRISE YOU TO KNOW THAT THE COUNTRY HAVING THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS DURING THE LATE 1970s WAS NOT LEBANON OR ISRAEL, BUT ITALY. THE WANTON MURDERS OF PREMIER ALDO MORO AND THE KIDNAPPING OF GENERAL DOZIER GALVANIZED THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT INTO ACTION. ITALIAN COURTS HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR EFFORT AT PROSECUTING AND CONVICTING CAPTURED TERRORISTS, AND HANDING DOWN STIFF SENTENCES. THE ITALIAN NATIONAL POLICE AND SECURITY SERVICES HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITIES TARGETED AT PENETRATING TERRORIST UNITS OR OTHERWISE SPOILING TERRORIST OPERATIONS. MOREOVER, EUROPEAN SERVICES HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN SHARING INFORMATION ON THESE TERRORISTS, SUBSEQUENTLY LEADING TO THE CAPTURE OF SOME OF THOSE INVOLVED.

AS A RESULT OF EXCELLENT INTELLIGENCE WORK, VIGOROUS POLICE ANTI-TERRORIST ACTIVITIES, AND INCREASED COURT ACTIONS, ITALY

SINCE THE EARLY 1980s HAS BEEN ONE OF THE COUNTRIES IN EUROPE LEAST AFFECTED BY TERRORISM. A KEY FACTOR IN THIS EFFORT WAS THE TURN-AROUND IN SUPPORT FOR THE ITALIAN SECURITY SERVICES BY MOST PARTIES IN THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS, DESPITE THE CURRENT CRUMBLING OF POLITICAL WILL AT THE TOP WHICH MAY BE TEMPORARY, THE ITALIAN ANTI-TERRORIST FORCES NOW HAVE THE UPPER HAND AND ARE DOING EXCELLENT WORK IN FIGHTING TERRORISM IN EUROPE.

ANOTHER SUCCESS STORY IS THE REPUBLIC OF EL SALVADOR. THAT SMALL COUNTRY--THE VICTIM OF BOTH EXTERNALLY-SUPPORTED AGGRESSION AND TERRORISM--HAS RISEN TO GRAVE CHALLENGES POSED BY PURVEYORS OF VIOLENCE WHO RECEIVE THEIR ORDERS FROM MANAGUA AND HAVANA.

IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS, WE HAVE WITNESSED AN INCREASE IN MARXIST-DIRECTED TERRORISM THAT HAS INCLUDED BOMBINGS OF CIVILIAN INSTALLATIONS, THE MINING OF PUBLIC ROADS, ARMED ROBBERIES, BRUTAL KIDNAPPINGS, AND ASSASSINATIONS. THIS INCREASING TURN TO TERRORISM HAS COME ABOUT IN PART BECAUSE OF THE GROWING POPULAR SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT DUARTE'S GOVERNMENT AND IN PART BECAUSE OF THE RAPIDLY FALTERING POLITICAL AND MILITARY FORTUNES OF THE REBELS. THE INSURGENTS INCREASINGLY HAVE FALLEN BACK ON DRAMATIC ACTS OF VIOLENCE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THEIR CAUSE AND FORCE PRESIDENT DUARTE'S POPULARLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT TO SHARE POLITICAL POWER.

YOU MAY RECALL THAT LAST JUNE A GANG OF MARXIST THUGS STAGED A BLOODY MACHINEGUN SLAYING OUTSIDE A SIDEWALK CAFE OF 13 UNARMED PEOPLE--INCLUDING FOUR OFF-DUTY U.S. MARINES AND TWO U.S. BUSINESSMEN. THE SO-CALLED CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY--WHICH CLAIMED "CREDIT" FOR THE JUNE SLAYINGS-- IS A MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING OF THE FIVE-GROUP SALVADORAN MARXIST ALLIANCE AND HAS ITS COMMAND HEADQUARTERS IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA.

THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT RESPONDED QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY TO THIS URBAN TERRORIST THREAT. SINCE THE JUNE MASSACRE, THE SALVADORAN ARMY HAS LAUNCHED OPERATIONS AGAINST THESE TERRORISTS AND OTHER MARXIST BASE CAMPS IN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN MOUNTAINS. THE ARMY'S OFFENSIVE HAS PROVED QUITE SUCCESSFUL AS A LARGE NUMBER OF INSURGENTS--INCLUDING SOME FIELD COMMANDERS--WERE KILLED, COMMUNICATION LINES WERE DISRUPTED, AND SUPPLIES CAPTURED. CAPTURED DOCUMENTS AND PRISONERS, IN TURN, PROVIDED VALUABLE INTELLIGENCE WHICH THE SECURITY FORCES PROMPTLY USED IN ROUNDING UP SOME 40 URBAN TERRORISTS, INCLUDING TWO OF THE ACTUAL TRIGGERMEN INVOLVED IN THE JUNE KILLINGS. THE TRIGGERMEN WILL BE TRIED FOR MURDER.

LET ME GIVE YOU ONE FINAL THOUGHT ON WHICH MUCH FURTHER STUDY AND WORK IS NEEDED. DR. ALEXANDER TALKED THIS MORNING ABOUT THE TERRORIST NETWORK. THIS NETWORK MAY NOT BE A COMPONENT OF BUT IT WORKS IN UNISON WITH WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE DEVELOPED INTO THE MOST POWERFUL WEAPONS SYSTEM THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN.



REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE

THE METROPOLITAN CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY

1 May 1985

Metropolitan Club

One East Sixtieth Street

New York, New York 10022

Let me now give you an insight on how all this happens. In early 1981, I had a talk with Bob Ames, our CIA Middle East expert, who died at the hands of a terrorist attack in Beirut in 1983. Stationed in Aden, South Yemen, in 1967, he met and befriended the young revolutionary Abd'al Fatah Ismail, who became President of South Yemen and is now back in Aden after being exiled briefly to the USSR. Abd'al Fatah told Bob of his experience in the higher comsomul school which the Soviets maintain for training young revolutionaries from non-Communist countries. He explained that he had been taught in Moscow that he would need 20 years, a generation, to consolidate his revolution. He would have to control the education of the youth. He would have to uproot and ultimately change the traditional elements of society. This meant undermining the influence of religion and taking the young away from their parents for education by the state. He was taught that to control the people he would have to establish block committees and a powerful secret police. Finally, Abd'al Fatah spoke in impassioned terms of a need to export revolution to carry out his mission as a dedicated Marxist-Leninist and to ensure that attention was focused on neighboring countries thus diverting attention from his own country and allowing it to consolidate its revolution.

Bob Ames said that as he looked back, Abd'al Fatah--with Soviet bloc help--had done as he said he would. He captured and subverted a legitimate war of liberation. He killed or drove into exile those members of the movement who believed in democracy and then went about the work of consolidating a Communist regime and began armed subversion against Oman and North Yemen.

In Ethiopia, Angola, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Grenada, dedicated Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries followed this Soviet blueprint with only slight modifications.

Our analysts have studied this blueprint for taking over a government and consolidating a totalitarian regime as it has been exemplified in seven totalitarian regimes; six Marxist-Leninists in Cuba, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Grenada, Nicaragua, and the Islamic revolutionary government of Iran. They have identified 46 indicators of the consolidation of power by a Marxist-Leninist regime. These indicators measure the movement toward one-party government, control of the military, of the security services, of the media, of education, of the economy, the forming or takeover of labor or other mass organizations, exerting social and population control, curbing religious influence and alignment with the Soviet bloc.

Of the 46 indicators, Nicaragua in five and one-half years has accomplished 33. They have established control of the media, taken over radio and TV, censored the broadcasts of Sunday sermons of the Archbishop of Managua, and subjected the only free newspaper, La Prensa, to a brutal daily censorship. They have taken control of the education system. Nicaraguan textbooks now teach Marxism. They attack the tenets of Western democracy. They attack traditional religious teachings and encourage children to maintain revolutionary vigilance by watching for signs of ideological impurities in their neighbors, friends and relatives. The Sandinistas have taken control of the military. They have taken control of the internal secret police and have established a Directorate of State Security. That directorate, according to our reports, has hundreds of Cuban, Soviet, East German and Bulgarian advisors. There are Soviet advisors at every level of the secret police. In fact, it is safe to say that it is controlled by the Soviet Union and its surrogates. Block committees have been established to watch and control the people. The Church

has been persecuted. Witness the campaign mounted by the Directorate of State Security to harass and embarrass Pope John Paul II during his 1983 visit to Nicaragua. They have used political mobs (similar to the Red Guards of Soviet and Chinese revolutionary history) to attack democratic politicians, union members and religious leaders. And finally, just as Abd'al Fatah told Bob Ames what he must do, and following Hitler and Khrushchev, the Sandinistas have told the world, that they would spread the example of Nicaragua beyond El Salvador to Honduras, Guatemala, and the entire region.

An integral part of this blueprint for subversive aggression is deception and disinformation to manipulate and influence public opinion and policies in western countries. This takes many shapes and forms.

A worldwide propaganda campaign has been mounted and carried out on behalf of the Sandinista regime and Salvadoran guerrillas which would not have been possible without the capabilities, the contacts, and the communications channels provided by the Soviet bloc and Cuba. The Sandinistas themselves have shown remarkable ingenuity and skill in projecting disinformation into the United States itself. Perhaps the best example of this is the systematic campaign to deceive well-intentioned members of the western media and of western religious institutions.

There are many examples of Nicaraguan deception. The Sandinista press, radio and government ministry have put out claims that the US used chemical weapons in Grenada, that the US was supplying Nicaraguan freedom fighters with drugs, and that the US might give the opposition bacteriological weapons.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

before

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

The Union League Club

New York City

Wednesday, 9 January 1985

What do we see in the occupied countries--Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua--in which Marxist regimes have been either imposed or maintained by external forces? In the aggregate there has occurred a holocaust comparable to that which Nazi Germany inflicted in Europe some 40 years ago. Over four million Afghans, more than one-quarter of the population, have had to flee their country into Pakistan and Iran. The Helsinki Watch tells us that they have fled because "the crimes of indiscriminate warfare are combined with the worst excesses of unbridled state-sanctioned violence against civilians." It cites evidence of "civilians burned alive, dynamited, beheaded; crushed by Soviet tanks; grenades thrown into rooms where women and children have been told to wait...From throughout the country come tales of death on every scale of horror, from thousands of civilians buried in the rubble left by fleets of bombers to a young boy's throat being dispassionately slit by occupying soldiers." Tens of thousands of children have been taken from their parents and sent outside of the country for reeducation.

In Cambodia, 2-3 million people, something like one-quarter of the pre-war population, have been killed in the most violent and brutal manner by both internal and external Marxist forces. The invasion of the country by the Vietnamese army in 1978 and the scorched earth policy adopted then created a famine. When international relief agencies, including the Red Cross and the International Rescue Committee, tried to feed the starving population by a "land bridge" of trucks coming in from Thailand, the Vietnamese government blocked them. We estimate that some 350,000 civilians died in that year.

In Nicaragua, our Department of State has reported--and intelligence sources confirm--widespread violations of basic human rights. The International League for Human Rights has stated that the Sandinistas have forcibly relocated up to 14,500 Indians and completely destroyed entire villages. In late 1983, some 200 members of one of the largest non-Marxist political parties, the Democratic Conservative Party, were in jail for political activities. Censorship is extensive, opposition leaders have been prevented from traveling abroad, people in the cities are organized block-by-block and kept under the scrutiny and control of a system of neighbor informers based on the Cuban system.

Angola is an economic basket case as a Marxist government is kept in power by the presence of 30,000 Cuban troops. In all these countries the indigenous army formed by the Marxist government suffers large and continuing desertions to the resistance and is almost entirely ineffective.

In Ethiopia, a Marxist military government is supported with extensive military support from Moscow and thousands of Cuban troops as it spends itself into bankruptcy trying unsuccessfully to extinguish opposition in its northern provinces. By collectivizing agriculture, creating state farms and collectives, and keeping food prices low in order to maintain urban support, it has exacerbated a famine which threatens the lives of millions of its citizens. It has blocked emergency food deliveries to the hungry remote areas, particularly those in provinces where insurgencies are active. It has exploited the famine by using food as a weapon. In urban areas, for example, food rations are distributed through party cells. In government-controlled emergency feeding stations, incoming victims must be registered

and certified by party authorities. The government is using the drought and famine as an excuse to forceably relocate tens of thousands of victims from northern provinces hundreds of miles to the south, without any evident efforts to receive them in the new camps.

Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Angola, and Nicaragua, all economic basket cases, receive in the aggregate five to six billion dollars in military and economic aid from the Soviet Union. This enables Vietnam to maintain the fourth largest army in the world, Ethiopia the largest army in Africa, Cuba the second most powerful military apparatus in the Western Hemisphere, Nicaragua a military force larger than all its Central American neighbors put together. There are over 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, 170,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, 40,000 Cuban troops in Africa. This is worldwide military aggression directly and by proxy. That and the horror of it is the bad news.

The good news is that the tide has changed. Today in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua, to mention only the most prominent arenas, hundreds of thousands of ordinary people are volunteers in irregular wars against the Soviet Army or Soviet-supported regimes. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s anti-Western causes attracted recruits throughout the Third World, the 1980s have emerged as the decade of freedom fighters resisting Communist regimes. In many places, freedom has become as exciting and revolutionary as it was here in America over 200 years ago.