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18 March 1988

: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: William M. Baker
Director, Public Affairs Office

SUBJECT: Arrangements to Address the Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

1. You are scheduled to address the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith Tenth Annual National Leadership Conference at 8:00 a.m. on Tuesday, 22 March. The breakfast meeting will be held at the Washington Marriott Hotel, 1221 22nd Street, NW at 22nd and M, Washington, D.C. Phone 872-1500. I will remain with you throughout the program.

2. Arrangements: You are asked to be at the lobby of the main entrance of the hotel at 7:50 a.m. where you will be met by the Director of the ADL, David A. Brody, who will escort you to the West End Ballroom for breakfast and the program. Your remarks are scheduled to begin at approximately 8:15 a.m. and you will be introduced by ADL National Civil Rights Committee leader, Ruth Lansner. (See opposite for biographies.) The suggested format is 15 minutes of remarks followed by 10-15 minutes of questions and answers. You will be seated with the following:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| David A. Brody (on your right) | Director, ADL of B'nai B'rith,
Washington, D.C. |
| Ruth Lansner | Member, ADL National Civil Rights
Committee |
| Marvin Rappaport | Director, National Leadership Division |
| Michael Nachman (on your left) | Chairman, National Leadership Committee |
| Richard Glovsky | ADL National Committee (Boston) |
| Nancy Korman | ADL National Committee (Boston) |
| Jack Newman | ADL National Committee (Los Angeles) |
| Bill Baker | |

Adjournment is at 9:00 a.m.

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Although the meeting will be off-the-record, the ADL wishes to tape your speech and publish a short article on your appearance in the ADL Newsletter. We will review the article prior to publication. DCI Security will also tape your remarks for the Agency's historical files. The room will be set up with round tables and a podium and microphone will be located near your table.

3. Audience: You can expect an audience of approximately 150-175 business and professional people between the ages of 30 and 50 from around the US who are active in civil rights and recognized as the organization's young leaders. The media will not be present.

4. Background: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, founded in 1913, is one of the nation's oldest human relations agencies. ADL is dedicated to translating this country's heritage of democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans. The National Leadership Conference of the ADL brings together the young national leaders for a three-day conference in Washington which includes briefings by Senators, Representatives, White House and State Department officials, newspaper columnists, and TV commentators. This year's speakers will include Jeane Kirkpatrick, Senators Barbara Mikulski and Warren Rudman, Minister Oded Eran of the Israeli embassy, and Secretary of Education William Bennett. Following your presentation, the group will be briefed at State Department by four Assistant Secretaries of State. The group will also go to the FBI where they will have a tour and be briefed by Buck Revell. (See opposite for agenda.)

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William M. Baker

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17 March 1988

JUDGE:

You will be speaking to the Tenth Annual Leadership Conference of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at a breakfast meeting on March 22 in Washington. At our own February breakfast meeting with the speechwriters, you asked that we contact Ken Bialkin in New York to find out what the ADL group would like to have you talk about. We have done that. The attached speech builds on the suggestions of both Ken Bialkin and Dave Brody, our Washington contact. Both suggested terrorism--Ken Bialkin thought international terrorism with whatever you could say about the PLO and radicalized Arab groups would be topical and of interest. Dave Brody checked with a colleague, who also suggested international terrorism.

Your proposed speech incorporates some of the remarks you made about terrorism at Dartmouth last October; is consistent with the observations the DDCI made in a speech to the American Bankers Association in January, 1988; and builds upon the 1985 remarks you made to the ADL in Chicago while you were Director of the FBI. Current information about terrorism came from the Counterterrorist Center and from selected articles in the press.

The introduction recounts your previous association with the ADL and introduces the topic of terrorism. Your thesis is on page 3: "... in my comments to you today, I want to talk about the problem of terrorism from my new perspective as Director of Central Intelligence. I'd like to focus on an area of the world where terrorist activity has been increasing; then examine the specific threat to U.S. citizens and interests at home and overseas; and, finally, I'd like to tell you what we in Intelligence are doing to counter the problem of terrorism."

In your general discussion of terrorism, you make the points that you made in the Dartmouth speech. On page 5, you shift to a discussion of terrorism in a particular region: "While I have been speaking of terrorism in general, I want to focus for a moment on terrorism in the Middle East, because it is in this region that we have seen a great increase in international terrorism over the past five years." On page 6, you discuss this further: "And in the Middle East, we have seen an increase of terrorist activity by Palestinian

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groups." You mention that although Palestinian terrorist attacks declined slightly in 1987, the number of incidents within Israel and the occupied territories increased. On page 9, you refer to the Palestinian activities of the past three months, noting that the escalation has "spread violence to broader sections of the Palestinian and Israeli populations."

After a brief discussion of the state sponsorship of terrorism prevalent in the Middle East, you turn to the setbacks the Palestinian terrorist groups encountered over the past year, and discuss the trials of Palestinian terrorists held over the last year. On page 11 and 12 you summarize, "The trials held over the past twelve months are significant not only because they have focused international attention on the crimes of terrorists, but because they have been held throughout the world -- in Italy, Austria, and Pakistan." You turn, then, to a discussion of the need for international cooperation to fight terrorism, referring to your part in building that cooperation (p. 12).

On page 13, you discuss the terrorist threat to U.S. citizens and interests: "On the domestic scene it seems unlikely that international terrorists will ever build a solid base of support in our country." You also make the point that "Our interests overseas ... offer tempting targets."

On page 14, you turn to ways in which the Intelligence Community is dealing with terrorism. You discuss the Counterterrorist Center as you did in your remarks at Dartmouth last October. And on page 15 you comment on what we must do about the terrorist himself -- "instill in the terrorist those same pervasive feelings of fear that he seeks to instill in the public -- the feelings of constantly being the hunted, rather than the hunter." You conclude by considering what we must do so that "those nations of the world which support the rule of law and accept the norms of civilized behavior will prevail."

Your proposed remarks are attached.



Bill Baker

Attachments:
As Stated

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S E C R E T

PROPOSED REMARKS
BY
WILLIAM H. WEBSTER
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
BEFORE THE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
TENTH ANNUAL NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARCH 22, 1988

I AM VERY PLEASED TO SPEAK TO THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE THIS MORNING. THE LAST TIME I HAD THE PLEASURE OF ADDRESSING A GROUP OF ADL MEMBERS WAS IN CHICAGO IN 1985 WHEN I WAS DIRECTOR OF THE FBI. AND IN THE LATE 70'S, I WAS INVITED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ADL IN NEW YORK CITY. I HAVE ONE SPECIAL MEMORY OF THAT MEETING IN NEW YORK THAT I'D LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU. AFTER I HAD FINISHED MY SPEECH, I WAS HANDED A NOTE AND SOMEONE WHISPERED THAT THE WHITE HOUSE WAS CALLING, THAT DR. BRZEZINSKI, THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, WISHED TO TALK TO ME. I WAS TOLD I COULD TAKE THE CALL AT A PUBLIC TELEPHONE JUST OUTSIDE THE ROOM WHERE I WAS SPEAKING. THE AREA AROUND THE PHONE BOOTH HAD BEEN CORDONED OFF, AND THE CALL WAS BEING HELD FOR ME. I WENT OUT AND FACED ABOUT TWENTY TELEVISION CAMERAS WITH LIGHTS GLARING. I WALKED DOWN THE HALL, GOT INTO THE TELEPHONE BOOTH, AND ANSWERED THE CALL. DR. BRZEZINSKI SAID, "WHERE ARE YOU?" I SAID, "I'M IN NEW YORK."

HE SAID, "THAT'S TOO BAD. I WAS LOOKING FOR A TENNIS GAME THIS MORNING." TRY TO IMAGINE WHAT YOU'D TELL THE PRESS WHEN YOU CAME OUT OF A SITUATION LIKE THAT!

AT THAT SUNDAY MORNING MEETING IN NEW YORK, I WAS TALKING ABOUT TERRORISM, WHICH WAS THEN AN EMERGING CONCERN. CONFRONTED AT THAT TIME WITH CERTAIN CRITICISMS, I WAS ABLE TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON WHY THE FBI HAD FURNISHED THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WITH INFORMATION THAT AN AMERICAN NATIONAL, THEN IN ISRAEL, HAD RECEIVED TERRORISM INSTRUCTION IN A P.L.O. CAMP IN AFRICA. IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE TO ME TEN YEARS LATER THAT ANYONE WOULD HAVE QUESTIONED OUR RIGHT, OR INDEED OUR OBLIGATION, TO INFORM A FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT OF THAT IMPORTANT FACT.¹

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION HAS BECOME INDISPENSABLE IN THE WORLDWIDE BATTLE AGAINST TERRORISM. SUCH COOPERATION HAS ENABLED THE UNITED STATES TO PENETRATE SOME FOREIGN TERRORIST GROUPS, AND HAS HELPED AVERT MORE THAN 200 TERRORIST ATTACKS IN THE LAST THREE YEARS.² WHILE THAT NUMBER MAY SEEM IMPRESSIVE, IT REPRESENTS A

SMALL VICTORY--TERRORISM CONTINUES TO FLOURISH UNDER ITS
SELF-PROCLAIMED BANNER OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

SOVIET DISSIDENT ANDREI SAKHAROV SUMMED UP THE PROBLEM THIS
WAY: "NO MATTER HOW HIGH THE AIMS PREDICATED BY TERRORISTS...THEIR
ACTIVITIES ARE ALWAYS CRIMINAL, ALWAYS DESTRUCTIVE, THROWING
HUMANKIND BACK TO A TIME OF LAWLESSNESS AND CHAOS, PROVIDING
INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS, CONTRADICTING THE GOALS OF
PEACE AND PROGRESS."

I HAPPEN TO AGREE WITH SAKHAROV, AND IN MY COMMENTS TO YOU
TODAY, I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISM FROM MY NEW
PERSPECTIVE AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE. I'D LIKE TO FOCUS
ON AN AREA OF THE WORLD WHERE TERRORIST ACTIVITY HAS BEEN
INCREASING, THEN EXAMINE THE SPECIFIC THREAT TO U.S. CITIZENS AND
INTERESTS AT HOME AND OVERSEAS, AND FINALLY I'D LIKE TO TELL YOU
WHAT WE IN INTELLIGENCE ARE DOING TO COUNTER THE PROBLEM OF
TERRORISM.

TERRORISM HAS BEEN WITH US FOR CENTURIES, BUT ITS NATURE HAS

CHANGED IN RECENT YEARS. IT HAS BECOME MORE INTENSE AND MORE WIDESPREAD, AND ITS TARGETS HAVE GROWN. TERRORISTS HAVE ATTACKED DIPLOMATS IN EMBASSIES, PASSENGERS ON AIRPLANES, TRAVELERS ON TRAINS AND SHIPS, TOURISTS IN HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS, AND CLERICS IN CHURCHES AND SYNAGOGUES.

TODAY, TERRORISM TAKES ADVANTAGE OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY, ADVANCED ELECTRONICS, AND IMPROVED COMMUNICATION. BUT MORE IMPORTANT, TERRORISM HAS BECOME A TOOL OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS BECAUSE SOME COUNTRIES ARE NOW DIRECTING, OR SPONSORING, TERRORISM AS A PART OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY. STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM IS MORE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH BECAUSE SUCH SPONSORSHIP, AMONG OTHER THINGS, MEANS THAT TERRORISTS GAIN ACCESS TO DIPLOMATIC POUCHES--ESSENTIALLY SECURE MEANS FOR MOVING FUNDS, WEAPONS, AND MESSAGES. THEY GET REAL AND FALSE DOCUMENTATION FOR TRAVEL AND COVER. THEY RECEIVE TRAINING AND INTELLIGENCE. THEY GAIN A SAFE HAVEN IN THE SPONSORING COUNTRY, REDUCING THEIR VULNERABILITY. AND, OF COURSE, THEY GET FUNDING.³

WHILE I HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OF TERRORISM IN GENERAL, I WANT TO FOCUS FOR A MOMENT ON TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BECAUSE IT IS IN THIS REGION THAT WE HAVE SEEN A GREAT INCREASE IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS. MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORISM ALSO REPRESENTS THE GRAVEST DANGER TO THE UNITED STATES, AND HAS HAD AND WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE THE MOST SEVERE IMPACT ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS.⁴

IN 1983, MIDDLE EASTERN GROUPS ACCOUNTED FOR ABOUT ONE-FOURTH OF ALL INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST INCIDENTS. BY 1985, THEIR SHARE HAD REACHED ABOUT ONE-HALF, AND THROUGH 1987 TERRORISM OF MIDDLE EASTERN ORIGIN CONTINUED TO ACCOUNT FOR HALF OF ALL INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST INCIDENTS. THE MAJORITY OF U.S. CASUALTIES OCCUR IN INCIDENTS INVOLVING MIDDLE EASTERNERS.⁵ MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORIST BOMBS TEND TO BE LARGER, MORE SOPHISTICATED, AND USE HIGHER GRADE EXPLOSIVES. TERRORISTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST ARE GENERALLY QUITE PROFESSIONAL AND PROFICIENT IN CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS AND ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO DETECT AND STOP.

AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE HAVE SEEN AN INCREASE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY BY PALESTINIAN GROUPS. DESPITE THE LACK OF DRAMATIC INCIDENTS IN 1987--SUCH AS THE HIJACKING OF THE ACHILLE LAURO IN 1985, OR THE ATTEMPTED HIJACKING OF A PAN AM JET IN KARACHI IN 1986--CERTAIN PALESTINIAN ELEMENTS HAVE NOT FORSAKEN TERRORISM AS A MEANS TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THEIR GRIEVANCES, OBSTRUCT POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, OR PRESSURE ISRAEL AND ITS SUPPORTERS.⁶

PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ATTACKS DECLINED SLIGHTLY IN 1987--DOWN FROM A TOTAL OF 224 INCIDENTS IN 1986 TO 219 LAST YEAR. HOWEVER, THE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS WITHIN ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES -- AS WELL AS ATTEMPTED RAIDS INTO ISRAEL -- INCREASED. AND THEY INCREASED IN SPITE OF THE GENERALLY EFFECTIVE ISRAELI COUNTERMEASURES. SEVERAL OF THE PALESTINIAN FACTIONS THAT ATTEMPTED STRIKES ACROSS ISRAEL'S BORDERS IN 1987 WERE ABLE TO INFLICT MORE DAMAGE THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS.⁷

FOR EXAMPLE:

- IN MID-APRIL--ON THE EVE OF THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING IN ALGIERS--FATAH OPERATIVES STAGED A RAID INTO NORTHERN ISRAEL. ISRAELI SECURITY OFFICIALS INDICATED THE TERRORISTS HAD PLANNED TO TAKE ISRAELI HOSTAGES TO EXCHANGE FOR ARAB PRISONERS HELD IN ISRAEL. TWO ISRAELI SOLDIERS AND THREE TERRORISTS WERE KILLED IN THE BRIEF FIREFIGHT THAT FOLLOWED AFTER ISRAELI TROOPS CORNERED THE PALESTINIANS JUST INSIDE THE ISRAELI BORDER.
- IN LATE NOVEMBER, THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE-GENERAL COMMAND LAUNCHED A HANG-GLIDER ATTACK AGAINST ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER. SIX ISRAELI SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AND SEVEN OTHERS WERE WOUNDED IN ONE OF THE BLOODIEST CROSS-BORDER INCIDENTS SINCE 1978. THIS RAID WAS AT LEAST THE SECOND ATTEMPT TO INFILTRATE ISRAEL BY A SYRIAN BACKED PALESTINIAN GROUP IN 1987.
- IN LATE DECEMBER, THREE TERRORISTS FROM ABU ABBAS'

PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT PENETRATED ISRAEL VIA THE JORDAN-ISRAELI BORDER. ISRAELI TROOPS INTERCEPTED THE PALESTINIANS SHORTLY AFTER THEIR INCURSION INTO ISRAEL, CAPTURING THE THREE AFTER A BRIEF CONFRONTATION. THIS RAID WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY AN ATTEMPT BY THE PLO TO CAPITALIZE ON THE WAVE OF SYMPATHY GENERATED IN THE WAKE OF VIOLENT PALESTINIAN PROTESTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP THAT BEGAN DECEMBER 9.⁸

- EARLIER THIS MONTH, ON MARCH 4, WHILE SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ WAS IN JERUSALEM TO DISCUSS THE U.S. PEACE INITIATIVE, A BOMB-LADEN CAR WAS DISCOVERED NEAR HIS HOTEL.⁹
- AND THREE DAYS LATER, THREE ARAB GUNMEN HIJACKED AN ISRAELI COMMUTER BUS IN THE NEGEV DESERT, KILLING THREE PASSENGERS BEFORE ISRAELI FORCES STORMED THE VEHICLE AND KILLED THE HIJACKERS. THIS WAS ONE OF AT LEAST A HALF-DOZEN ATTEMPTS BY PALESTINIAN GROUPS TO CARRY OUT ATTACKS SINCE THE

PALESTINIAN UPRISING BEGAN OVER THREE MONTHS AGO.¹⁰

SINCE DECEMBER, WE HAVE SEEN AN ESCALATION FROM THE PREVIOUS STONE AND BOTTLE THROWING TO VIOLENT ATTACKS, AN ESCALATION THAT HAS SPREAD VIOLENCE TO BROADER SECTIONS OF THE PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI POPULATIONS.

AS I HAVE SUGGESTED, INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY MIDDLE EASTERN GROUPS OWES MUCH TO STATE SPONSORSHIP--PARTICULARLY BY IRAN, LIBYA, AND UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, SYRIA. THESE STATES USE TERRORISM AND SUPPORT TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST GROUPS AS INSTRUMENTS OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. THESE STATES TRAIN, FINANCE, AND ARM NUMEROUS DISSIDENT AND TERRORIST GROUPS. THEY SEND AGENTS AND SURROGATES ON MISSIONS AROUND THE WORLD USING TERROR TO ATTACK OPPONENTS AND THE PERSONNEL AND INSTALLATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF PRO-WESTERN ARAB STATES. THEY USE DIPLOMATIC AND CULTURAL MISSIONS TO SUPPORT TERRORISTS. WE KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT SEVERAL SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN TERRORIST ACTIVITY.¹¹ BOTH SYRIA AND LIBYA HAVE PROVIDED AID AND COMFORT TO

THE NOTORIOUS PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ABU NIDAL, WHOSE FOLLOWERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEPTEMBER 1986 MASSACRES IN KARACHI AND ISTANBUL.

BUT IN MID-1987, ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS PALESTINIAN TERRORIST GROUPS APPEARED TO SUFFER LOGISTIC SETBACKS. IN EARLY JUNE, THE SYRIAN-BASED FACILITIES OF THE ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION WERE CLOSED AND THE GROUP'S KNOWN OPERATIVES WERE EXPELLED. BEFORE THE EXPULSION, DAMASCUS SERVED AS THE GROUP'S PRINCIPAL SPONSOR AND HOST. THE SYRIAN ACTION TEMPORARILY DISRUPTED THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES, FORCING A RELOCATION OF RESOURCES AND OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES FROM SYRIA TO SITES IN LEBANON AND ELSEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.¹²

THESE PAST 12 MONTHS ALSO WITNESSED THE TRIALS OF PALESTINIANS RESPONSIBLE FOR SOME OF THE MOST DEVASTATING ATTACKS OF 1985 AND 1986.

- IN MAY, AN ITALIAN APPEALS COURT UPHELD THE SENTENCES OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT MEMBERS CONVICTED IN THE ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKING.

- LATER THAT MONTH, A VIENNA COURT SENTENCED TWO ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION MEMBERS TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT FOR THE ATTACK IN THE AIRPORT IN VIENNA IN DECEMBER 1985. THE GRENADE AND MACHINEGUN ATTACK AGAINST THE EL AL COUNTER AT THE AIRPORT KILLED FOUR PERSONS AND INJURED FORTY OTHERS.
- IN MID-JULY, THE TRIAL OF FIVE ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION TERRORISTS, WHO ATTEMPTED TO HIJACK A PAN AM JET IN KARACHI IN 1986, OPENED IN PAKISTAN. TWENTY-ONE PERSONS DIED AND MORE THAN 100 OTHERS WERE INJURED IN THE ABORTIVE HIJACKING. THE TRIAL IS STILL IN PROGRESS.
- AND IN FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR, THE SURVIVING TERRORIST OF THE ABU NIDAL GROUP THAT ATTACKED ROME'S FIUMICINO AIRPORT IN 1985 WAS SENTENCED TO 30 YEARS IN PRISON. ABU NIDAL AND A TOP AIDE WERE SENTENCED--IN ABSENTIA--TO LIFE IN PRISON. THE ASSAULT AT THE ROME AIRPORT KILLED 12 PERSONS AND WOUNDED 72.¹³

THE TRIALS HELD OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS ARE SIGNIFICANT NOT

ONLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE FOCUSED INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION ON THE CRIMES OF TERRORISTS, BUT BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN HELD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD--IN ITALY, AUSTRIA, AND PAKISTAN. WE ARE BEGINNING TO SEE THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THAT IS SO ESSENTIAL IN COUNTERING TERRORISM--THE COOPERATION THAT ENABLED US TO PREVENT MORE THAN 200 TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN THE PAST THREE YEARS.

PERSUADING OTHER NATIONS THAT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS NECESSARY TO FIGHT TERRORISM HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN EASY. PART OF THE PROBLEM LIES IN THE FACT THAT MANY COUNTRIES ARE NOT OPPOSED TO ALL ACTS OF TERRORISM, BUT ONLY TO THE ACTS OF CERTAIN TERRORIST GROUPS. SOME NATIONS HAVE FOUND OCCASIONAL TERRORIST ACTIVITY TO BE CONVENIENT BECAUSE IT IS UNSETTLING TO THEIR OPPONENTS. OTHERS IN THE PAST HAVE SOUGHT ACCOMODATION WITH TERRORISTS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE TERRORISTS NOT STRIKING AT THEM.

BUT OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS WE HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM -- COOPERATION THAT HAS MADE THE CONVICTION OF TERRORISTS A REALITY. I

HAVE BEEN A PART OF BUILDING THAT COOPERATION--FIRST WITH THE UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON CRIME IN MILAN, WHICH I ATTENDED; FOLLOWED BY THE SUMMIT MEETING IN TOKYO; AND THEN THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION CONDEMNING TERRORISM. THE TREVI GROUPS, THE GROUPS OF MINISTERS OF INTERIOR AND OF JUSTICE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, HAVE NOW BECOME EFFECTIVE ADVOCATES OF COLLECTIVE ACTIONS AGAINST TERRORISM.¹⁴

ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS WILL EVER BUILD A SOLID BASE OF SUPPORT IN OUR COUNTRY. FROM MY EXPERIENCE AT THE FBI AND NOW AT THE CIA, I CAN SAY THAT THIS COUNTRY IS WELL EQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ACTIVITIES THAT MAY BE IMPORTED TO THE UNITED STATES. I CAN'T SAY THAT THEY WILL NOT OCCUR, BUT I BELIEVE THAT OUR SPECIAL CAPABILITIES, INCLUDING VERY GOOD INTELLIGENCE, WILL, IN MANY CASES, PREVENT TERRORISM FROM SUCCEEDING.

OUR INTERESTS OVERSEAS, HOWEVER, OFFER TEMPTING TARGETS. WE LACK THE SAME RESOURCES AND THE SAME ABILITY TO CONTROL THE

SITUATION OVERSEAS THAT WE HAVE HERE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF 1982, AMERICANS AND AMERICAN INTERESTS HAVE BEEN VICTIMS IN AT LEAST ONE OF EVERY FOUR TERRORIST INCIDENTS OVERSEAS. THAT IN TURN AFFECTS OUR OWN FREEDOM--OUR ABILITY TO TRAVEL AND TO MOVE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WITHOUT FEAR.¹⁵

HOW IS THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY COPING WITH TERRORISTS? FIRST WE ARE ACQUIRING AS MUCH INFORMATION AS WE CAN ABOUT TERRORIST GROUPS, INCLUDING THEIR MODUS OPERANDI, ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, PERSONNEL, SUPPORT, FUNDING AND COMMUNICATIONS. WE ARE ALSO EXAMINING THE LINKS TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE WITH OTHER GROUPS OR STATE SPONSORS.

IN FEBRUARY 1986, THE CIA ESTABLISHED A COUNTERTERRORIST CENTER TO FOCUS ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. WE BROUGHT OPERATIONS OFFICERS, ANALYSTS, ENGINEERS, SCIENTISTS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES EXPERTS, AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL UNDER ONE ROOF, AND UNDER ONE CHAIN OF COMMAND. THE GOVERNING PHILOSOPHY OF THE CENTER IS TO COMBINE ALL THE RESOURCES THAT THE AGENCY WILL NEED TO GO ON

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST TERRORIST GROUPS AND THE STATES THAT SUPPORT THEM.¹⁶

OUR EXPERIENCE TO DATE HAS UNDERSCORED THE ADVANTAGES OF HAVING A UNIT DEVOTED FULLTIME TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE TERRORISM PROBLEM. COUNTERTERRORISM OFFICERS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FOCUS ALL THEIR ATTENTION ON THE TERRORISM ISSUE, AND THEY HAVE FOLLOWED UP ON LEADS WHICH PREVIOUSLY LANGUISHED DUE TO THE PRESS OF OTHER BUSINESS.¹⁷

ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO TELL YOU SPECIFICALLY WHAT THE COUNTERTERRORIST CENTER HAS ACCOMPLISHED, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE CENTER HAS BEEN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL IN PROVIDING BOTH POLICY SUPPORT AND OPERATIONAL LEADS.

I HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT THE COOPERATIVE MEASURES WE HAVE TAKEN TO DEAL WITH TERRORISM. WHAT ABOUT THE TERRORIST HIMSELF? WE MUST TAKE VIGOROUS ACTION TO ISOLATE HIM FROM ONE OF HIS GOALS -- MANIPULATING PUBLIC PERCEPTION. IN ADDITION, WE MUST INSTILL IN THE TERRORIST THOSE SAME PERVASIVE FEELINGS OF FEAR THAT HE SEEKS TO INSTILL IN THE PUBLIC -- THE FEELINGS OF CONSTANTLY BEING THE

HUNTED, RATHER THAN THE HUNTER. THE TERRORIST MUST AT ALL TIMES
HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HIS MOVEMENTS ARE KNOWN, HIS PLANS
UNDERSTOOD, AND HIS ORGANIZATION PENETRATED.¹⁸

IF WE CAN DO THIS, 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. IF WE CAN DO
THIS, OUR CITIZENS CAN AGAIN EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO MOVE FREELY
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WITHOUT FEAR. AND THOSE NATIONS OF THE WORLD
WHICH SUPPORT THE RULE OF LAW AND ACCEPT THE NORMS OF CIVILIZED
BEHAVIOR WILL PREVAIL. THANK YOU.

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