

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

15 October 1985

Mr. Robert I. Smith Glenmeade Trust Company 229 South 18th Street Philadelphia, PA 19103

Dear Mr. Smith:

During a recent visit to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, I learned about the innovative and well-conceived oral history program dealing with decisionmaking in the USSR which is being conducted under the aegis of Professor Uri Ra'anan, Director of the International Security Studies Program.

I understand that this program was made possible by a grant from the J. Howard Pew Trust to the Fletcher School. I wanted to let you know what a worthwhile and useful endeavor I think this is.

Sincerely,

lilliam J. Casey

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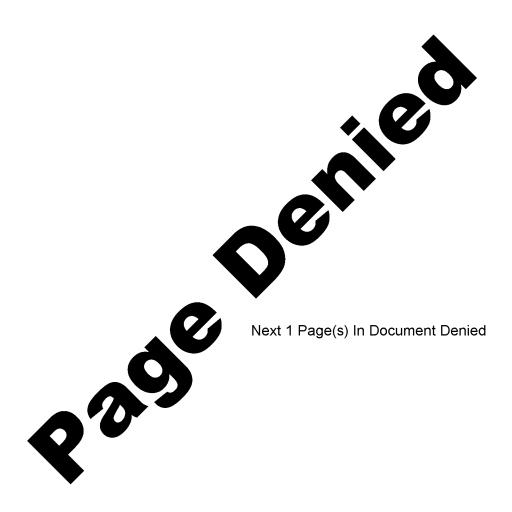
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#### TUFTS UNIVERSITY

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

August 6, 1985

Mr. William J. Casey
Director of Central Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

. . .

We are very pleased to send you (enclosed) our post-conference summation, covering the proceedings of our meeting on "Terrorism and Other 'Low-Intensity' Operations: International Linkages." A post-conference book, in paperback as well as hard cover, will be published in November 1985, by D.C. Heath, under the title of Hydra of Carnage. It will consist of two segments, the first embodying chapters based on the contributions to the conference, and the second (under the title of "The Witnesses Speak") presenting original documentation on the topic, including minutes of a meeting in Teheran establishing terrorist units, and of meetings between Gromyko and Ponomarev, on the one hand, and Arafat and Kaddoumi. Also included are excerpts from interviews with former Soviet and Nicaraguan intelligence officers dealing with planning and coordination for "low-intensity" operations, as well as the linkage with the new "Nark-Intern" (Narcotics-International). The interviews are excerpted from the Fletcher School's International Security Studies Program's Oral History Project. You may be interested to know that three of the contributions to our conference have been publicized already in the New York Times and the Washington Post (Feith), the Wall Street Journal (Wallop), and the Washington Times (Casey). The work bids fair to be a major and dramatic contribution to the field.

/ ,

Professor of International Politics Director, International Security

Studies Program

UR/k enc.

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Medford, Massachusetts 02155 617 628-7010 Cable: FLETCHER

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PLEASE SEE ATTACHED DCI RESPONSE TO REQUEST -- LOWER LEFT-HAND CORNER -- Copy was sent to Tufts on 27 June 85

DO NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disposals, clearances, and similar actions

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#### TUFTS UNIVERSITY

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

June 18, 1985

Mr. William J. Casey Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

In the letter we sent to you on June 14, asking for your signature on the consent form, I should have explained the following inconsequential alterations, meant merely to turn your presentation from address to chapter form:

First paragraph deleted.

Second paragraph reworded as follows:

"The work of the Fletcher School's International Security Studies Program has indeed provided an appropriate forum for us to grapple with the grim and sobering reality of world terrorism. International terrorism has become a perpetual war without borders. To the extent that I can, I shall explain how the American Intelligence Community assesses this dreadful scourge and how I think we should deal with it."

Apart from this, the only changes are, of course, to delete the pronunciation of words given in square brackets, substitution of the words "the Soviet leaders" or "the Soviet Union," or "the USSR," for the words "the Soviets," with appropriate changes in the verbs in question (from singular to plural and vice versa). On page 7, the paragraph will start with: "Now, to turn" instead of "Let me now turn." Finally, the last sentence in the paper will say "A work such as this..." instead of "A conference such as this."

With great appreciation and thanks.

Cordially yours,

Uri Ra'anan

Professor of International Politics Director, International Security

Studies Program

DCI returned copy w/o.k. noted to Professor Ra'anan today. 27 June 1985/n

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27 JUN 1985

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The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

Ra'anan



Mr. William J. Casey Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505



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#### TUFTS UNIVERSITY

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

June 14, 1985

Mr. William J. Casey Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

Further to our letter of deep appreciation and gratitude, sent to you on April 25, we are now proceeding to the publication of our conference proceedings in which, of course, your contribution will be the opening chapter. In this connection, our publishers require the signature of each author on the attached release form, and we would be most appreciative if you could sign and return it to us. Needless to say, we are printing your text as provided by you, and we shall be sending you xeroxed copies of the galleys the moment they appear to enable you to make any alterations you might find appropriate.

With deepest respect.

Cordially yours,

Uri Ra'anan

Professor of International Politics Director, International Security

Studies Program

UR/rb Enclosure

P.S. We have added the provisional title, "The Problem: A Survey," if that meets with your approval.

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# TRANSFER OF COPYRIGHT AGREEMENT

COPYRIGHT TO THE ARTICLE ENTITLED					
"The Problem: A Survey"					
ByWilliam J. Casey					
IS HEREBY TRANSFERRED TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM OF THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY.					
EFFECTIVE UPON ACCEPTANCE FOR PUBLICATION IN A BOOK ON "TERRORISM AND OTHER 'LOW INTENSITY' OPERATIONS: INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES."					
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21 June 1985 DATE					

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TUFTS UNIVERSITY
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts 02155
Prof. Ra'anan



Mr. William J. Casey Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505



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#### TUFTS UNIVERSITY

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

April 25, 1985

Mr. William J. Casey Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

The whole of our community, as well as the other participants in the Conference, are immensely grateful for your kindness and graciousness in allocating so much of your valuable time and energy to our gathering. Your keynote address was the essential element in sending the Conference along the right path, and the very fact that it came from a personality of your caliber and standing made all the difference. The text will, of course, provide the opening chapter for our book, Hydra of Carnage and, again, will make a major difference to the success of this work in reaching the widest possible public. It was a great honor for me and my colleagues to be able to spend an evening with you and I want you to know how much we all appreciate your contribution, as well as the cooperation of your staff.

With deepest respect,

Cordially yours,

Uri Ra'anan

Professor of International Politics Director, International Security

Studies Program

cc: Dean Eliot
 Dean Roche
 Professor Pfaltzgraff
 Professor Shultz

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#### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

**PUBLIC AFFAIRS** Phone: (703) 351-7676

18 March 1985

Ms. Jean Noble-Neal Administrative Assistant Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Tufts University, Cabot 609 Medford, MA 02155

Dear Ms. Noble-Neal:

Thank you for sending the books published from previous Fletcher School Conferences as well as a tentative agenda. Enclosed as you requested is a black and white photograph of Mr. Casey and a copy of his biography. I will keep you informed as to whether Mrs. Casey will accompany Mr. Casey.

As we discussed, we do not mind having the print media present, but we do request that you not allow television or radio coverage. Although Mr. Casey does not grant press interviews, we have no objection if a student photographer takes still portraits of Mr. Casey. We also request that Mr. Casey's speech be taped by the school for our historical files. We understand that a student from the college will tape all speeches for the purpose of publishing them in your post-conference volume. As we agreed, the Agency will review the transcript of Mr. Casey's speech before it is published.

We would appreciate any additional background information on the college such as brochures or pamphlets that would be available. Biographies of Professor Ra'anan, Dean Elliott, and Mr. Dick Schultz would be appreciated as well as a copy of the completed agenda. Could you let us know the general make-up of the audience, including their background and affiliations, and who from the press you expect to be present? You mentioned that several would be there in a private capacity.

Closer to the time of the address, I would appreciate knowing who will be with Mr. Casey on the dais. Will a neck mike as well as a podium mike be available? A sketch of the banquet room and table arrangement at the Royal Sonesta Hotel would also be helpful.

I look forward to hearing from you in preparation for this event.

TAT			Sincerely,	^
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23 November 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Director of Central Intelligence

FROM:

George V. Lauder

Director, Public Affairs Office

SUBJECT:

Invitation to Speak at the 14th Annual Conference of the

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy's International

Security Studies Program

- 1. Action Requested: Accept or decline an invitation to be a featured speaker at Tufts University's Fletcher School's International Security Studies Program's Annual Conference sometime from 17 to 19 April 1985 in Medford, Massachusetts.
- 2. Background: During the dinner meeting of the "Pumpkin Papers Irregulars," Professor of International Politics and Director of the International Security Studies Program Uri Ra'anan invited you to be a featured speaker at the Fletcher School's conference this coming spring. Professor Ra'anan has followed up his verbal invitation with a formal letter. (See written invitation opposite).

Approximately 150 will attend the early part of the Conference, decreasing to about 100 by the second and third days. The audience would be government officials, U.S. military personnel, members of Congress, corporate executives, and academicians. The audience will be participants in the discussions which will follow all formal presentations.

The Conference will be devoted to "Terrorism" and "Low-Intensity Operations" which we interpret as surrogate warfare and state-supported terrorism. (See attached agenda). Tentatively, there will be nine sessions, all of them plenary. Three will be meal sessions: a keynote dinner on 17 April and luncheon sessions on 18 and 19 April.

The Conference planners hope to have three major speakers for these meal sessions -- you, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Senator Wallop of Wyoming. Other principals, yet to be determined, will present papers at the plenary sessions. You have been invited to be the keynote speaker; however, you may pick one of the two luncheon sessions if they would be more convenient. If you cannot attend, Professor Ra'anan has indicated he would welcome the DDCI.

SUBJECT:

**STAT** 

Invitation to Speak at the 14th Annual Conference of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy's International Security Studies Program

Following the Conference, a bound volume of the speeches and papers will be published. Your remarks would be included, although you would have an opportunity to review and approve. The published records of the Conference usually make policy recommendations. Per oral understanding between Professor Ra'anan and our Academic Coordinator, these policy recommendations would not be linked to you.

Recommendation: The Fletcher School is a prestigious and fruitful source for recruits. President Jean Mayer of Tufts University recently rescinded his Dean's ban on Agency recruiting at the University which had followed in the wake of student demonstrations.

If the general topic of the Conference which Fletcher wishes you to address—"Other and 'Low-Intensity' Operations: International Linkages"—does not present a problem for you, I recommend we accept the invitation for next April. If we accept, I assume you will want to do the keynote address. If some problem arises between now and then, such as serious demonstrations at Tufts against the Agency, we may wish to reconsider. We will so advise Tufts.

Director of Central Intelligence

Director of Central Intelligence

Director of Central Intelligence

Date

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Remarks #15: For Recommendation to DCI and Please prepare response for his signature.

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#### TUFTS UNIVERSITY

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

November 5, 1984

Mr. William J. Casey Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

It was a great pleasure to meet with you on Wednesday, October 31, at the dinner of the "Pumpkin Papers Irregulars" (actually, for the second time, since we met in 1980--I believe in the same place--when you came to bid farewell officially to President Reagan's Foreign Affairs and Defense Advisory Team).

I should like to repeat herewith officially the verbal invitation I extended to you to do us the honor of being a featured speaker at our 14th Annual Conference (of The Fletcher School's International Security Studies Program), which will be devoted to <a href="Terrorism and Other "Low Intensity" Operations: International Linkages">Terrorism and Other "Low Intensity" Operations</a>: International Linkages (draft agenda attached).

The Conference will be held April 17-19, 1985, and we could have you featured at the time most convenient to you (the draft agenda is very preliminary, and we could shift around the ceremonial meals with their featured speakers to suit your preference--e.g., the luncheons of April 18 or 19, if this would make things easier for you). Our main speakers in the past have included such personalities as General Alexander Haig, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, and General Russell E. Dougherty. In the forthcoming conference, we are also hoping to have the participation of Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, in addition to yourself.

The Conference like its predecessors, will be at the "cutting edge" of current international security affairs; so far all of our conferences have led to at least one hard cover post-conference volume, preceded in recent years by a soft cover conference summation report.

Previous conference topics have covered such areas as:

"Security Commitments and Capabilities: Elements of an American Global Strategy"

"National Security Policy: The Decision-Making Process"

"International Security Dimensions of Space"

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Page 2 November 5, 1984

"United States Defense Mobilization"

"Projection of Power: Perspectives, Perceptions and Problems"

"Security and Development"

"The Effects of Arms Transfers to the Third World"

"Resources and International Conflict"

"Surprise, Deception and the Role of Intelligence in Policy Decisions"

"New Technologies in the Non-nuclear Conflict Arena"

The conference participants have been drawn from the executive and legislative branches of government, the armed forces, the appropriate representatives of the private sector, the "think tanks," and the qualified members of the academic vocation. In that sense, they are all truly "participants," rather than mere "audience." Your presentation will be incorporated in our post-conference volume, leaving you, however, in full control of any revisions or alternations you might deem appropriate. We cover all travel expenses of our speakers, as well as, usually, an honorarium of \$1,200 (for those whose position permits them to accept honoraria).

I have no doubt that the topic of our conference is close to your heart, as it is to ours, and that you agree that the time is ripe to tackle this issue.

I was very encouraged to have a preliminary positive response to my verbal invitation and hope that you will find it possible to accept this official proposal.

Very cordially yours,

Uri Ra'anan

Professor of International Politics
Director, International Security Studies
Program

UR/rb

Enclosure (Draft Agenda)

# TERRORISM AND OTHER "LOW INTENSITY" OPERATIONS: INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES

#### April 17-19, 1985

#### April 17, Evening

I. Keynote Address

#### April 18, Early Morning

#### II. Overview

- (a) Closed Societies and the Resort to Violence, Domestically and Internationally
- (b) Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: A Taxonomy
- (c) Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: Personnel and Organization

#### April 18, Late Morning

- III. Operational Principles of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Combat
  - (a) Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Combat: Political Doctrine and Structure
  - (b) Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Combat: Military Doctrine and Structure

#### April 18, Luncheon

IV. Terrorism and the Media

#### April 18, Early Afternoon

- V. The Political Orchestration of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations
  - (a) The Political Orchestration of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity
    Operations: A Comparative Study
  - (b) The Political Orchestration of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: The Central American Case

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#### April 18, Late Afternoon

- VI. International Linkages: Military, Technological, and Intelligence Aspects
  - (a) The Impact of Technological Innovations upon the Conduct of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations
  - (b) Military Training, Support, and Intelligence Components of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations

#### April 18, Evening

Advisory Council Meeting

#### April 19, Early Morning

- VII. International Linkages: Assets and Liabilities
  - (a) Organized Crime, the Drug Connection, and Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations
  - (b) Vulnerabilities of the International Support Apparatus for Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations

#### April 19, Late Morning

- VIII. Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: Responses
  - (a) The Open Society: Defensive Responses
  - (b) The Open Society: Active Responses
  - (c) Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: International Responses and International Law

#### April 19, Luncheon

IX. Congressional Responses to Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations

#### April 19, Early Afternoon

X. Implications for United States Policy

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### TUFTS UNIVERSITY

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM Fourteenth Annual Conference

on

Terrorism and Other "Low Intensity" Operations:

International Linkages
April 17-19, 1985

REGISTRATION FOR CONFERENCE. (On April 17): At the desk in the Royal Sonesta Hotel Foyer of the Grand Ballroom. Please make this your first stop to receive name tags and other information. (On April 18 and 19): At the desk in Cabot Center reception area to receive papers.

CONFERENCE SESSIONS: At the Cabot Center, in the ASEAN Auditorium — will start promptly at 9:00 A.M. and proceed according to the program.

PERSONNEL AND PHONE NUMBERS are listed below:

Mrs. Jean Noble-Neal, 617-628-7010, extension 2736 Mrs. Roberta Breen, 617-628-7010, extension 3120 Mrs. Freda Kilgallen, 617-628-7010, extension 2737

Two pay phones are located just outside the auditorium for the use of participants. A bulletin board is set up just outside the auditorium for messages for participants. If your office calls you, a message will be placed there.

BUS TRANSPORTATION: This has been arranged between the Hotel Sonesta and the Fletcher School, Cabot Center. You are reminded that check-out time at the Hotel Sonesta is 12 noon. You may wish to check out before boarding the bus at 8:15 a.m. Luggage can be stored safely either with the Sonesta Bell Captain or at the Cabot Center until you are ready to leave.

Thursday, April 18 - Bus leaves Hotel Sonesta at 8:15 a.m.

Bus leaves the Cabot Center at 5:45 p.m. to return to the Hotel Sonesta

Friday, April 19 - Bus leaves the Hotel Sonesta at 8:15 a.m.

At the end of the conference, approximately 3:15 p.m., the bus will return to the Hotel Sonesta and then proceed to Logan Airport. Upon embarking with their luggage, passengers should inform the driver which airline terminal is their destination.

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## TERRORISM AND OTHER "LOW INTENSITY" OPERATIONS:

#### INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES



April 17-19, 1985

Cabot Intercultural Center

Medford, Massachusetts

International Security Studies Program

THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY

A Graduate School of International Affairs

administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

Tufts University

#### **PROGRAM**

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, APRIL 17-19, 1985

# TERRORISM AND OTHER "LOW INTENSITY" OPERATIONS: INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17

5:30-6:00	Registration*	
6:00-7:00	Opening Reception	
7:00-8:00	Dinner	
8:00-9:15	KEYNOTE ADDRESS: "The Problem:	A Survey"

\*On April 17, the registration desk will be situated in the Foyer of the Grand Ballroom of the Royal Sonesta Hotel, 5 Cambridge Parkway, Cambridge, MA.

On April 18 & 19, the registration desk will be situated on the ground floor of the Cabot Intercultural Center, Tufts University, Medford, MA.

The Opening Reception and Opening Dinner will be held at the Royal Sonesta Hotel.

The working sessions will be in the ASEAN Auditorium of the Cabot Intercultural Center; the two luncheons will be located in the Faculty Dining Room of Mugar Hall.

### FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 18

9:00-10:30 1ST MORNING SESSION. OVERVIEW

Ms. Claire Sterling: "Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: The State of the Art"

Professor Adda B. Bozeman: "Closed Societies and the Resort to Violence, Domestically and Internationally"

10:30-10:40 Coffee and Pastry

10:40-12:10 2ND MORNING SESSION. OPERATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF TERRORISM AND OTHER LOW INTENSITY COMBAT

Mr. Herbert Romerstein: "Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Combat: Political Doctrine and Structure"

Dr. John J. Dziak: "Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Combat: Military Doctrine and Structure:

12:20-1:30 LUNCHEON

1:30-2:15 LUNCHEON PRESENTATION
Mr. Sander Vanocur: "Terrorism and the Media"

2:20-4:00 1ST AFTERNOON SESSION. THE POLITICAL ORCHESTRATION OF TERRORISM AND OTHER LOW INTENSITY OPERATIONS

Professor Richard H. Shultz: "The Political Orchestration of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: A Comparative Study"

Professor Ernst Halperin: "The Political Orchestration of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: The Central American Case"

Professor Ladislav Bittman: "The Political Orchestration of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: The View from the Inside"

4:00-4:10 Coffee

FRISH FEE

4:10-5:40 2ND AFTERNOON SESSION. INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES: MILITARY, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND INTELLIGENCE ASPECTS

Mr. Neil C. Livingstone: "The Impact of Technological Innovations upon the Conduct of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations"

Dr. Michael A. Ledeen: "Military Training, Support, and Intelligence Components of Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations"

#### - FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 19

9:00-10:30 1ST MORNING SESSION. INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES: ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Mr. Paul B. Henze: "Organized Crime, the Drug Connection, and Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations"

Professor Uri Ra'anan: "Vulnerabilities of the International Support Apparatus for Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations"

10:30-10:40 Coffee and Pastry

10:40-12:20 2ND MORNING SESSION. TERRORISM AND OTHER LOW INTENSITY OPERATIONS: RESPONSES

Professor Sam C. Sarkesian: "The Open Society: Defensive Reponses"

Mr. B. Hugh Tovar: "The Open Society: Active Responses"

Mr. Douglas J. Feith: "Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations: International Reponses"

12:30-1:40 LUNCHEON

1:40-2:20 LUNCHEON PRESENTATION
Senator Malcolm Wallop: "Congressional Responses to Terrorism and Other Low Intensity Operations"

2:30-3:10 Professor Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.: "Implications for United States Policy"

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