



Directorate of
Intelligence

JUN

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Terrorism Review

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15 November 1984

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15 November 1984
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Terrorism Review **b3**

15 November 1984

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Terrorism Review [redacted] b3

15 November 1984

Focus

Iranian Terrorist Threat Remains High [redacted] b3

b3 Although Iranian-backed terrorists did not attempt any attacks in the days preceding the 6 November US elections, the threat they pose to US interests in the Middle East, particularly in Lebanon, remains high. The terrorists may have been forced to postpone their attacks because of increased security at US facilities. Iran and its surrogates, however, remain committed to eliminating US influence in the Middle East. [redacted] b3 Shia extremists will continue to target US facilities in Lebanon and possibly other parts of the Middle East. [redacted] b3

Several threats issued by persons claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad early this month indicated that Iranian-backed terrorists were planning attacks on US and Allied interests in the near future:

- On 4 November, a Lebanese radiobroadcast claimed the Islamic Jihad had threatened to conduct a surprise attack against the United States and its allies before 6 November.
- Also on 4 November, an anonymous caller to a foreign news agency claimed the Islamic Jihad would strike a "hard blow" against US interests in the Middle East very soon. The caller added that the Islamic Jihad would attack the US Navy and specifically warned that, "if we cannot prevent the reelection of Mr. Reagan, we shall inevitably prevent him from completing his second term of office."
- On 5 November, a caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad indicated the group would attack any Lebanese officials who participate in the troop withdrawal talks with Israel.
- Also on 5 November, spokesmen for the Hizballah—elements of which [redacted] b3 use Islamic Jihad as a covername—published an article that labeled the negotiations with Israel "sacrilege" and called for a "holy struggle" to eliminate Israel. [redacted] b3

As the September bombing of the US Embassy Annex indicated, attacks by the radical Shias can occur with little or no warning. The Hizballah in Lebanon and Iranian-backed groups in the Persian Gulf and possibly elsewhere may believe that new US targets of opportunity will emerge as heightened security measures taken prior to the US elections are gradually relaxed. Local security services responsible for protecting US facilities beyond the limited area controlled by American personnel may be unable or unwilling to devote special attention to US needs indefinitely. The terrorists' primary target in Lebanon probably is still the US

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Ambassador's residence in Yarze. The original Hizballah plan for a suicide vehicle bombing against the residence could be replaced by other types of operations, such as suicide attacks with explosives-laden aircraft, or a commando-style raid.

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If continued high security in Lebanon denies the terrorists any attractive targets there, Iranian-backed terrorists may target other US facilities and personnel in the Middle East. The "surprise" referred to in the 4 November Islamic Jihad threat suggests that attacks outside Lebanon may be planned. In addition, an Iranian radio commentary marking the fifth anniversary of the takeover of the US Embassy in Tehran encouraged similar attacks on US Embassies elsewhere.

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[REDACTED] the most likely alternative targets for attacks would be US in Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, or Cyprus. Iran could use either local Shia collaborators or its other operatives in these countries to conduct such attacks. While the terrorists undoubtedly would like to conduct spectacular bombings against official US facilities as they have in the past, smaller scale armed attacks or kidnappings of vulnerable US officials also are a serious possibility. Nonofficial US interests, such as corporate facilities or unprotected private citizens, may offer softer targets that would nevertheless allow the terrorists to maintain their pressure on the United States.

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Highlights

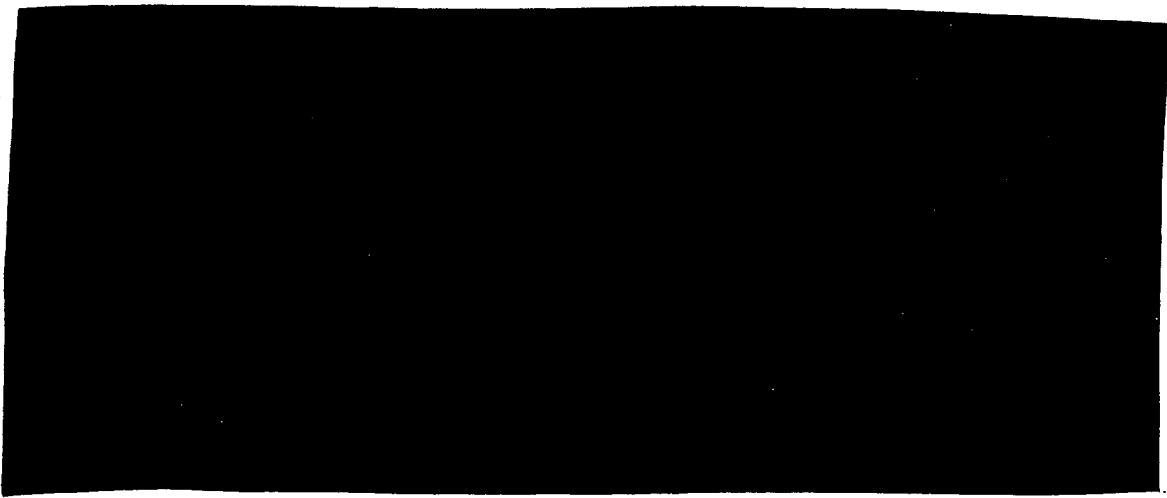
Alert Items

Sudan



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Key Indicators



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Turkey

Arrests Interrupt Urban Terrorist Comeback

A monthlong counterterrorist operation by Turkish security forces in Istanbul netted several dozen members of two urban terrorist groups, the Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit (MLAPU) and the Revolutionary Left (Dev Sol). After three years of low activity, the two groups were believed responsible for a number of bomb attacks in Istanbul during August and September against private businesses, government buildings, and several branch offices of Turkey's ruling party. In addition, Turkish security forces were concerned that the virulently anti-American MLAPU might have been preparing an attack against US personnel and property in reprisal for the mid-October sentencing of 22 of the group's members to death.

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Significant Developments

Saudi Arabia

Civil Airliner Hijacked to Iran

On 6 November a Saudia Airlines jet en route from London to Riyadh with 131 passengers and crewpersons was hijacked after a stopover in Jiddah. The two male hijackers, believed to be North Yemenis, diverted the plane to Tehran. While on the ground there, they were overpowered by the crew and passengers and arrested by Iranian authorities. [REDACTED]

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The hijackers had demanded a ransom of \$500,000, the payment of an equal sum to North Yemen, assurance that Saudi Arabia would leave North Yemen alone, and political asylum for themselves in Iran. Their fate is not known, but the crew and passengers, including 12 Americans and 40 Britons, were returned safely to Saudi Arabia. [REDACTED]

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Costa Rica

Court Approves Extradition of ETA Member to Spain

In Alajuela, the Superior Penal Court of Appeals authorized the extradition of accused ETA operative Gregorio Jimenez to Spain, overturning a lower court ruling that asserted the charges Jimenez faced in Spain were political. [REDACTED]

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The Appeals Court decision may be evidence of a stronger Costa Rican Government posture against terrorism. On the other hand, since Jimenez is suspected of involvement in a plot to assassinate Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) leader Eden Pastora in 1983, the decision may also reflect a desire to avoid trying Jimenez in Costa Rica. Either way, retaliatory attacks by ETA members or supporters are likely. [REDACTED]

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Chile

Terrorist Threat Used To Justify State of Siege

President Pinochet declared a 90-day state of siege on 6 November, claiming it was needed to combat the recent wave of terrorism. The terrorist attacks included a large number of bombings and resulted in some deaths. [REDACTED] the declaration was followed two days later by the arrest at the University of Chile of at least 35 students protesting the declaration, and secret police raids in Santiago and the southern city of Temuco that netted at least 25 labor and political activists. [REDACTED]

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Pinochet's actions, although keyed to the need to respond to the recent surge of terrorist attacks, also allow him to restrict the activities of the democratic opposition. The state of siege and several other measures, including the closure of opposition publications and the banning of unauthorized meetings in the capital, constitute the most sweeping political crackdown since Pinochet seized power in his September 1973 coup. Although the measures initially may allow the government to stop the escalating terrorist activity, their draconian nature will further antagonize political moderates and might increase the support enjoyed by the radicals. [redacted] b3

Peru

Shining Path Conducting Antielection Campaign

The Sendero Luminoso apparently has begun a campaign to disrupt voter registration for the 1985 presidential election. On 26 and 27 October, two offices of the National Elections Board (JNE) in Lima were attacked and the voting rolls were burned. Eight persons were injured by bombs the terrorists threw as they were leaving. In early November Sendero Luminoso terrorists killed 12 government officials at election registration centers in the central Peruvian towns of Jivia and Jesus. Security forces arrested 11 suspects. The government has now augmented police protection for JNE offices. [redacted] b3

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[redacted] the recent attacks could be the opening salvo of a sustained effort to derail the electoral process. [redacted] b1 b3

India

The Gandhi Assassination

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was shot to death on 31 October by two Sikh members of her security force. One of the two attackers was killed and the other seriously wounded by other guards. Although it is widely believed that Mrs. Gandhi's assassination was the result of a Sikh conspiracy, and rumors of the involvement of a Sikh army general are rife, there is as yet no evidence to suggest that the shooting was anything more than an act of vengeance by the actors concerned. The surviving assailant is still being questioned and may implicate others. [redacted] b3

The immediate consequence of Mrs. Gandhi's death was a week of Hindu violence against Sikhs, an event that may lead to a Sikh backlash and a cycle of terror such as occurred in Punjab in 1982 and 1983. Communal frictions also surfaced between Muslims and Hindus in Bombay earlier this year, and the Tamils of the south have recently been restive. Mrs. Gandhi was willing to use the Army to suppress outbreaks of communal violence, but it remains to be seen whether the new Prime Minister, her son Rajiv, will be as firm. [redacted] b3

Finally, there is some concern that further assassination attempts may be made, perhaps against Rajiv or President Zail Singh, if some of the more radical Sikhs feel emboldened by the attack on Mrs. Gandhi. But it may be that Sikh outrage has played itself out in the murder of the leader who authorized the storming of the Sikhs' Golden Temple last June. [redacted] b3

Indonesia

Group Implicated in Bombings Poses Threat to Americans

In the wake of an apparently spontaneous outbreak of communal violence in Jakarta last September and October, disturbing information has come to light suggesting that a hitherto unknown terrorist group may have been behind the riots and bombings. Of more direct import to the United States is a series of incidents that indicates that this group may be targeting American personnel and facilities.

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After rioting in the Tanjung Priok section of Jakarta on 12 September—which claimed as many as 150 lives—and a trio of anti-Chinese bombings on 4 October that killed two and wounded 16, Indonesian police rounded up hundreds of suspects.

[redacted]

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Subsequent to these events, several threats to US personnel and facilities from Muslim fundamentalist extremists have surfaced.

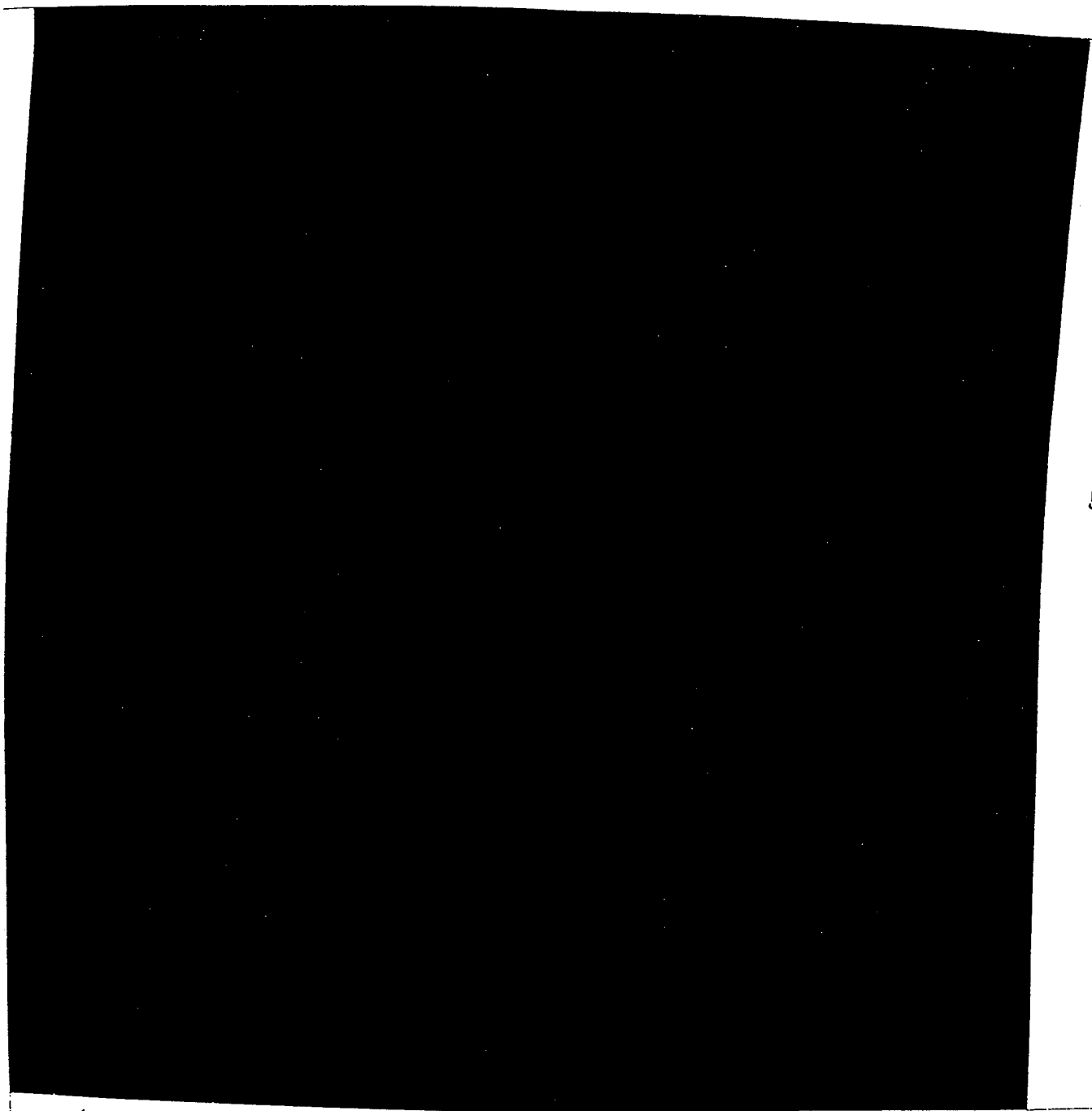
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These were the first threats from extremist Islamic groups in Jakarta since last March. [redacted]

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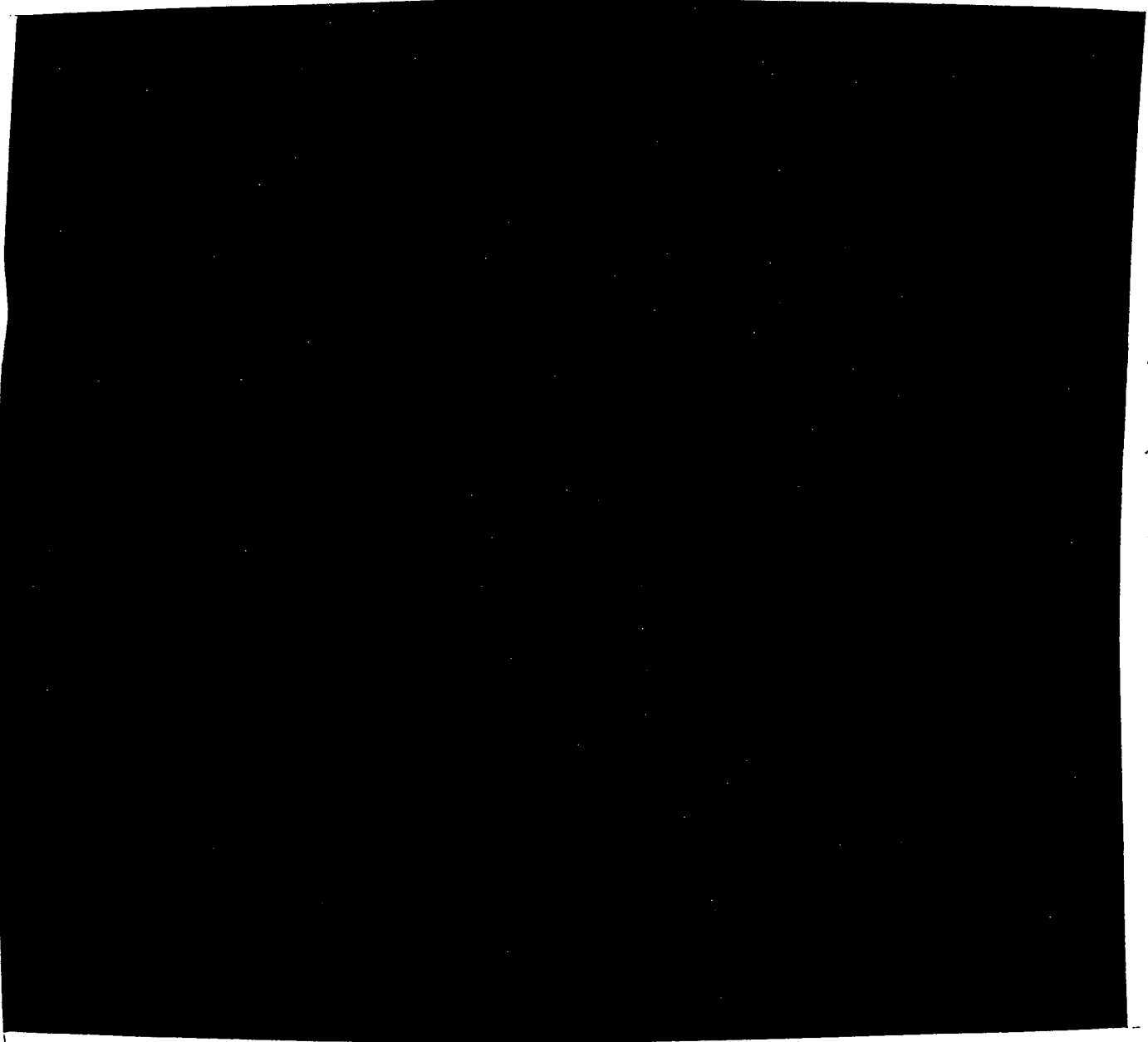
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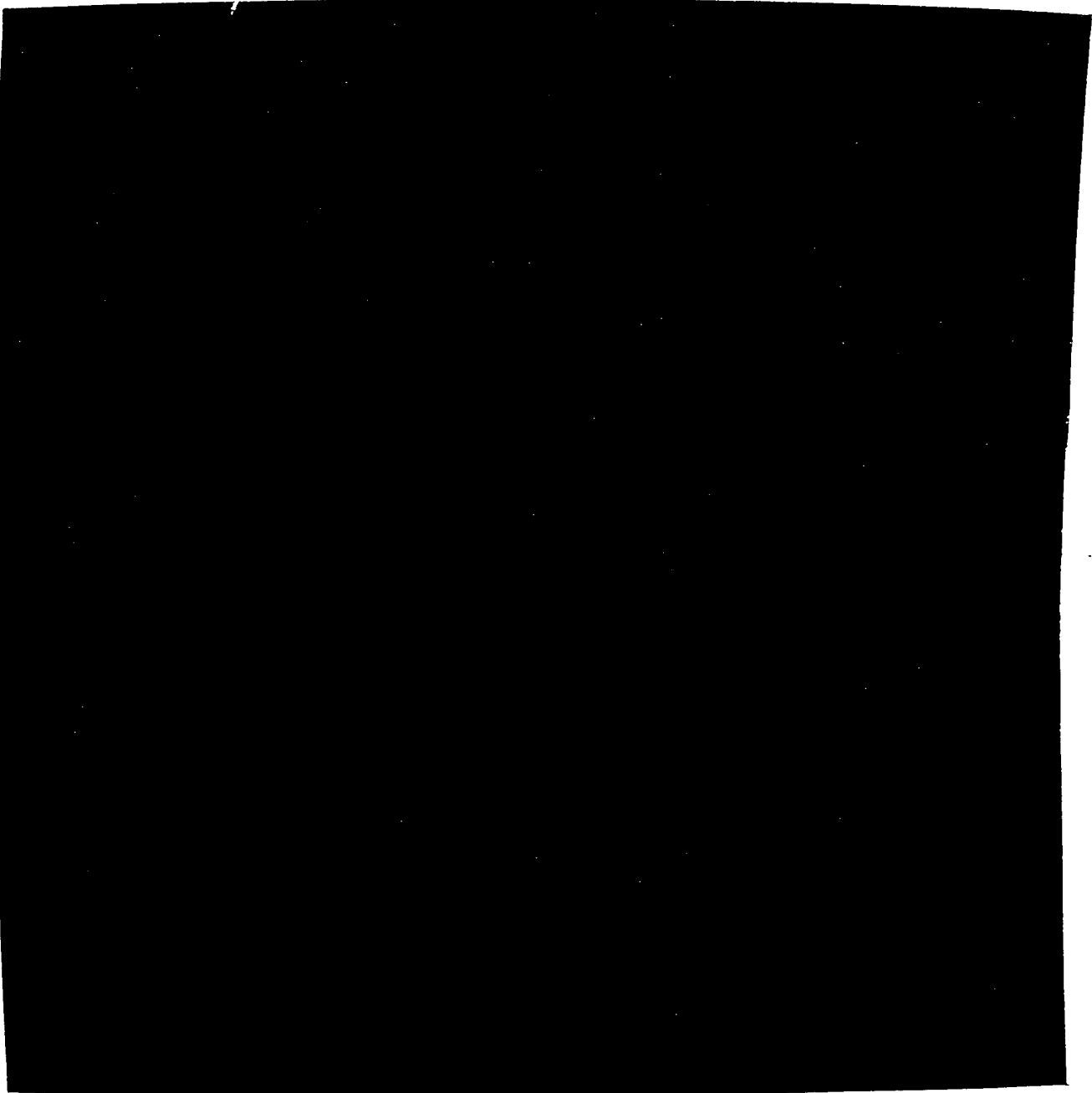


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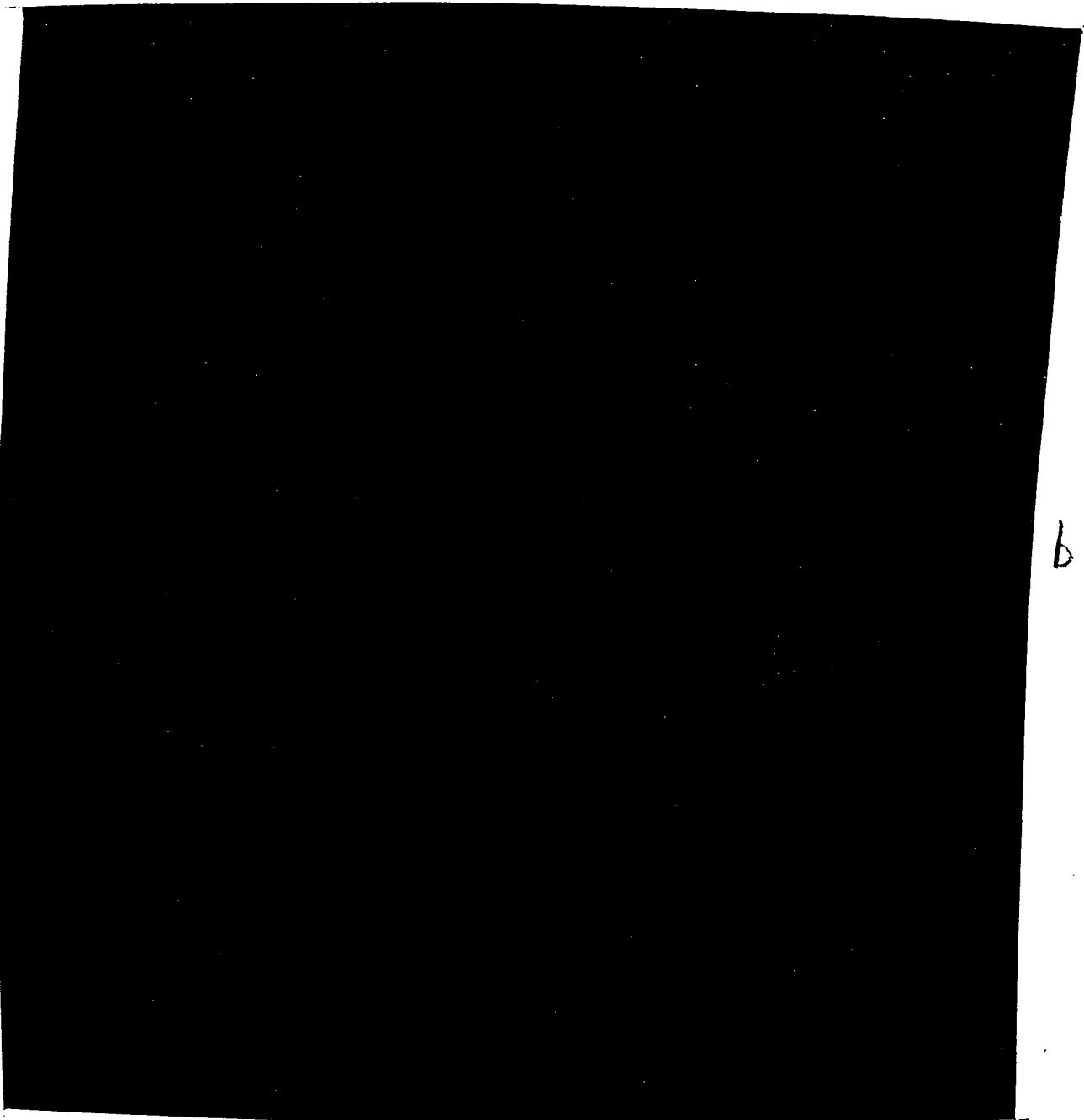
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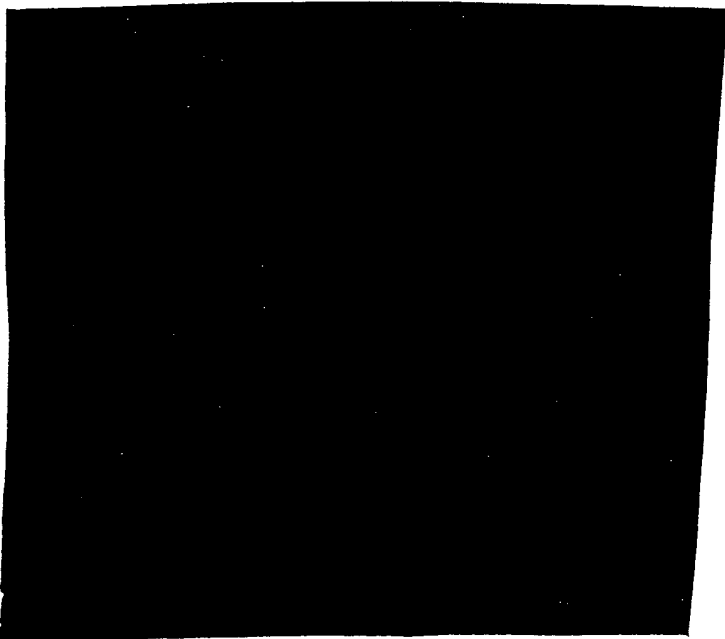
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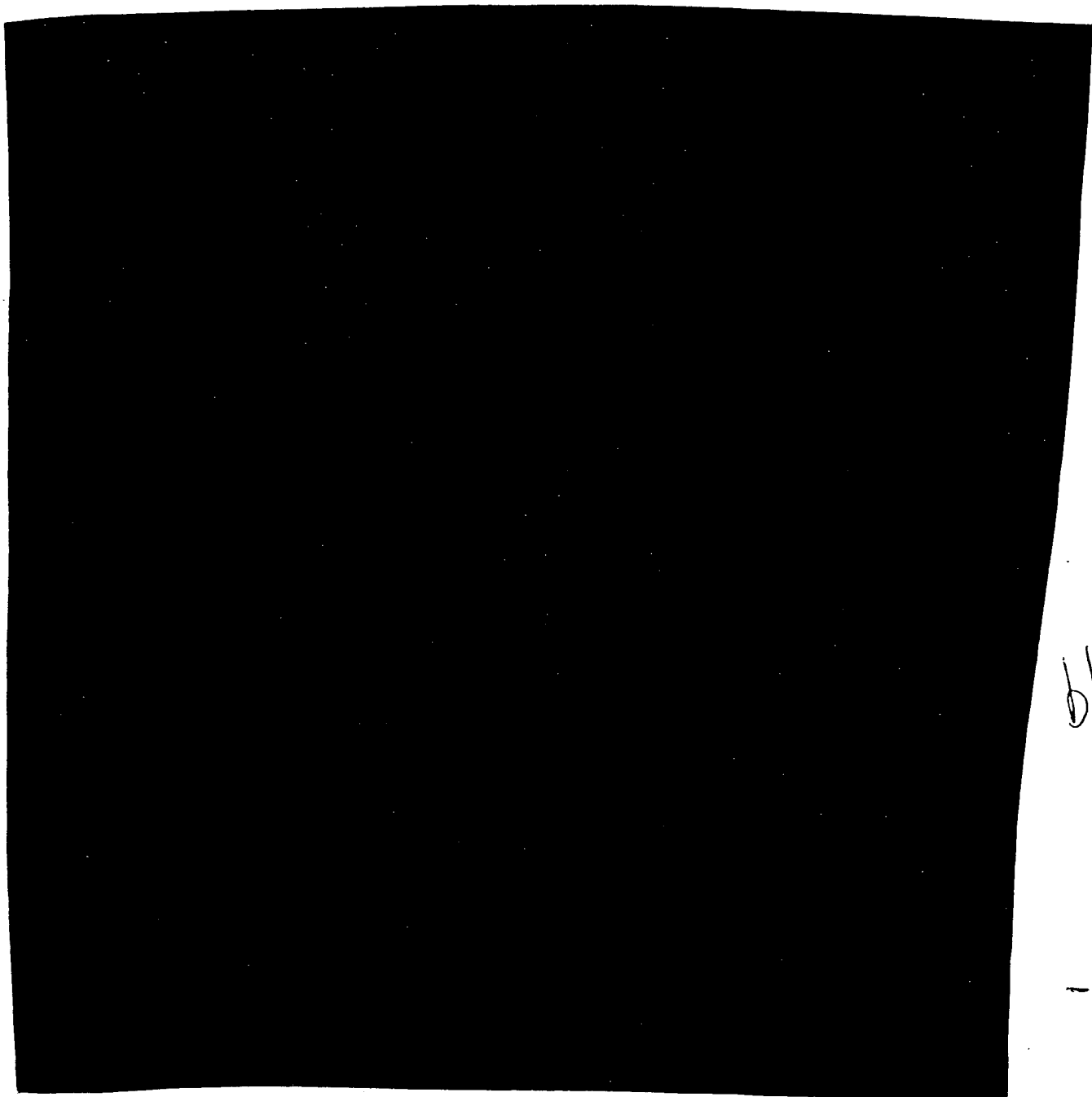


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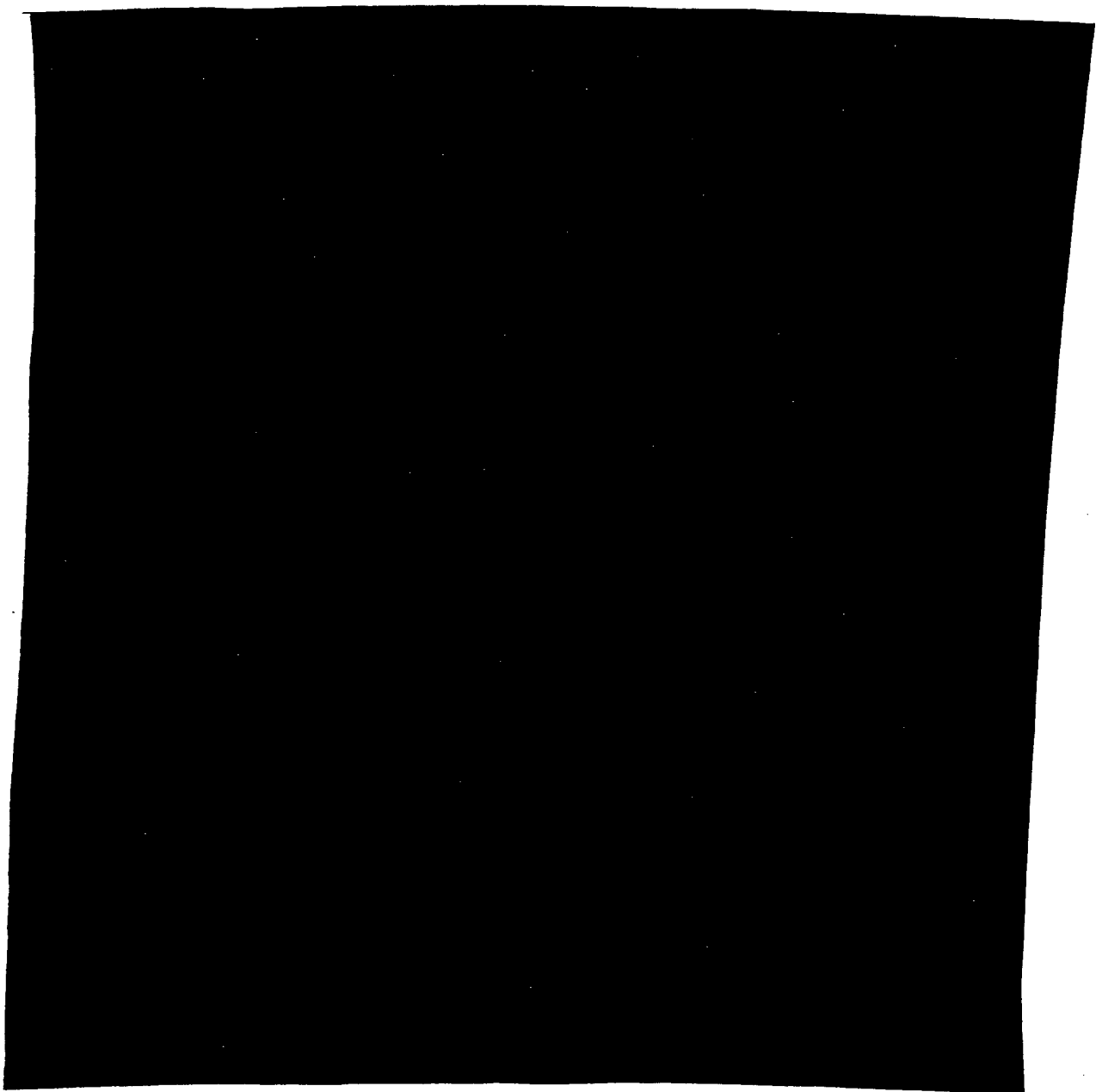
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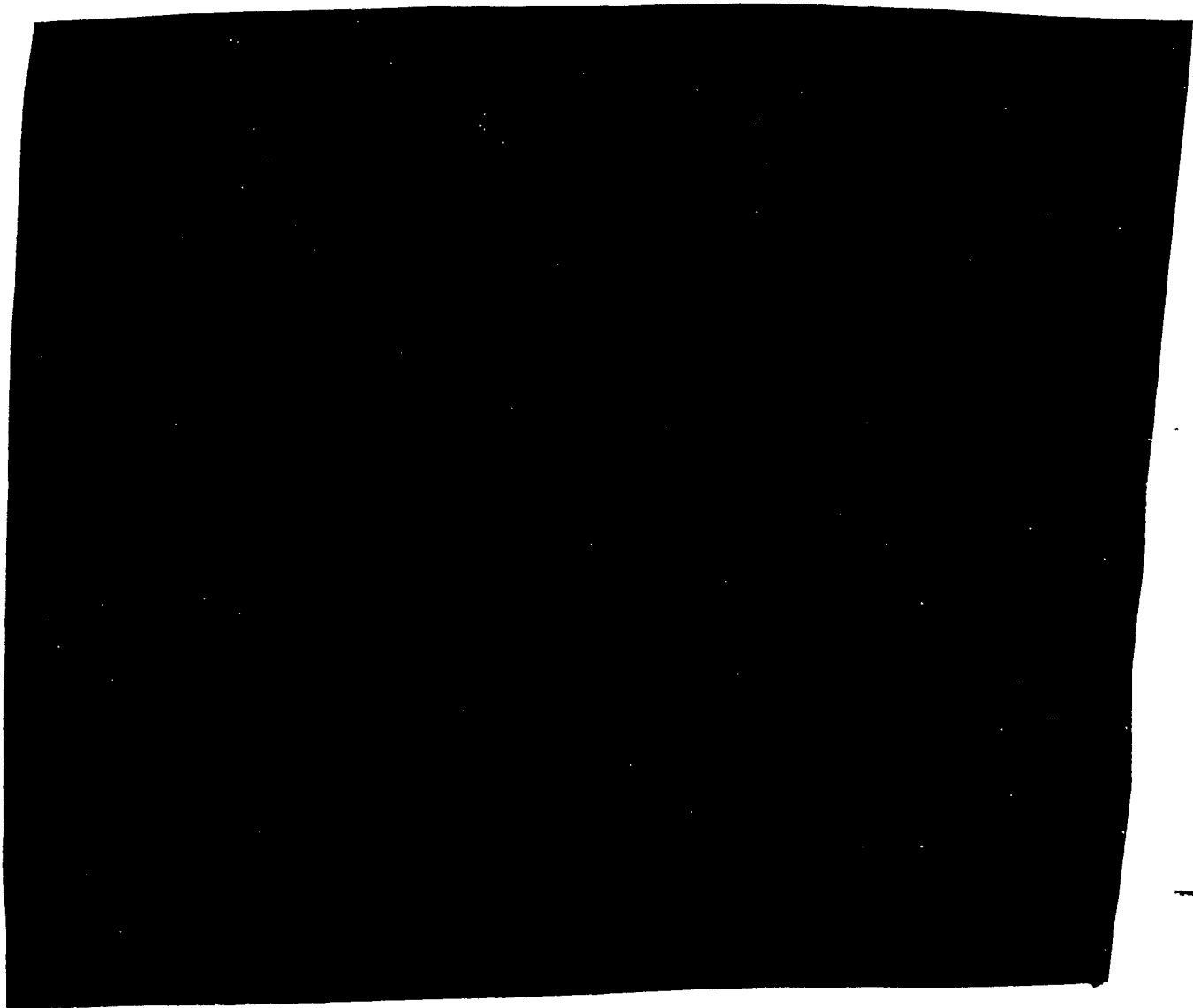
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[redacted] and Pentiti [redacted]

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The Pentiti

the Italian legal system is essentially inquisitory and does not allow for plea bargaining or turning state's evidence. Nevertheless, recognizing the need for some effective means of dealing with captured terrorists, the Italian Government passed two separate temporary "pentiti" laws in 1981 and 1982. Together these laws allowed for a substantial reduction of the penalties for terrorist activities if an accused individual collaborated with police and judicial authorities, or for a smaller reduction in sentence if he dissociated himself from terrorism. Although the terrorists who participated in the program were popularly known as penitents ("pentiti"), that is a misnomer, since very few of them actually seem to have been truly penitent. In most cases, their collaboration was in trade for a reduced sentence and has thus been described as more like a negotiated surrender than repentance. In fact, the Italian program separated accused terrorists into four categories:

- *Repentants*. Those who were fully cooperative and not only provided the authorities with complete details of their own activities, but also identified their associates, described their activities, and provided assessment data.

- *Reformables.* Those who provided full details about their own activities but would not inform on their former associates.
- *Dissociates.* Those who did not cooperate with the authorities but did renounce terrorism as a means of achieving their political objectives.
- *Incorrigibles.* Those who neither cooperated with the authorities nor dissociated themselves from terrorism.

A Major Counterterrorism Success. By the time the 1982 law expired in January 1983, according to judicial authorities, 389 terrorist suspects had asked to be considered under the provisions of the emergency laws; of those, 53 convicted terrorists had already been given reduced sentences and the rest were still eligible for reductions, depending on how well they had cooperated, even though the law had expired.

As a result of information obtained from the penitents, hundreds of terrorists and suspected terrorists were arrested, decimating the ranks of the urban guerrillas in Italy. The leadership of Prima Linea, one of the major terrorist organizations, declared its disbandment. Italian courtrooms were often jammed with defendants. In November 1983, a Milan courthouse that had been converted to a prison for juvenile offenders was the scene of a mass trial of guerrillas in which more than 100 persons received sentences of up to 30 years imprisonment. The Milan case caused a furor when Marco Barbone, who had admitted being one of the two men from a six-man hit squad who had fired the shots that killed Italian journalist Walter Tobagi, received a lenient sentence of eight and one-half years and was set free pending the outcome of his appeal. Barbone's confession and cooperation with police had led to the arrest of about 50 of his former comrades.

The Revenge of the Red Brigades. In a response [redacted], the Red Brigades called the penitents "walking corpses" and promised to kill all of these "tragic puppets for whom annihilation is the highest act of humanity." When the terrorists could not get at the penitents directly, they sometimes punished relatives instead.

The Patrizio Peci Case

The most important of the repentant terrorists was Patrizio Peci, a former leader of the Red Brigades who turned himself in to police in March 1980. Acting on information provided by Peci, police raided a flat in Genoa and killed four members of the Red Brigades, including two who belonged to its strategic directorate. This event was regarded by the counterterrorism authorities as one of the greatest coups they had achieved against the Red Brigades in 10 years of operating against the group. [redacted] b3

In response, the Red Brigades sentenced Peci to death. Unable to get at him, however, in August 1981 the terrorists kidnaped Patrizio's younger brother Roberto, an electrician. Although he had had no part in his elder brother's betrayal, Roberto was held for several months and then machinegunned to death in front of a video camera. The videotape was subsequently sent to the Italian press. Shortly after the death of Roberto, imprisoned female members of the Red Brigades assaulted a fellow prisoner who had been one of Patrizio's girlfriends; they failed to strangle her to death, but she suffered permanent brain damage. [redacted] b3

Although Peci was found guilty of killing seven people and wounding 17, he served only two years in prison (at a high-security facility where he could be protected from his enemies). Then he was paroled, although for his own protection he remained in police custody through 1983 and underwent plastic surgery to change his facial appearance. During this period he coauthored a best selling book, *Io l'Infame* (I the Infamous). [redacted] b3

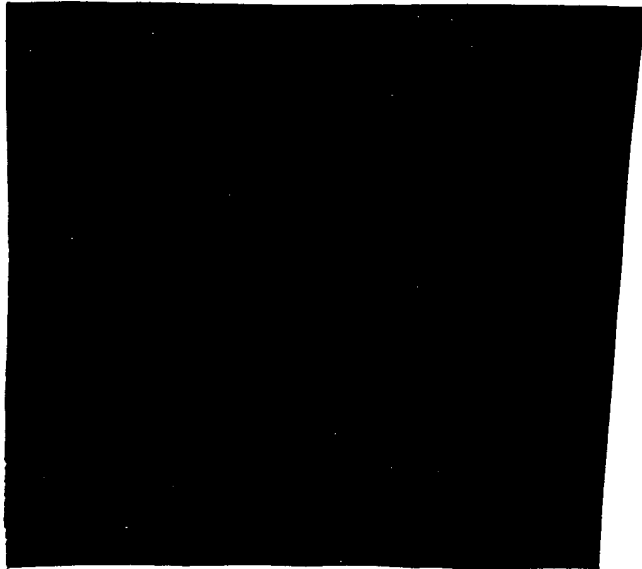
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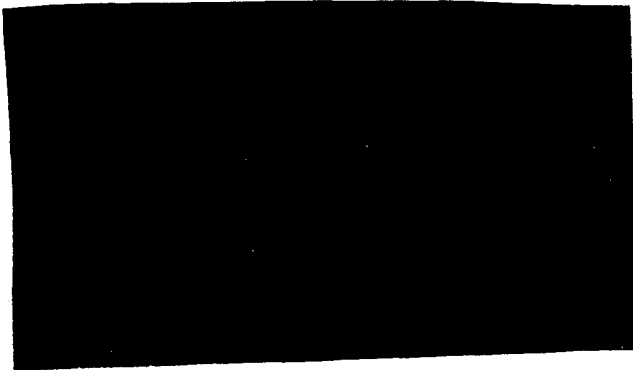
The best known example of this was the videotaped machinegunning of Roberto Peci, who was the younger brother of Patrizio Peci, one of the most devastating of the Red Brigades informers.

Even though they may have bought their freedom through cooperation with the police, the penitents have not necessarily enjoyed the results. It appears from some accounts at least that the Italian authorities may not be as generous as the British in Northern Ireland in providing for the continued security of the penitents once they have been released from prison. Some of them are convinced that the government has failed to honor the pact it made with them when they decided to collaborate; thus the penitents now feel themselves betrayed.

Roberto Sandalo, a former leader of Prima Linea, was convicted of the coldblooded murder of three people. Nevertheless, because his collaboration with security authorities resulted in the arrest of dozens of his fellow terrorists and the virtual annihilation of his organization, he was released from prison after serving only a nominal sentence. Sandalo is far from happy, however. In an interview about his new lifestyle he complained, "You can't imagine what it's like to live the life we are living now. I personally am much worse off than when I was a terrorist, when my only enemy was the police. Now I have to live in expensive furnished rooms in small towns, never for more than six weeks to two months. Sooner or later someone recognizes me, or asks me for a document which reveals my identity. All I can do is pick up casual work for a day or two. You have to be on the alert all the time. I personally don't want to share the fate of Roberto Peci."



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Death in Guatemala City [redacted] b3

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A recent spate of assassinations in Guatemala City, at least some of them politically related, reveals the fragility of the process through which the country is gradually returning to constitutional government. [redacted]

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Some of these killings may have been terrorist acts, depending on the identities and motivations of the murderers, which in most cases have yet to be determined. This possibility is of some importance to those of us who chronicle terrorist events; indeed, it is the reason the murders are described in this publication. In the context in which the killings occurred, however, the question of whether or not they were terrorist acts can be seen to be of little relevance. [redacted]

Businessman Murdered

On 25 October prominent Guatemalan businessman Freddy Sedri Calderon was found murdered, together with his bodyguard. They had been kidnaped around 8 October by six armed men originally identified in the press as police investigators. It now appears likely that the two were killed after ransom negotiations broke down between the Sedri family and the kidnapers. Two persons have been arrested in connection with the case. [redacted] b3

Party Leader Attacked

The Secretary General of the National Unity Front (FUN), Gabriel Giron Ortiz, reported that, during the early morning hours of 26 October, unknown persons fired several shots at his house. Although no one was hurt, Giron requested protection from government security forces. [redacted] b3

National Assemblyman Assassinated

On 26 October Santos Hernandez, an Indian deputy in the National Constituent Assembly representing Quiche Department, was shot to death as he was walking along a Guatemala City street. The assailants, several men who arrived in two vehicles, also killed his two bodyguards. Hernandez had been

elected to the assembly in July as a member of the FUN but angered his party by subsequently announcing that he was planning to switch to the extreme rightwing National Liberation Movement (MLN).¹ Speculation over the identity of his killers has been wide ranging:

- The FUN may have killed him because of his intended defection.
- The MLN, which was planning a formal ceremony to accept Hernandez into the party, may have killed him to prevent him from reconsidering his defection, as he was rumored to be doing.
- Business rivals may have killed him to break his reported monopoly on transport in his home region.
- Extreme leftwing elements may have killed him to embarrass the government. [redacted] b3

Two Communist Professors Murdered

On 26 October National University of San Carlos economics professor Carlos de Leon Guidel was shot to death by unknown assailants as he drove home from the university. The following day, the dean of the economics faculty, Vitalino Giron Corado, was shot to death as he stopped at a gas station while driving to the funeral of de Leon. The assassins arrived in two cars; those from one car pulled Mrs. Giron away from her husband, while those from the second car shot him. [redacted] b3

A government statement about the murders implied the two professors had been murdered by common criminals, but it seems more likely they were either killed by government security forces—de Leon had previously been kidnaped and then released by security personnel—or that they died as a

¹ FUN leader Giron then revealed that Hernandez was illiterate and tried to take his place in the assembly, but the assembly voted instead to let Hernandez keep his seat, saying he would serve as the representative of the country's 4 million illiterates. [redacted] b3

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consequence of an internecine struggle in the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (PGT). Both were rumored to be members of the PGT Orthodox Faction, and the university is currently in the throes of a PGT-fomented labor dispute. [REDACTED] b3

b3 [REDACTED] the deaths of the two Communist professors indicate that the rector of the university, Dr. Eduardo Meyer, is in extreme jeopardy. Meyer, who refuses to use bodyguards, is sometimes mentioned as a likely presidential candidate. An attack against him would [REDACTED] b3 [REDACTED] be a major setback to the process of returning Guatemala to constitutional government. Moreover, [REDACTED] in the past when its members have been murdered, the PGT has retaliated in kind. Thus the ground has been prepared for a cycle of retaliatory assassinations. [REDACTED] b3

US Peace Corps Volunteer Slain

On 28 October in Guatemala City, a US Peace Corps volunteer was found shot to death. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a few days later police identified and arrested the apparent killer, a young Guatemalan. According to him, the killing was basically an accident. Although there are some holes in his story, there were apparently no political overtones to the incident. [REDACTED] b3

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Terrorism in Colombia and Prospects for Peace

Political violence has ebbed and flowed in Colombia for more than three decades but has never really disappeared. At present, there are four major terrorist organizations operating in the cities and countryside conducting kidnappings, extortion, bombings, bank robberies, murder, takeovers of towns, and other forms of violence. Although these groups have never seriously threatened Colombia's political stability, their activities have hurt Colombia's economy and have undermined public faith in the government's ability to protect its citizens. They all have an anti-US attitude and have in the past victimized US citizens.

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Given the intensity and longevity of Colombian terrorism, there is little hope that a lasting cessation of violence will result from President Betancur's peace plan, which includes cease-fire agreements with the major terrorist groups. Adding to the difficulties in achieving peace is the growing violence of the narcotics traffickers, who have developed close ties with the terrorists.

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The Terrorist Groups

The major Colombian guerrilla groups trace their origins to the bitter civil war known as "la violencia" that lasted from 1948 to 1957. During this period, members of the Conservative and Liberal parties fought each other in a bloody confrontation that cost the lives of at least 200,000 people. Members of both parties formed guerrilla bands either for group protection or in order to harass the enemy. When "la violencia" was finally brought to an end, many guerrilla groups refused to lay down their arms; rural banditry had become a way of life.

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The largest insurgent-terrorist group, the *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)*, has about 25 guerrilla "fronts" with some 2,500 armed combatants and a support organization of approximately 10,000 sympathizers. The FARC was established in 1966 as the armed wing of the Moscow-

line Communist Party of Colombia (PCC), but generally has operated independently of the PCC. The FARC is primarily a rural organization and seldom operates in the cities. It obtains its funds mostly through kidnaping, extortion of wealthy ranchers, and, since 1980, from the narcotics trade.

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The best known terrorist group in Colombia is the *19th of April Movement (M-19)*, which emerged in January 1974 when it stole the sword of Simon Bolivar from a Bogota museum. Since then, M-19—which took its name from the date of the election defeat in 1970 of former dictator/president Gen. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla—has demonstrated an ability to conduct daring and spectacular incidents. On New Year's Eve in 1978, M-19 members raided an Army arms depot by tunneling into it and making off with more than 500 weapons. In February 1980, 16 heavily armed members seized the Dominican Republic Embassy in Bogota during a diplomatic reception and took 80 hostages, including the US Ambassador, triggering a siege that lasted for more than two months.

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M-19 has suffered several setbacks since the Dominican Republic Embassy incident. Its reputation was tarnished in early 1981 when an M-19 splinter group kidnaped and later killed a US citizen affiliated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a US religious organization. In March 1981, M-19 attempted to launch a coordinated rural attack on various coastal towns. Several hundred recruits, newly trained in Cuba, landed in several boats and were quickly confronted by Colombian security forces who killed more than 25 attackers and captured 800. Because M-19 had often claimed it was a purely Colombian group, its image was further tarnished by its now-obvious association with Cuba.

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The worst blow to M-19 was the death of its charismatic leader, Jaime Bateman, in a plane crash in Panama in the spring of 1983. Since then, the movement, which is currently believed to number about 900 activists, has not mounted a large-scale operation and is rumored to be divided. It obtains most of its funds from bank robberies, kidnappings, and drug trafficking. [REDACTED] b3

The *National Army of Liberation (ELN)*, is a pro-Cuban urban/rural organization with approximately 500 combatants. Founded in 1963, the ELN carried out terrorist attacks until 1973 when Colombian military raids crippled the movement. Cuba subsequently withdrew its support. The group remained relatively weak until 1982 when it began to increase its urban and rural activities, especially kidnappings. In November 1983, ELN terrorists kidnaped President Betancur's brother, but released him in the face of nationwide revulsion. In January 1984, the ELN suffered a serious setback when police raided an ELN safehouse in Bogota. [REDACTED] b3

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The *Popular Liberation Army (EPL)* was founded in 1967 by the pro-Beijing Colombian Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist (PCC/ML). It has about 600 members, of which about 350 belong to its urban branch, the Pedro Leon Arboleda group (PLA), which often operates independently of the EPL. Both the EPL and PLA have attacked US interests. The EPL attacked the US Embassy and the US Marine Security Guard residence in Bogota in the late 1970s. [REDACTED] b3

The Trotskyite *Workers Auto Defense Movement (ADO)* is an obscure but violent group that was almost completely destroyed in 1982 with the arrests of several of its leaders. The ADO has recently resurfaced and reportedly was cooperating with the ELN in a plot to attack US Embassy officials last spring. Another shadowy group is the *People's Revolutionary Organization (ORP)*, which carried out two major kidnappings in 1983 but then disappeared. It is possible that the name ORP was used by M-19 or another terrorist group. [REDACTED] b3

Unlike some other Latin American countries, Colombia has not had a serious problem with rightwing terrorism, but in the last two years the "Death to Kidnapers" (MAS) and other rightist movements have appeared. MAS, which assassinates suspected terrorists and other leftist extremists [REDACTED] b1
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[REDACTED] possibly it is financed by drug traffickers. Shortly after he assumed office in August 1982, Betancur launched an investigation of MAS, which publicly implicated several military officers. The armed forces were outraged by the government's findings, but attacks by MAS and other extralegal counterterrorism declined after this adverse publicity. [REDACTED] b3

Counterinsurgency Efforts

The Colombian military has waged a campaign against rural and urban terrorists for the last 30 years, committing 10,000 to 15,000 field troops to counterinsurgency operations. Over the years, the armed forces have also assumed a major part in shaping national policy toward the insurgents. For instance, state-of-siege decrees codified in the security statute of 1978 gave the military the responsibility for trying insurgents in military courts (a reaction to a slow, corrupt, and lenient civilian court system). Betancur has attempted to reduce the role of the military in internal affairs—against the wishes of the armed forces command—while at the same time he has recognized the necessity of maintaining a strong military counterterrorist capability. [REDACTED] b3

At the behest of Betancur, who came into office committed to achieving peace with the guerrillas, on 20 November 1982 a general amnesty was approved by the Congress. The amnesty was designed to entice guerrillas to lay down their arms and enter the mainstream of Colombian politics. Under the generous terms of the decree, all those accused of politically motivated crimes except murder were pardoned, and the amnestied guerrillas were promised economic benefits as an incentive for adopting legitimate livelihoods. A civic action program was designed to redress the social and economic inadequacies in the countryside, a long-professed goal of the insurgents. As an adjunct to the amnesty

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project, Betancur formed a peace commission to study ways and means to solve the social, economic, and political inequities that had fed the insurgency.

M-19 and the FARC initially indicated their support for the amnesty. After the bill became law, however, M-19 rejected the pardon and demanded a six-month truce. M-19 blamed the Army for the failure, claiming that in one area the Army was blocking M-19 members from turning themselves in by conducting offensive operations, ambushes, and blockades of guerrillas in regions they controlled. FARC soon followed M-19 in rejecting the program, while the ELN and EPL never accepted the concept of amnesty. After a few months, terrorism returned to its previously high levels. Only a small number of guerrillas turned themselves in to the authorities.

after the payment of a large ransom. In May the FARC kidnaped Catherine Woods Kirby, a rancher, and in June the FARC abducted Russel Martin Stendal, also a rancher. Both were released following the payment of ransoms.

US Government installations also have been targeted. In July 1978 a bomb placed on the grounds of the US Embassy knocked down one of the security walls. In 1980 a bomb intended for the US Consulate in Cali exploded prematurely, killing two M-19 terrorists. In 1983, USIS-sponsored binational centers in Barranquilla and Bucaramanga were damaged by bombs, and a guard at the Medellin binational center was killed in a terrorist bombing. On 22 May 1984 two bombs exploded near the US Embassy.

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The main cause of the program's failure was the guerrillas' insistence on several conditions before accepting amnesty that the government could or would not meet. Their main demands were initiation of a "national dialogue," imposition of a truce, and withdrawal of the military from guerrilla strongholds. Some were extreme, such as the one requiring that all multinational corporations leave Colombia. The demand for a national dialogue was partially met by Betancur's encouragement of the peace commission to meet with the guerrillas and hear their views. It was this commission's work which eventually led to cease-fire agreements with the FARC and M-19.



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Impact on US Interests in Colombia

Although the large majority of the victims of violence in Colombia are Colombians, foreigners—especially US citizens—also have been targeted by Colombian terrorist groups. In 1977 a Peace Corps volunteer was kidnaped by the FARC and released only three years later after the payment of a large ransom. US Ambassador Diego Asencio was held hostage for two months in 1980 during M-19's seizure of the Dominican Republic Embassy. In 1981 a US citizen working for the Summer Institute of Linguistics was kidnaped by an M-19 faction and later murdered.

In the last seven years the threat to US officials and US businessmen has steadily increased. Following the Bishop kidnaping and M-19 threats to target multinational organizations in 1983, several major US firms with operations in Colombia decided to pull out their US personnel. Other US firms have been discouraged from investing or expanding their operations in Colombia.

Broader US interests also are affected by the corrosive effects of Colombian terrorist activity. The United States has an interest in assuring that Colombia has a stable democracy and a workable economy. Kidnapings and extortion have led numerous Colombian businessmen to flee the country and transfer assets abroad, resulting in increased unemployment and slowed economic growth. Although democratic traditions are strong, because of the state of siege that has existed for almost three decades, the military has acquired an informally institutionalized role in political affairs. Although the

Three Americans were kidnaped in 1983. The most spectacular attack was ORP's kidnaping of a Texaco executive, Kenneth Bishop, in a bloody shootout in downtown Bogota. He was released five weeks later.

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military strongly supports Colombia's democratic principles and there is little threat of a military takeover, the possibility of a coup is sometimes rumored during periods of heightened terrorist activity. b3

Foreign Connections

Colombian terrorist groups maintain contacts with foreign governments and terrorist groups. FARC, M-19, and ELN terrorists, for example, have been trained by Cuba. At the time of its formation, the ELN had particularly close ties with Cuba, receiving training, advice, and possibly funds. In the 1970s, Cuba-ELN relations were weak, but a renewal of ties was reported in 1980. b3

Although M-19 originally asserted it was not supported by foreign governments, the 1981 Cuban-sponsored invasion on Colombia's Pacific Coast disproved its claim. To protest Cuba's role in this invasion, Colombia broke diplomatic relations. Further evidence of M-19 ties with Cuba surfaced in 1980-81 when Castro began using Colombia's narcotics ring to funnel arms and funds to M-19, using as intermediary Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombian drug trafficker now in custody in Mexico. b3

M-19 members reportedly went to Cuba in 1983 for military training. b1 b3

The M-19 also has close ties to the Nicaraguan Government and contacts with terrorist movements throughout Latin America, including Chile's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and two insurgent Venezuelan groups. b1 b3



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Involvement in Narcotics Trafficking

Colombian guerrilla groups initially shunned all contact with narcotics growers and traffickers in order to avoid any corrupting influence on the moral principles of their revolution. After 1977, however, the FARC became attracted to the drug business as a way of supplementing its original reliance on extortion, kidnaping, and robbery for funds. b3

The narcotics/terrorist relationship provides benefits to both groups. b1 b3

In the FARC-dominated region, with the FARC in control of strategic points along various rivers, b3

The ELN and the EPL are involved with the traffickers to a much lesser degree. M-19 used the drug-smuggling apparatus of Jaime Guillot Lara to bring a large shipment of weapons into Colombia in 1980-81. After Guillot's arrest in Mexico City in November 1981 b1 b3

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[REDACTED]

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Prospects for Peace

On 28 May 1984, a cease-fire agreement between the Colombian Government and the FARC went into effect. Under the terms of the agreement, FARC will condemn and forbid kidnappings, extortion, and terrorism in return for pledges of political, social, and economic reform. The FARC will be allowed to reorganize itself politically, while the Betancur administration will urge the Congress to institute political and agrarian reforms, facilitate the establishment and functioning of communal and peasant organizations, workers cooperatives, and the like. Two provisions not included in the agreement are the laying down of arms by the guerrillas and the withdrawal of armed forces from guerrilla-dominated areas. Thus, the potential for renewed activity by either side is high.

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[REDACTED]

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Nevertheless, the insurgent groups stand to benefit in several ways from the cease-fire agreements. The most obvious advantage to them is that they will gain time to rest and reorganize, without government harassment. The guerrillas may also need to regain a more positive public image. By rejecting the 1982 amnesty, the insurgents cast themselves in the roles of bad guys, with the government appearing to be the good guy.

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Few Colombians believe that the insurgent organizations actually intend to lay down their arms and convert themselves into political parties. Many FARC guerrillas are not ideologically committed; rather, they pursue the guerrilla way of life as a profession and a livelihood—they are classic Latin American *bandidos*. Furthermore, the FARC-narcotics connection has become so close that the government's crackdown on narcotics traffickers could lead to confrontations with FARC guerrillas and spark military confrontations in violation of the cease-fire.

The cease-fire agreement is also threatened by dissidents within the FARC and M-19 who have rejected the peace proposals. The "Ricardo Franco Front" of the FARC announced its rejection of the cease-fire with a series of bombings in Bogota on 22 May, including two near the US Embassy, one at the US-sponsored binational center, and several at US-affiliated businesses.

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On 8 June a Colombian newspaper announced that the Ricardo Franco Front and a breakaway M-19 faction called M-19 South had merged and signed a pact vowing to step up fighting in the cities and countryside.

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Although cease-fire violations began to be reported almost as soon as the agreement with the FARC was signed, the peace commission refused to attribute these acts to the FARC. In fact, the Betancur administration made every effort to avoid antagonizing the FARC.

b1, b3-

B1, B3



by the April 1984 assassination of Justice Minister Lara. They have little to gain from the cease-fire and much to gain from closer cooperation with the terrorists.

b3

M-19 and EPL members as well as government forces continued to conduct operations during the cease-fire negotiations, which delayed and almost torpedoed the signing of the accords. In July, a wave of kidnappings occurred in various regions, and an EPL leader was reported to have told the media that the group used and would continue to use kidnappings as "political activity" fundamental to the support of the guerrilla group. Bombings continued as well, and M-19 claimed responsibility for an explosion at the Honduran Consulate in Barranquilla on 20 July. Another bombing at the Chilean Consulate in Medellin on 23 July may have been the work of the ELN. It is not clear if these bombings and other acts were condoned by the leadership of the terrorist groups or were the work of dissidents operating on their own initiative.

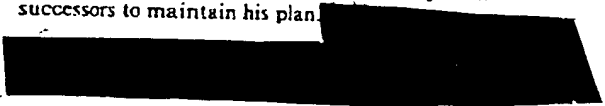
b3

The record for achieving peace through amnesties and cease-fire agreements in Latin America has been mixed. In Venezuela a "pacification program" in 1968 offering amnesty for guerrillas who chose to surrender proved to be the final blow to an eight-year-old insurgent movement, already weakened by guerrilla factionalization and government military successes. On the other hand, after Argentine President Juan Peron released political prisoners in 1973, terrorist activity increased and soon almost paralyzed the country.

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The tradition of democracy in Colombia simply may not be as strong as the tradition of violence. The political and economic reforms demanded by the guerrillas in the cease-fire agreements could take years to implement, and the guerrillas could tire of waiting. Also, if the guerrillas do not gain a significant political following in a short term, they will probably be discouraged from following a peaceful path. The implementation of the plan was largely due to the President's personal popularity and credibility, and its endurance will depend on the ability of his successors to maintain his plan.

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Just as the talks were reaching the final stages, M-19 leader Carlos Toledo Plata was killed by unknown individuals. One day later, M-19 and members of the Ricardo Franco Front invaded and temporarily occupied the industrial city of Yumbo, killing nearly 40 persons. Just before the scheduled ceremony to sign the cease-fire, an elite unit of Colombian police attacked a convoy carrying M-19 leader Carlos Picarro Leon, wounding him and several other M-19 members. Evidently, both sides meant to demonstrate that it was not through any lack of will or means to fight that they had agreed to the cease-fire.

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Perhaps one of the greatest dangers to the cease-fire is the narcotics/terrorist connection. Although terrorists and narcotics traffickers have not conducted joint operations in the past, this could change. The terrorists could soon find themselves in need of money—they have promised to stop such fund-raising operations as kidnappings—and could be tempted to conduct operations for or with the narcotics traffickers. The traffickers, for their part, probably will become even more dangerous and anti-US owing to Betancur's decision to extradite narcotics traffickers to the United States, a decision prompted

Chilean Terrorists
Up the Ante

On 6 November, citing increasing terrorism, the military government of Augusto Pinochet suspended civil rights and declared Chile to be in a state of siege. Among the stimulants of this move was a recent bombing campaign by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), which was launched in conjunction with the 11th major antigovernment protest carried out by political opposition and labor groups since mid-1983.

The FPMR claims to be an independent revolutionary organization. The Chilean Government believe that the FPMR is the military arm of the Communist-dominated Popular Democratic Movement.

Between 21 and 29 October, the FPMR is suspected of bombing at least 15 sites throughout Chile (see the table). Most of the attacks occurred in Santiago, Talcahuano, and Concepcion. Targets included the Tobalaba Airport, railroad tracks, factories, transportation facilities, and municipal buildings. In Curico a bomb severely damaged a bridge and cut rail traffic to southern Chile. Two Chileans were injured by an explosion at the US-owned Anaconda firm in Santiago.

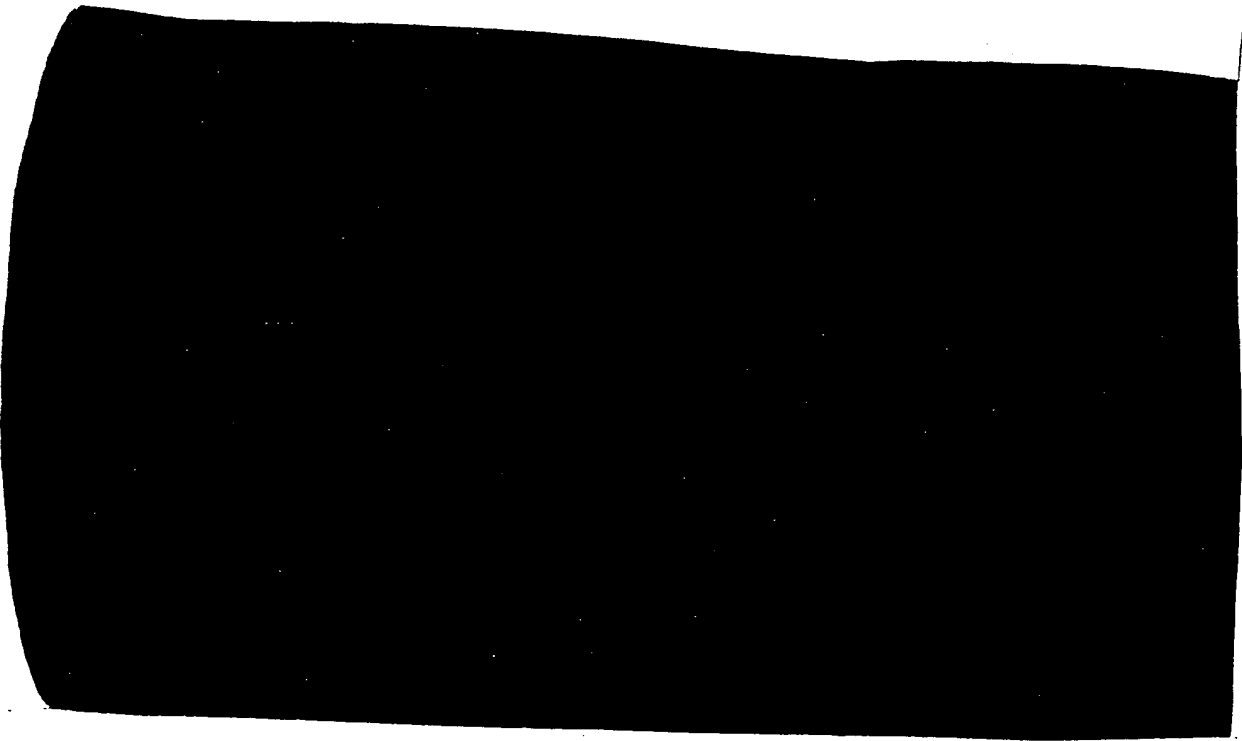
The most serious attack for which the FPMR has claimed credit occurred on 25 October, when the FPMR detonated an estimated 35 kilograms of explosives inside a taxi that had been parked near the Diego Portales Building, which houses the headquarters of the military junta. The blast injured five persons in an adjacent apartment and destroyed six cars. It was the first successful car bombing in Chile and the first major FPMR attack against a government building.

FPMR Attacks Against
US Targets

- 15 May 1984 In Santiago a 5-kilogram bomb exploded in front of an Exxon subsidiary, damaging 80 percent of the windows.
- 29 May Armed FPMR members forced the editors of the Associated Press office to broadcast an anti-government proclamation.
- 6 August In Valparaiso an explosion caused minor damage to the Binational Cultural Center.

The Coca-Cola plant in Santiago was the site of three bomb explosions that caused \$2 million worth of property damage.
- 21 August A bomb caused minor damage to the windows of the Morgan Bank in Vina Del Mar.
- 16 October In Rancagua an explosion caused extensive damage to the North American Cultural Institute.
- 25 October An explosion caused minor damage and injured two Chileans at the offices of the Anaconda mining firm in Santiago.

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Chrnology of Terrorism—1984

Below are described noteworthy foreign and international terrorist events and counterterrorism developments that have occurred or come to light since our last issue. Events and developments that have already been described in previous issues are not included unless new information has surfaced. Asterisks denote events covered elsewhere in this issue in greater detail.

4 October

[REDACTED] b3

B1, B3

7 October

West Bank: Bomb Defused

Border police safely defused a bomb found near the Israeli settlement of Ma'ale Efrayyim. No group claimed responsibility for placing the bomb. [REDACTED] b3

20 October

Lebanon: PFLP-GC-PC Operation Foiled by Israeli Navy

An Israeli naval patrol exchanged fire with persons on board a small dinghy off the coast of West Beirut, killing two persons who turned out to be members of a pro-Arafat splinter of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) that calls itself the PFLP-GC-Provisional Command. [REDACTED] b3

24 October

Corsica: Court Decision Against FNLC Spurs Riots

In Bastia, Corsican nationalists rioted after the local French court of appeals upheld prison sentences handed down last June to two members of the Corsican National Liberation Front. Molotov cocktails were thrown during the riots, which left 12 people injured and the homes of two magistrates damaged by explosions. [REDACTED] b3

24-27 October

Argentina: Human Rights Activists Bombed

On 24 October in Buenos Aires, a bomb caused minor damage to a church while members of the Relatives and Friends of Persons Killed by Subversion (FAMIS) were attending mass. There were no injuries. On 27 October the offices of a former member of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP) were firebombed. Files and equipment were destroyed, but again there were no injuries. No group has claimed credit for the attacks. [REDACTED] b3

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Chronology of Terrorism—1984

25 October

Yugoslavia: Two Bombings in Croatian Capital

In Zagreb, bombs exploded in Republic Square and Tomislav Square but caused no injuries or damage. A Yugoslav citizen has been arrested in connection with the bombings, but it has not yet been established whether he was acting alone or on behalf of a nationalist group. [redacted] b3

26 October



b3 B1, B3

Peru: More Common Graves Found

Near Huanta four graves containing a total of 19 bodies were uncovered, bringing to more than 70 the number of such bodies found during the week. No group has claimed credit. [redacted] b3

***Guatemala: National Legislator Murdered**

In Guatemala City, National Constituent Assembly Deputy Santos Hernandez and two of his bodyguards were shot and killed by unknown persons. [redacted] b3

26-27 October

***Guatemala: Two Communist Professors Murdered**

On 26 October in Guatemala City, Carlos de Leon Gudiel, a professor of economics at the University of San Carlos, was shot to death by unknown assailants as he drove home. On 27 October, Vitalino Giron Corado, the dean of the economics faculty at the university, was shot to death by unidentified attackers when he stopped at a gas station on his way to the funeral of de Leon. Both of the dead men were believed to be members of the Orthodox faction of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party. [redacted] b3

28 October

Israel: Soldier Arrested for Attack on Arab Bus

A rocket attack on a bus filled with Arabs killed one Arab and wounded 10 others. A previously unknown group called the Avengers claimed responsibility for the attack, saying it was in retaliation for the shooting deaths of two Israelis near Bethlehem in September. Several days later, however, police arrested an Israeli soldier who admitted he had been the attacker and also claimed responsibility for a grenade attack on an Arab cafe in Jerusalem in September. Police are now trying to determine if the bus attack was the work of a lone individual or a terrorist group. [redacted] b3

Chronology of Terrorism—1984

29 October

West Germany: Arms Cache Discovered

Near Dortmund, police discovered an arsenal of weapons, 20 pounds of explosives, and various Nazi memorabilia during a raid. Arrest warrants have been issued for five West Germans who are suspected of being members of an extreme rightwing paramilitary group. [redacted] b3

Northern Ireland: PIRA Attacks Continue

In Derry, snipers shot at but missed members of a British Army patrol as they moved through the Bogside District. In Newry, a bomb exploded outside a car showroom, causing extensive damage but no injuries. The police blamed the Provisional IRA for both attacks. [redacted] b3

30 October

France: Iparretarrak Bombs French Industrialist

In Saint-Pee-Sur-Nivelle, the French Basque group Iparretarrak bombed and destroyed the villa of an industrialist whose company, which employed many Basques, had recently suffered financial reverses. Another bomb damaged his office in Maulcon Island. [redacted] b3



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31 October

Northern Ireland: Catholic Taxi Driver Murdered

Masked gunmen shot and killed a freelance taxicab driver, apparently just because he was Catholic. Police speculate that the murderers were Protestant Loyalists and fear that the attack may signal the beginning of a new wave of sectarian violence, since the Provisional IRA usually retaliates in kind. [redacted] b3

***India: Gandhi Assassinated by Sikh Bodyguards**

In New Delhi, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two Sikh members of her security detail, who shot her as she walked across the grounds of her residence. In an ensuing struggle, one of her assailants was killed and the other was seriously wounded. A third member of the security force was reported to have been wounded. [redacted] b3

Chronology of Terrorism—1984

Ethiopia: Kidnaped Americans Released

In Addis Ababa, two American citizens, who were among several foreigners held by the Tigrean People's Liberation Front since its forces overran the town of Lalibela on 19 October, were released unharmed. The release was arranged by the International Red Cross. [REDACTED] b3

Chile: Bomb Explodes Near Pinochet

In Santiago, a bomb exploded 200 meters from President Pinochet as he attended the inauguration of the International Industrial Fair. There were no injuries and no group claimed credit. [REDACTED] b3

West Bank Violence Among Palestinian Factions

In Bethlehem, four attacks on Palestinian property in three days appear to be the result of increasing tensions among radical and moderate Palestinian factions. On the night of 31 October, a car belonging to a relative of the man convicted of trying to assassinate Bethlehem's Mayor Freij was destroyed by arson. The following evening the offices of the Bethlehem Press Service were severely damaged by firebombs. Rivalry between Communist and Muslim Brotherhood Factions of the Village Leagues caused these incidents, according to press reports. Mayor Freij's store was the target of arson attempts on both 1 and 2 November, with the second attack causing about \$50,000 damage. The mayor had met with visiting US Secretary of Defense Weinberger in October. [REDACTED] b3

Late October—Early
November

*Peru: Sendero Luminoso Torchés Electoral Offices

On 26 and 27 October in Lima, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) terrorists attacked two offices of the National Elections Board (JNE) and burned the voting rolls in an effort to disrupt the June 1985 presidential elections. Eight persons were injured. In early November, Sendero Luminoso terrorists killed 12 government officials at election registration centers in the central Peruvian towns of Jivia and Jesus. Security forces arrested 11 suspects. As a result of the attacks, the government has augmented police protection for JNE offices. [REDACTED] b3

2 November

Chile: Bomb Kills Four

In Valparaiso, a bus was destroyed, four policemen were killed, and 11 persons were injured by a remotely detonated bomb. No group claimed credit. [REDACTED] b3

3 November

Spain: ETA Bombs Civil Guard Barracks

In Araya, members of the Basque terrorist groups ETA/M claimed credit for a grenade and machinegun attack on a Civil Guard barracks. A guard's wife was injured. [REDACTED] b3

Chronology of Terrorism—1984

4 November

[REDACTED]

b1 b3

5 November

Chile: Police Post Attacked

In Santiago, unidentified individuals attacked a police post with grenades and machineguns, killing two policemen and wounding four. [REDACTED]

b3

Belgium: FCC Tries To Bomb Police Van

In Brussels, police defused a bomb that had been placed under a van outside the police station. Apparently, the device had malfunctioned. [REDACTED]

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b3

Italy: Red Brigades Trial Begins

In Genoa, 21 accused members of the Red Brigades went on trial, accused of having murdered six people in the Genoa area between 1978 and 1980. Among the defendants are Mario Moretti, reputedly involved in the kidnaping and execution of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro, and Patrizio Peci, one of the most important of the Red Brigades *pentiti*, as those who have turned states evidence are known. [REDACTED]

b3

Costa Rica: Assassination Attempt Against Anti-Sandinista Leader

In San Jose, "Contra" leader Alfonso Robelo Callejas escaped injury from a grenade thrown into his vehicle, although a young Costa Rican woman riding with him was seriously wounded. No group has claimed credit. [REDACTED]

b3

6 November

Venezuela: Grenade Damages Italian Embassy and Portuguese Consulate

In Caracas a German-made M-81 grenade caused minor damage to the building that houses the Italian Embassy, Portuguese Consulate, and the Venezuelan Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. There were no casualties. [REDACTED]

b3

***Saudi Arabia: Civil Airliner Hijacked to Iran**

Two North Yemeni men hijacked a Saudi Airlines jet bound from London to Riyadh with 131 persons aboard, after it made a stopover in Jiddah. The plane was diverted to Iran, where the skyjackers were attacked and overcome by crew and passengers. The passengers were returned unharmed to Saudi Arabia. [REDACTED]

b3

Chronology of Terrorism—1984

Pakistan: Al-Zulfikar Skyjacking Accomplices Sentenced

In Karachi, four accomplices in the March 1981 hijacking of a Pakistani airliner by Al-Zulfikar terrorists were sentenced to death and a fifth received a life sentence. They were convicted of obtaining the tickets, arms, and ammunition used in the hijacking. [REDACTED] b3

8 November

United Kingdom: Iranian Airline Office Occupied

In London, seven anti-Khomeini Iranian students were arrested after briefly occupying the offices of Iran Air. No one was hurt and damage was slight. [REDACTED] b3

Spain: Shooting of Electrician

In San Sebastian, members of ETA shot and killed an electrician, allegedly because his father was a police informer. [REDACTED] b3