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REMARKS

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BEFORE THE

DARTMOUTH WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

HANOVER, NH

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NEW CHALLENGES FOR INTELLIGENCE:

THE PROBLEMS OF TERRORISM AND NARCOTICS

IT'S GOOD TO BE BACK AT DARTMOUTH, ESPECIALLY AT THIS TIME OF YEAR. IT HAS BEEN A WHILE SINCE MY LAST VISIT--45 YEARS TO BE EXACT. WE WERE AT WAR. MOST OF US IN COLLEGE WERE WAITING TO BE CALLED UP BY THE RESERVE UNITS IN WHICH WE WERE ENLISTED. SOME WERE WAITING TO BE DRAFTED. GASOLINE RATIONING WAS IN EFFECT AND THERE WERE VERY FEW CARS AVAILABLE TO STUDENTS. SO, A FRIEND AND I DID IT THE HARD WAY. WE HITCHHIKED, BUT THE LAST TEN MILES WERE LITERALLY IN THE BACK OF A HAY WAGON, AT NIGHT, AND WITH NO AUTUMN MOON. AND OF COURSE NO CO-EDS WERE AT HANOVER. BUT AT LAST WE MADE IT.

THAT SAME YEAR, AS I RECALL, AMHERST HAD THE TEMERITY TO CHALLENGE DARTMOUTH TO FOOTBALL. WE WERE DEFEATED 40 TO NOTHING. IT PRODUCED A POPULAR BALLAD OF THE DAY CALLED "WE'LL BE THERE BY HALFTIME." I DON'T KNOW THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT. I WAS DISCUSSING IT AT BREAKFAST WITH SENATOR KENNEDY AND HE SAID THAT IT WASN'T TOO

LONG AGO THAT HARVARD HANDED A SIMILAR DEFEAT TO DARTMOUTH BY ABOUT THE SAME SCORE. SO THERE'S SOME ROOM FOR HUMILITY FOR ALL OF US.

WHILE I WAS HERE, I STAYED ON CAMPUS WITH A GOOD FRIEND FROM HOME IN MISSOURI. HE HAD BEEN CAPTAIN OF OUR HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL TEAM, A CHAMPIONSHIP TEAM, AND WAS NOT LACKING IN COURAGE, BUT HE WAS CONFRONTING A DIFFICULT DECISION: HIS DEEP PERSONAL RELIGIOUS CONVICTION SUPPORTING LIFE AND HIS OPPOSITION TO WAR. THE EVENING WAS A LONG ONE IN THE BASEMENT OF THE PSI U HOUSE AS WE EACH TRIED TO ARTICULATE OUR PERSONAL SENSE OF DUTY AND OUR OBLIGATION TO OUR COUNTRY AND TO OUR HIGHEST SENSE OF RIGHT.

IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS THAT FOLLOWED, EACH OF US WENT HIS CHOSEN WAY. MY PATH TOOK ME INTO THE NAVY IN WORLD WAR II AND THE KOREAN WAR AND LATER IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC SERVICE. HIS PATH TOOK HIM TO DIVINITY SCHOOL AND A DISTINGUISHED CAREER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AT DARTMOUTH AND IN SERVICE TO CHURCHES IN AND AROUND HANOVER.

IN THE ENSUING YEARS, WAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM BOTH OF THE MIND AND THE SPIRIT HAVE TAKEN MANY FORMS. THE CAPACITY OF NATIONS AND MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD TO DO DAMAGE TO EACH OTHER AND EVEN TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT HAS GROWN TO AN EXTENT NEVER DREAMED OF OR DISCUSSED IN THAT LONG NIGHT IN HANOVER SO MANY YEARS AGO.

AND WHILE MY GOOD FRIEND AND I MIGHT STILL FIND DIFFERENCES IN APPROACHES TO OUR NATION'S PROBLEMS AND THE WORLD'S ILLS, I AM SURE THAT WE COULD AGREE AT LEAST UPON THIS, THAT, AS EDMUND BURKE WROTE NEARLY 200 YEARS AGO, "THE ONLY THING NECESSARY FOR THE TRIUMPH OF EVIL IS FOR GOOD MEN TO DO NOTHING."

THERE ARE MANY, MANY THREATS TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE FREE WORLD IN MANY, MANY PLACES TOO NUMEROUS TO DISCUSS TONIGHT. IT IS ENOUGH TO SUGGEST THAT THIS HAS BEEN A VERY BUSY SUMMER AND IS LIKELY TO BE A VERY BUSY FALL. WHILE YOU MAY WISH IN THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD TO RAISE OTHER

SPECIFIC ISSUES, AND I'LL WELCOME THEM, I HAVE DECIDED TO TALK TO YOU TONIGHT ABOUT TWO PROBLEMS WHICH INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY HAVE UNSETTLED THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN MANY COUNTRIES AND HAVE HAD A SPECIAL IMPACT UPON OUR OWN CITIZENS BOTH HERE AND ABROAD. I PROPOSE TO TALK ABOUT HOW THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND THE LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMUNITY ARE NOW WORKING IN CONCERT TO DEAL WITH THE TWIN SCOURGES OF TERRORISM AND NARCOTICS AROUND THE WORLD.

LAST YEAR WHEN I WAS STILL DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, I SPOKE TO THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK AND OFFERED THE CONCLUSION THAT THERE WERE FOUR KEY INGREDIENTS IN DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM AGAINST TERRORISM: BETTER INTELLIGENCE, EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT, INCREASED COOPERATION, AND AN INFORMED PUBLIC. NOW THAT I HAVE MOVED OUT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT INTO FULL-TIME INTELLIGENCE WORK, I'M DEVELOPING SOME NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE TERRORIST ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS, I BELIEVE THAT THESE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF A COUNTEROFFENSIVE STILL APPLY.

TERRORISM IS THE ANTITHESIS OF CIVILIZED BEHAVIOR AS WE KNOW IT
YET, IT HAS BECOME A MAJOR FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IF WE
THINK OF TERRORISM IN PURELY POLITICAL TERMS, IT INHIBITS COLLECTIVE
ACTION. I THINK WE ARE FAR BETTER SERVED IF WE THINK OF TERRORISM
IN TERMS OF WHAT IT REALLY IS. TERRORISM IS CRIME. WHENEVER
INNOCENT VICTIMS ARE THE SUBJECT OF VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL REASONS,
FAR AWAY FROM THE SCENE OF CONFLICT, UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES THAT WOULD
BE CRIMINAL BY THE LAWS OF ANY CIVILIZED NATION--SUCH AS THE ACHILLE
LAURO--THEN THOSE ACTIONS ARE CRIMINAL. TERRORISM MUST NOT BE
PROTECTED AND ITS PERPETRATORS MUST NOT BE OFFERED SANCTUARY IN
FREEDOM-LOVING COUNTRIES.

TERRORISM FLOURISHES UNDER ITS SELF-PROCLAIMED BANNER OF
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, BUT THE HIGH RHETORIC OF TERRORISM
IS USUALLY ACCOMPANIED BY VICIOUS ACTS OF VIOLENCE. I HAVE
REPEATEDLY TAKEN ISSUE WITH THOSE WHO TALK ABOUT "WAGING WAR" ON
TERRORISM. IN MY MIND THAT TENDS TO ELEVATE TERRORIST CONDUCT AND

THE STATUS OF TERRORISM TO THAT OF A LEGITIMATE ACTIVITY. AFTER ALL,
THE ACT OF WAGING WAR IS A POLITICAL EXPRESSION. BUT TERRORISM IS
CRIME--ACTS OF TERRORISM ARE, BY ANY DEFINITION, CRIMINAL--AND I
SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT WE WOULD BETTER BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE
SCOURGE OF TERRORISM IF WE UNDERSTOOD IT FOR WHAT IT REALLY IS.

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."

TERRORISTS ALMOST ALWAYS HAVE SOME POLITICAL PURPOSE IN MIND
WHEN THEY CARRY OUT THEIR CRIMINAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE. THE IMPACT IS
INTENDED TO REACH BEYOND THE DEATH AND DESTRUCTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL
ACTS OF TERRORISM. NO TERRORIST ACT TODAY GOES UNNOTICED OR
UNREPORTED--AND TERRORISTS SOMETIMES OUTDO EACH OTHER TO CLAIM

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SAME TERRORIST ACT. THE PHONES IN THE NEWSROOMS ARE ALWAYS RINGING FOLLOWING SUCH AN INCIDENT. TERRORISTS TAKE VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST EASY TARGETS PRIMARILY TO GAIN MEDIA ATTENTION FOR ANY PARTICULAR CAUSE--IT IS THEATER! AS FRED FRIENDLY, THE DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR EMERITUS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ONCE SAID, "TERRORISM...IS A SPECIES OF GUERRILLA WARFARE WHOSE BATTLEFIELD IS THE TELEVISION SCREEN AND THE FRONT PAGE...."

THE PHENOMENON OF 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. GEORGE HABBASH, THE LEADER OF THE NOTORIOUS POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE, SAID IN 1970, "IN TODAY'S WORLD, NO ONE IS 'INNOCENT', NO ONE IS 'NEUTRAL.'"

IN OUR MODERN WORLD, 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.

THE OBJECTIVES OF COUNTRIES SPONSORING TERRORISTS ARE PLAIN. IN THE CASE OF LIBYA, COLONEL QADHAFI SEEKS TO USE TERRORISM TO PROMOTE HIS VOLATILE BRAND OF ISLAMIC RADICALISM AND PAN-ARAB NATIONALISM. IRAN USES TERROR TO EXPORT ITS OWN VERSION OF ISLAMIC REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST. BOTH EMPLOY TERRORISTS TO ELIMINATE

THEIR ENEMIES OVERSEAS, ESPECIALLY EXILED DISSIDENTS, AND IF THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE KILL OR MAIM INNOCENT VICTIMS, THAT MATTERS NOT AT ALL.

REACTIONS TO TERRORISM AND EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THIS SCOURGE HAVE VARIED AROUND THE WORLD. PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM HAS BEEN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. 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 TAKEN THE SOFT ROUTE, SEEKING ACCOMMODATION WITH TERRORISTS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE TERRORISTS NOT STRIKING AT THEM. AND TODAY, THESE COUNTRIES ARE REAPING THE REWARD.

IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS WE HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN TURNING AROUND EUROPEAN CONCEPTIONS OF TERRORISM AS POLITICAL AND THEREFORE BEYOND INTELLIGENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT INVOLVEMENT: FIRST WITH THE UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON CRIME IN MILAN, WHICH I ATTENDED

WITH MANY OTHERS, FOLLOWED BY THE SUMMIT MEETING IN TOKYO, AND THEN 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. AND INTERPOL, THE ONLY INTERNATIONAL POLICE ORGANIZATION IN THE WORLD, FINALLY GOT OFF THE DIME ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT TERRORISM FELL WITHIN THEIR PROTECTIVE ARTICLE III ABOUT FREE SPEECH, RELIGION, AND SO ON; INTERPOL AGREED THAT UNDER THESE DESCRIBED CIRCUMSTANCES TERRORISM WAS CRIMINAL AND THEREFORE THEY COULD COOPERATE AMONG MEMBERS IN IDENTIFYING, LOCATING, AND CAUSING THE ARRESTS OF WANTED TERRORISTS. THOSE WERE MAJOR STEPS FORWARD.

ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS WILL EVER BUILD A SOLID BASE OF SUPPORT IN OUR COUNTRY-- THIS JUST IS NOT FERTILE GROUND FOR TERRORISM. THE REASON, I THINK, IS THAT WE POSSESS IN OUR CONSTITUTION A VEHICLE FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE AND THAT EVERYONE HERE KNOWS IT. THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT TERRORISTS

CAN'T COMMIT A TERRORIST ACT HERE, BECAUSE THEY DO, BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT THEY'RE NOT LIKELY TO GAIN A BASE OF SUPPORT. DOMESTIC TERRORISM AIMED AT OUR OWN INTERNAL SYSTEM IS NOT NOW A SERIOUS THREAT. WITHIN OUR BORDERS, WE HAVE SEEN A HEARTENING DROP IN THE NUMBER OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS, IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. IN 1977, JUST BEFORE I CAME ON BOARD, THE FBI RECORDED 112 TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN THIS COUNTRY; BY 1983, THAT WAS DOWN TO 31; 13 IN 1984; 7 IN 1985; AND THERE WERE 17 LAST YEAR. ONE IN PUERTO RICO, ONE IN NEW YORK, AND THE REST IN COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO. AND WITH ONLY ONE OF THESE INCIDENTS RESULTED IN DEATH. THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE REPEATEDLY INVITED TERRORIST INCIDENTS WITH SUCH WORLDWIDE EVENTS AS THE PAN AMERICAN GAMES, THE WINTER OLYMPICS, THE OLYMPICS IN LOS ANGELES, AND THE STATUE OF LIBERTY EXERCISES WHERE THERE WERE 20,000 BOATS IN NEW YORK HARBOR. OF COURSE, I THINK I HAVE TO SAY WITH SOME PRIDE, THAT THE FBI'S EFFORTS IN THIS ARENA CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO DECREASING THE SITUATION, AS WE DEVELOPED--WITH KNOWLEDGE OF THE TERRORISTS THROUGH THE HOSTAGE RESCUE TEAM, COMPUTERS AND OTHER TECHNIQUES--AN AWARENESS THAT WE

WERE PREPARED TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS AND PREVENT THEM FROM HAPPENING.

I MUST SAY IN THIS CONNECTION THAT OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND IN OTHER AREAS ON BEHALF OF FREEDOM NECESSARILY INCREASES THE POTENTIAL FOR RETALIATION AT HOME IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

BUT 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 THIS TYPE OF ACTIVITY FROM HAPPENING OR FROM SUCCEEDING.

IN CONTRAST TO THE DOMESTIC SCENE, OUR INTERESTS OVERSEAS OFFER TEMPTING TARGETS. IT'S EASIER THERE. ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD WE LACK THE SAME RESOURCES AND THE SAME ABILITY TO CONTROL THE SITUATION AS WE HAVE HERE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. FOR EXAMPLE, 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 VERY HIGHLY CHERISHED RIGHT TO TRAVEL AND MOVE ABOUT. AMERICANS FROM TIME TO TIME INCREASINGLY BECOME AFRAID TO MOVE ABROAD.

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS EFFORT SINCE IT IS NOT PURELY A LAW ENFORCEMENT EFFORT. THE INTRICATE FINANCIAL, OPERATIONAL, RECRUITMENT, AND SUPPORT NETWORKS USED BY INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM FORCE US TO PLACE A HIGH PREMIUM ON THE COLLECTION OF PRECISE, ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE. WHEREVER THEY LIVE, INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS BAND TOGETHER IN IDEOLOGICAL CELLS AND ARE AS DIFFICULT TO PENETRATE AS THEY ARE TO UNDERSTAND. CONSEQUENTLY, GOOD INTELLIGENCE IS HARD TO COME BY, AND THE INTELLIGENCE THAT IS DEVELOPED COMES IN FRAGMENTS THAT DO NOT FALL EASILY INTO MEANINGFUL PATTERNS. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE HIGHEST PROFESSIONAL ABILITY BE BROUGHT TO BEAR TO SIFT, ANALYZE, AND PUT TOGETHER IN A MEANINGFUL FORM THESE BITS AND PIECES OF INFORMATION GATHERED AROUND THE WORLD NOT ONLY BY HUMAN INTELLIGENCE,

BUT BY ELECTRONIC AND SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE, IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE FROM SATELLITES PICTURES, COUPLED, AS I SAID, WITH HIGH-LEVEL PROFESSIONAL ANALYSIS.

UNTIL THREE YEARS AGO, THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS ESSENTIALLY A DEFENSIVE ONE. BUT THE PASSAGE OF NEW LEGISLATION AND MOVES BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH BEGAN TO CHANGE THAT PICTURE. IN 1984, THE CONGRESS ENACTED STATUTES THAT CREATED WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION TO MAKE IT A FEDERAL CRIME TO TAKE HOSTAGE AN AIRPLANE OR SHIP CONTAINING AMERICAN CITIZENS. IN 1986, THAT LAW WAS FURTHER EXPANDED TO MAKE VARIOUS COMMON CRIMES--MURDER, ASSAULT, AND OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE--AGAINST U.S. PERSONS IN A TERRORIST INCIDENT A FEDERAL OFFENSE. THIS GAVE THE FBI ADDITIONAL EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION. IT DIDN'T MEAN THAT THE FBI OR OTHER FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES HAD THE RIGHT TO GO TO ROME TO MAKE AN ARREST OR PROSECUTE SOMEBODY. ALL THAT WE DID OR COULD DO IN INVESTIGATING CRIMES AGAINST U.S. PERSONS ABROAD WOULD BE WITH THE SUPPORT AND THE COOPERATION OF THE EXISTING LAW ENFORCEMENT AND

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN THE HOST COUNTRIES. AND SO, A VERY
IMPORTANT GROWING LIAISON EFFORT HAS BEEN UNDERWAY.

LAST MONTH, A LEBANESE MAN NAMED FAWAZ YOUNIS WAS CHARGED IN THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WITH TAKING HOSTAGE IN 1985 THE PASSENGERS AND
CREW OF A ROYAL JORDANIAN AIRLINER WITH AMERICAN CITIZENS ON BOARD.
YOUNIS WAS ARRESTED BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI IN INTERNATIONAL
WATERS AND FLOWN TO THE UNITED STATES. THIS WAS THE FIRST ARREST BY
THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE EXPANDED LAWS. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS
SAID, TERRORISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD MUST KNOW THAT "THEY CAN RUN,
BUT THEY CAN'T HIDE."

IN GOING ON THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT STARTED TO SEEK AREAS OF TERRORIST
VULNERABILITY, TO DISRUPT THEIR NETWORKS, TO DIMINISH THE APPEAL OF
THEIR PROPAGANDA, TO UNDERMINE THE LINKAGES BETWEEN TERRORISTS AND
THEIR STATE SPONSORS.

IN FEBRUARY 1986, THE CIA ESTABLISHED A COUNTERTERRORIST CENTER TO FOCUS ITS RESOURCES TO SUPPORT THIS NEW POLICY. WE BROUGHT OPERATIONS OFFICERS, ANALYSTS, ENGINEERS, SCIENTISTS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES EXPERTS, TRANSPORTATION AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL UNDER ONE ROOF, AND UNDER ONE CHAIN OF COMMAND. THIS ASSEMBLAGE OF EXPERTS ALLOWS US TO IMPLEMENT A COMPREHENSIVE COUNTERTERRORIST PROGRAM BASED ON SYSTEMATIC EXPLOITATION OF ALL-SOURCE INTELLIGENCE AND IN-DEPTH TARGET ANALYSIS OF THE GROUPS AND STATES RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ACTS.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO TAKE THE LEAD IN A WORLDWIDE COUNTERTERRORISM NETWORK MADE UP OF THE INTELLIGENCE, SECURITY, AND POLICE ORGANIZATIONS OF LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES AND WE'RE GETTING MUCH BETTER AT IT. WITHIN THIS NETWORK WE SHARE INFORMATION AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES, WE WORK TOGETHER OPERATIONALLY, WE PROVIDE TRAINING, AND WE ISSUE THREAT ALERTS AND WARNINGS.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AT THIS LEVEL HAS IMPROVED
IMMEASURABLY--THE PROCESS DOES WORK. IN SEVERAL INSTANCES, THE CIA
PROVIDED SPECIFIC INTELLIGENCE AND PROMPT WARNING THAT DIRECTLY
ENABLED FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS TO ARREST TERRORISTS AND THWART THEIR
DESIGNS. AS A RESULT OF NEW POLICIES ON TERRORISM, INTERPOL WAS
ABLE FINALLY TO PUT OUT A RED FLASH NOTICE AT OUR GOVERNMENT'S
REQUEST RESULTING IN THE ARREST IN WEST GERMANY OF THE TERRORIST
MUHAMMAD HAMMADI, CHARGED WITH THE HIJACKING OF TWA FLIGHT 847. IN
ADDITION TO IMPROVED US-EUROPEAN COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM, MANY
EUROPEAN NATIONS HAVE FOCUSED THEIR EFFORTS ON CLOSER SCREENING OF
INTERNATIONAL TRAVELERS, TIGHTENING UP AIRPORT SECURITY AND STRICTER
BORDER CONTROL. ALL OF THIS BENEFITS US AS CITIZENS TRAVELING
ABROAD. THESE STEPS PROBABLY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE CURRENT LULL
IN MAJOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE.

INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS AND INTELLIGENCE

NOW LET ME TURN TO THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS
TRAFFICKING. THE CIA AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ARE DEEPLY

INVOLVED TODAY, TO AN UNPRECEDENTED EXTENT, IN THE WAR THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING AGAINST ILLICIT DRUGS. THE DRUG THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES ITSELF IS ACUTE, PARTICULARLY WHEN MEASURED BY THE DEBILITATING EFFECTS OF DRUG ABUSE AND THE PROBLEM OF DRUG-RELATED CRIME. DRUGS CAUSE MORE CRIME, CORRUPT MORE LAW ENFORCEMENT AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS, AND UNDERCUT CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT MORE THAN ANY OTHER FACTOR, IN MY VIEW, IN OUR SOCIETY TODAY. BUT THE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS TRADE POSES A THREAT TO OUR SECURITY INTERESTS THAT GOES FAR BEYOND THE DRUG PROBLEM ITSELF.

INCREASINGLY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONS ARE CONFRONTED BY POWERFUL TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS THAT CAN CORRUPT AND UNDERMINE THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY INSTITUTIONS. IN LESS SECURE NATIONS, SOME INSURGENT GROUPS ARE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN TRAFFICKING AND ARE USING DRUG MONEY AND SMUGGLING NETWORKS TO HELP SUSTAIN OPERATIONS. WE KNOW THERE IS AT LEAST SPORADIC INVOLVEMENT BETWEEN SOME TERRORIST GROUPS AND TRAFFICKERS. IN FACT, TERRORISTS AND TRAFFICKERS HAVE A LOT IN COMMON. BOTH OPERATE UNDERGROUND, BOTH

ARE WILLING TO USE VIOLENCE. BOTH WANT ACCESS TO EASY MONEY. AND BOTH ARE INVOLVED IN VARIOUS FORMS OF SMUGGLING OPERATIONS. THEY OUGHT NOT TO BE MELDED IN YOUR THINKING BECAUSE THEY ARE DIFFERENT. AND IF WE CEASE TO REALIZE THE DIFFERENCES BECAUSE OF THE SIMILARITIES WE WILL NOT USE THE RIGHT APPROACH IN SOLVING THE PROBLEM.

IN LATE 1984, I THINK THERE IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF HOW TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING SOMETIMES MIX. IN THAT CASE, A COOPERATING WITNESS CAME TO THE FBI AFTER HE WAS APPROACHED BY SOME PEOPLE WHO WERE INTERESTED IN OVERTHROWING THE GOVERNMENT OF HONDURAS AND IN ASSASSINATING PRESIDENT SUAZO THESE PEOPLE WERE LOOKING FOR A HIT MAN TO CARRY OUT THE OPERATION. THE FBI ARRANGED FOR THE COOPERATING WITNESS TO INTRODUCE AN UNDERCOVER AGENT TO THE GROUP. THE PLOTTERS STRUCK A DEAL WITH THE FBI'S AGENT AND AGREED TO PAY HIM \$300,000 FOR THE ASSASSINATION.

DURING THE INVESTIGATION, THE FBI FOUND OUT THAT MEMBERS OF THE

GROUP WERE ALSO INVOLVED IN DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND THEY INVITED THE UNDERCOVER AGENT INTO A PREVIOUSLY ARRANGED DRUG DEAL. THE FBI BROUGHT DOWN THE OPERATION BY ARRESTING EIGHT OF THE PLOTTERS. THE NINTH CONSPIRATOR, GENERAL BUESO ROSA, WHO WAS SERVING AS HONDURAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN CHILE AT THE TIME, WAS ARRESTED IN NOVEMBER 1985 AFTER HIS EXTRADITION FROM CHILE. IN ADDITION TO PREVENTING THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT SUAZO, THE FBI SEIZED A TWIN ENGINE AIRPLANE, TWO SMALL JET AIRPLANES, A 158 FOOT FREIGHTER CONVERTED TO CARRY MARIJUANA, AND PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, 345 KILOS OF COCAINE--VALUED AT MORE THAN \$10 MILLION. THE COCAINE WAS BROUGHT TO THIS COUNTRY AS A CONVENIENT METHOD OF EXCHANGE AND A QUICK WAY OF RAISING MONEY TO FINANCE THE RESOLUTION.

THE EBB AND FLOW OF VIOLENCE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PART OF THE DRUG TRADE, BUT TRAFFICKERS INCREASINGLY ARE RESORTING TO TERRORIST TACTICS, PARTICULARLY IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS COLOMBIA. WE ARE STARTING TO SEE AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE THAT GOES BEYOND THAT WHICH CAN REASONABLY BE ASSOCIATED WITH MERE

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY. TRAFFICKERS HAVE BEGUN TO STRIKE BOLDLY AT
VISIBLE SYMBOLS OF LAW AND ORDER IN A SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPT TO
INTIMIDATE AND DETER THE GOVERNMENT FROM PURSUING STRONG
ANTINARCOTICS POLICIES, WHICH A FEW YEARS AGO IT WAS BUSILY
PROVIDING AN EXAMPLE TO ALL OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. IN
NOVEMBER 1985, THE COLOMBIAN PALACE OF JUSTICE WAS BLOWN UP. THIS
VIOLENCE CONTINUED IN 1986 WITH THE ASSASSINATIONS OF A SUPREME
COURT JUDGE, TWO JOURNALISTS, AN AIRLINES OFFICIAL, AND TWO SENIOR
LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS. HARDLY A WEEK GOES BY THAT I DON'T READ
IN THE TRAFFIC OF ANOTHER MAJOR COLOMBIAN OFFICIAL SUBJECTED TO A
TERRORIST THREAT. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE AIMS OF DRUG TRAFFICKERS AND INSURGENT OR TERRORIST
GROUPS, THE SYSTEMATIC USE OF VIOLENCE BY DRUG TRAFFICKERS THREATENS
TO ERODE THE AUTHORITY AND THE STABILITY OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE SAME
MANNER AS MORE TRADITIONAL TERRORIST ACTS.

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS A VITAL AND RECOGNIZED PLAYER IN
THE NATIONAL DRUG STRATEGY PROMULGATED BY THE WHITE HOUSE IN 1984,

TO PREVENT DRUG ABUSE AND FIGHT DRUG TRAFFICKING AS IT APPEARS IN THE UNITED STATES. IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, THERE HAS BEEN A SIXFOLD INCREASE WITHIN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY OF THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SPENT TO COMBAT INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRAFFICKING. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO WORK IN THIS AREA. NARCOTICS INTELLIGENCE IS AMONG THE HIGHEST OF ALL PRIORITY TARGETS IN OUR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE EFFORT.

AS THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, I AM A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL DRUG POLICY BOARD, CHAIRED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. THE BOARD PURSUES THREE INTERRELATED GOALS: FIRST, TO REDUCE THE DEMAND FOR ILLEGAL DRUGS THROUGH EDUCATION, MEDICAL REHABILITATION, AND MEDICAL RESEARCH. SECOND, TO REDUCE THE SUPPLY OF ILLEGAL DRUGS BY USING INTERDICTION EFFORTS, PROSECUTIONS, AND OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT TECHNIQUES. AND FINALLY, TO REDUCE THE SUPPLY OF ILLEGAL DRUGS BY FOSTERING LOWERED PRODUCTION IN THE WORLD'S NARCOTICS SOURCE AREAS.

AN EXAMPLE OF INTERDICTION INVOLVING VERY GOOD INTELLIGENCE AND EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT OCCURRED WHEN DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION AGENTS WERE ABLE TO PICK UP ETHYL ETHER, WHICH IS A NECESSARY PRECURSOR IN THE REFINING PROCESS WHICH CONVERTS COCAINE BASE INTO COCAINE HYDROCHLORIDE. A TRANSMITTER WAS PLACED IN BARRELS OF THE PRECUSOR PRODUCT AND THE BARRELS WERE TRACKED FROM INDIANA TO LOUISIANA WHERE THEY WERE SHIPPED TO CARTAGENA, COLOMBIA. IRONIC THAT WE ARE SUPPLYING A PRECURSOR PRODUCT FOR THE USE OF PRODUCTION OF COCAINE IN COLOMBIA. FROM THERE, THE BARRELS WERE SUCCESSFULLY TRACKED TO CAQUETA, COLOMBIA, WHERE A COCAINE MANUFACTURING SITE WAS IDENTIFIED 500 MILES FROM THE NEAREST ROADS, UTILIZING ADVANCED INTELLIGENCE TECHNIQUES. COLOMBIAN NATIONAL POLICE WERE TIPPED OFF AND SUCCESSFULLY RAIDED THE SITE RESULTING IN THE SEIZURE OF 10,000 KILOS OF COCAINE. I MIGHT ADD THAT ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE ENABLED THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION TO FOREWARN THE COLOMBIAN OFFICIALS THAT BARRELS HAD BEEN PLACED IN THE RUNWAY OF THE AIRSTRIP.

THUS THEY USED HELICOPTERS FIRST TO CLEAR THE RUNWAY FOR THE OTHER

AIRCRAFT AND MADE THE ASSAULT SUCCESSFULLY. VERY GOOD INTELLIGENCE WORKING WITH VERY GOOD LAW ENFORCEMENT ON A COOPERATIVE BASIS. AND OUT OF THAT PROCESS COMES MORE STRATEGY TO REDUCE THE AVAILABILITY OF THOSE PRECURSORS WHICH ARE INDISPENSABLE TO THE PRODUCTION OF COCAINE.

THE EFFORT TO CUT OFF THE SUPPLY OF ILLEGAL DRUGS REQUIRES EXTENSIVE INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT. TIMELY AND USEFUL INTELLIGENCE, BASICALLY TACTICAL IN NATURE, IS VITAL TO EFFECTIVE INVESTIGATIVE AND INTERDICTION OPERATIONS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY NOW ASSISTS DRUG AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES BY SUPPLYING INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING VIRTUALLY EVERY ASPECT OF INTERNATIONAL DRUG PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, INCLUDING MONEY-LAUNDERING OPERATIONS, AND THE ROLE OF POLITICAL FACTIONS, TERRORISTS, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN THE NARCOTICS TRADE. WE ALSO PROVIDE INTELLIGENCE ON THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC IMPACT OF DRUG TRAFFICKING ON SOURCE AND TRANSSHIPMENT COUNTRIES.

WE HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE MAGNITUDE AND DYNAMICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRADE AND THE CAPABILITIES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS TO DEAL WITH IT. WE HAVE PROVIDED THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION WITH MARKEDLY IMPROVED DATA ON DRUG CULTIVATION, REFINING, AND TRAFFICKING AROUND THE WORLD. WE HAVE BECOME SHARPER IN DETECTING TRENDS IN DRUG TRAFFICKING AND SPOTTING NEW ENTRIES IN THE TRADE. WE HAVE BECOME MORE ADEPT AT ANALYZING OPERATIONS BY DRUG DEALERS AGAINST THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY INSTITUTIONS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES. WE HAVE SUPPORTED NUMEROUS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TOWARD DRUG ERADICATION, DRUG INTERDICTION, AND DRUG LAW ENFORCEMENT. I WISH WE COULD SAY THAT WE WERE SUCCEEDING AND THE DRUGS WERE DOWN. THEY'RE NOT, COCAINE IS UP. BUT IT SCARES ME TO THINK ABOUT THE CONDITION OF THIS COUNTRY AND THE WORLD IF THIS UNIFORM EFFORT HAD NOT STARTED WHEN IT DID.

DEALING WITH THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM IS MUCH DIFFERENT FOR CIA THAN IT IS FOR THE FBI. THE BUREAU IS IN THE LAW ENFORCEMENT

BUSINESS--CIA IS, BY LAW, FORBIDDEN FROM ENGAGING IN LAW ENFORCEMENT OR INTERNAL SECURITY MATTERS. NEVERTHELESS, THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT GOOD INTELLIGENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT ALL THAT WE HAVE DONE IN THE COUNTERNARCOTICS FIELD HAS BEEN WITHIN CIA'S LEGAL CHARTER AS AN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION. THE INTELLIGENCE WE HAVE PROVIDED HAS AIDED EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE SUPPLY OF DRUGS COMING INTO THE UNITED STATES AND TO DEAL WITH THOSE RESPONSIBLE. OUR INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES HEAVILY ENGAGED IN THE CULTIVATION OF NARCOTICS HELP POLICYMAKERS DEVELOP INITIATIVES AND ENHANCE OUR COUNTERNARCOTICS EFFORT.

I HAVE USED THE PROBLEMS OF TERRORISM AND NARCOTICS TO SUGGEST IN A VERY SMALL WAY THE MAGNITUDE OF THE OVERALL PROBLEMS CHALLENGING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND, INDEED, PEACE IN THE WORLD. WE FACE OTHER PROBLEMS OF EQUAL OR GREATER IMPORTANCE AND MAGNITUDE. IT'S VITAL THAT THIS COUNTRY POSSESS THE INFORMATION, THE INTELLIGENCE, SO THAT OUR LEADERS CAN MAKE WISE DECISIONS AFFECTING ALL OUR LIVES.

DANIEL WEBSTER EXPRESSED HIS HOPE FOR AMERICA WHEN HE SAID:

"MAY (THIS COUNTRY) BECOME A VAST AND SPLENDID MONUMENT, NOT OF OPPRESSION AND TERROR, BUT OF WISDOM, OF PEACE, AND OF LIBERTY, UPON WHICH THE WORLD MAY GAZE WITH ADMIRATION FOREVER." CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TO THIS NOBLE GOAL MUST BE MADE WITH DUE REGARD FOR WHAT THIS COUNTRY STANDS FOR. WE MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH THOSE WHO MAKE THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT DEFINE OUR PRESENT AND SHAPE OUR FUTURE, PROVIDING OUR ASSESSMENTS OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, HELPING TO PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION. WE MUST WORK WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WHICH ACT IN SECRET MATTERS AS SURROGATES FOR THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WE MUST BE WORTHY OF THEIR TRUST. WE MUST DILIGENTLY CARRY OUT OUR ASSIGNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, HOWEVER DIFFICULT, WITH FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. A NATION DEDICATED TO THE RULE OF LAW CAN PROTECT ITSELF AND PRESERVE ITS HERITAGE IN NO OTHER WAY.

WE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT, IN THE END, TO CARRY OUT OUR ENDEAVORS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WITHOUT THE SUPPORT AND

ENCOURAGEMENT OF AN INFORMED AND UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC. I AM PLEASED,
THEREFORE, THAT YOU HAVE INVITED ME TO ADDRESS THIS FORUM AS A WAY
OF FOSTERING THE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT THAT ARE SO VITAL TO OUR
MISSION.