

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE

THE 14TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE FLETCHER SCHOOL
OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY'S NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

17 APRIL 1985

ROYAL SONESTA HOTEL
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

I AM GLAD TO BE WITH YOU THIS EVENING AND I'M GRATEFUL TO THE FLETCHER SCHOOL FOR PROVIDING THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO DABBLE WITH THE GRIM AND SOBERING REALITY OF WORLD TERRORISM AND FOR GIVING ME THE PRIVILEGE OF KICKING OFF THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE.

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM HAS BECOME A PERPETUAL WAR WITHOUT BORDERS. THIS EVENING I WILL TELL YOU WHAT I CAN ABOUT HOW THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ASSESSES THIS DREADFUL SCOURGE AND HOW I THINK WE SHOULD DEAL WITH IT.

IN JUST A FEW YEARS WE HAVE WITNESSED THE BOMBINGS OF OUR EMBASSIES IN BEIRUT AND IN KUWAIT; THE ATTACK ON UNITED STATES AND FRENCH FORCES IN BEIRUT; THE VICIOUS ATTACK ON THE SOUTH KOREAN CABINET WHICH TOOK PLACE IN RANGOON; THE ASSASSINATIONS OF PRESIDENT BASHIR GEMAYEL AND PRIME MINISTER GANDHI; AND THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION AGAINST PRIME MINISTER THATCHER; AND THE ATTEMPT THAT WAS MADE AGAINST POPE JOHN PAUL II IN ST. PETER'S SQUARE.

WE ARE ENGAGED IN A NEW FORM OF LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT AGAINST AN ENEMY THAT IS HARD TO FIND AND HARDER STILL TO DEFEND AGAINST. THE NUMBER OF RECORDED INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST INCIDENTS ROSE FROM ABOUT 500 IN 1983 TO MORE THAN 700 IN 1984. LAST YEAR 355 INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST BOMBINGS OCCURRED, NEARLY ONE FOR EVERY DAY OF THE ENTIRE YEAR.

U.S. CITIZENS AND PROPERTY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AMONG THE MOST POPULAR TARGETS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS. LAST YEAR A LARGE NUMBER OF ATTACKS ALSO WERE DIRECTED AT THE FRENCH, THE JORDANIANS, AND THE ISRAELIS. THE MIDDLE EAST REMAINS A FERTILE GROUND FOR TERRORISM. THERE WERE OMINOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST GERMANY WHERE LEFTWING TERRORIST GROUPS COMBINED FORCES AND BEGAN ATTACKING NATO TARGETS.

IN CONFRONTING THE CHALLENGE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, THE FIRST STEP IS TO CALL THINGS BY THEIR PROPER NAMES, TO SEE CLEARLY AND SAY PLAINLY WHO THE TERRORISTS ARE, WHAT GOALS THEY SEEK, AND WHICH GOVERNMENTS SUPPORT THEM.

WHAT THE TERRORIST DOES IS KILL, MAIM, KIDNAP, TORTURE. HIS VICTIMS MAY BE CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOLROOM; INNOCENT TRAVELERS ON AIRPLANES, BUSINESSMEN RETURNING HOME FROM WORK, POLITICAL LEADERS, DIPLOMATS, SOLDIERS, CIVILIANS ANYWHERE. THE TERRORIST'S VICTIMS MAY HAVE NO PARTICULAR POLITICAL IDENTITY; OR THEY MAY BE POLITICAL SYMBOLS, LIKE ALDO MORO OR-- PERHAPS--POPE JOHN PAUL II. THEY MAY BE KIDNAPPED AND HELD FOR RANSOM, MAIMED OR SIMPLY BLOWN TO BITS. ONE DEFINING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE TERRORIST IS HIS CHOICE OF METHOD: THE TERRORIST CHOOSES VIOLENCE AS THE INSTRUMENT OF FIRST RESORT.

TERRORISM HAS BEEN WITH US FOR A LONG TIME. BUT IT ONCE MANIFESTED ITSELF IN FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FORMS THAN THOSE WE SEE TODAY. EARLIER IN THIS CENTURY WE SAW FORMS OF TERRORISM

THAT USUALLY HAD THEIR ROOTS IN ETHNIC OR SEPARATIST GROUPS AND CONFINED ITSELF TO A SMALL GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND TO VERY SELECTIVE TARGETS. EVEN TODAY, REMNANTS OF THIS BRAND OF TERRORISM STILL ARE WITH US -- THE BASQUE [BAHASK] SEPARATISTS IN SPAIN, THE IRISH NATIONALISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE MORO TRIBESMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND OTHER ETHNIC TERRORIST GROUPS.

SINCE THE LATE 1960S WE HAVE WITNESSED THE BIRTH AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW STRIPE OF TERRORIST WHICH IS PRIMARILY URBAN AND FOR THE MOST PART IDEOLGOICAL IN NATURE. IN EUROPE, FOR EXAMPLE, EXTREME LEFTWING IDEOLOGY HAS SPAWNED SUCH URBAN TERRORIST GROUPS AS THE RED ARMY FACTION IN WEST GERMANY, THE COMMUNIST COMBATANT CELLS IN BELGIUM, THE DIRECT ACTION IN FRANCE, AND THE RED BRIGADES IN ITALY. IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE MAY MENTION SEVERAL EXTREMIST PALESTINIAN GROUPS--INCLUDING SOME FACTIONS OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.

IN SOUTH AMERICA, WHICH HAS BEEN RELATIVELY PEACEFUL ON THE TERRORIST FRONT FOR THE PAST DECADE OR SO, SIMILAR GROUPS SEEM TO BE MATURING IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS CHILE, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, AND PERU.

TODAY WE ALSO HAVE STATE SUPPORTED TERRORISM USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY. THE CHIEF PROTAGONISTS OF THIS NEW DEPARTURE IN INTERNATIONAL MURDER ARE IRAN, SYRIA, AND LIBYA. PROBABLY MORE BLOOD HAS BEEN SHED BY IRANIAN-SPONSORED TERRORISTS DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS THAN BY ALL OTHER TERRORISTS COMBINED.

TEHRAN USES TERRORISM AS A MAJOR ELEMENT OF ITS ONGOING CAMPAIGN TO EXPORT THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT THE MUSLIM WORLD AND TO REDUCE WESTERN INFLUENCE -- ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE UNITED STATES -- IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN 1983, WE IDENTIFIED AS MANY AS 50 TERRORIST ATTACKS WITH A CONFIRMED OR SUSPECTED IRANIAN INVOLVEMENT. MOST OF THESE INCIDENTS OCCURRED IN LEBANON, WHERE RADICAL SHIAS [SHE-AHS] OF THE HIZBALLAH [HISP-ALLAH] OPERATED WITH DIRECT IRANIAN SUPPORT FROM TERRORIST BASES IN THE SYRIAN-CONTROLLED BEKAA [BECK-AH] VALLEY. TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM DIRECT RETRIBUTION, THEY TRY TO MASK THEIR ACTS UNDER THE NOM DE PLUME "ISLAMIC JIHAD."

IRANIAN-SPONSORED TERRORISM WAS A MAJOR FACTOR ELSEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN 1983, AS WELL. MEMBERS OF THE ISLAMIC CALL PARTY -- WHO RECEIVED TRAINING AND DIRECTION FROM TEHRAN -- SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT SIX BOMBINGS ON 12 DECEMBER, INCLUDING ONE BLAST THAT SEVERELY DAMAGED THE U.S. EMBASSY IN KUWAIT.

IRAN ALSO CONTINUED ITS ACTIVE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAM FOR MUSLIMS FROM THE PERSIAN GULF, AFRICA, AND EVEN ASIA. MANY OF THESE INDIVIDUALS WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR SUBVERSIVE OR TERRORIST OPERATIONS IN THE FUTURE, PARTICULARLY IN THE OIL-RICH PERSIAN GULF STATES. MOST ALARMING IN 1984 WAS THE ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE THAT IRANIAN-SPONSORED TERRORISM WAS INCREASING IN SCOPE AND EFFECTIVENESS IN WESTERN EUROPE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN JULY THE FRENCH ARRESTED THREE INDIVIDUALS SUSPECTED OF BEING IRANIAN AGENTS; AND AN AIR FRANCE FLIGHT WAS

HIJACKED FROM WEST GERMANY TO IRAN. IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER ISLAMIC JIHAD CLAIMED CREDIT FOR ARMED ATTACKS ON SAUDI AND KUWAITI NATIONALS IN SPAIN; AND IN NOVEMBER SEVEN PRO-IRANIAN LEBANESE STUDENTS IN ITALY WERE ARRESTED AFTER PLOTTING AN ATTACK ON THE U.S. EMBASSY IN ROME. WE BELIEVE THAT AGENTS WORKING OUT OF IRANIAN EMBASSIES AND ISLAMIC CULTURAL OR STUDENT CENTERS IN SEVERAL EUROPEAN NATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT SUCH OPERATIONS IN THE FUTURE.

ALTHOUGH LIBYA'S MU'AMMAR QADHAFI IS NOT IN THE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI'S LEAGUE, STILL HIS RELIANCE ON AND SUPPORT FOR TERRORISTS IS WELL KNOWN AND MUST NO LONGER GO UNCHALLENGED. WE IDENTIFIED AT LEAST 25 TERRORIST INCIDENTS LAST YEAR INVOLVING LIBYAN AGENTS OR SURROGATES. THE MAIN TARGET OF LIBYAN TERRORISM WAS ANTI-QADHAFI EXILES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST. IN MARCH THE BRITISH ARRESTED A NUMBER OF LIBYAN AGENTS FOLLOWING A SERIES OF BOMBINGS THAT INJURED AT LEAST 30 PEOPLE IN LONDON AND MANCHESTER. MOST OF THE VICTIMS WERE INNOCENT BYSTANDERS. IN APRIL 1983, A GUNMAN FIRING FROM THE LIBYAN PEOPLE'S BUREAU KILLED A BRITISH POLICEWOMAN AND WOUNDED 11 ANTI-QADHAFI DEMONSTRATORS. FOLLOWING THE SIEGE OF THE PEOPLE'S BUREAU, BRITISH POLICE FOUND WEAPONS IN THE BUILDING, DOCUMENTING ONCE AGAIN LIBYA'S PRACTICE OF STOCKING WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES IN ITS EMBASSIES -- A CLEAR VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC CONVENTIONS.

SOME OF THE MANY FACTIONS OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION ALSO PRACTICE TERRORISM. THE P.L.O. IS ACTUALLY SOMETHING OF AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION FOR EIGHT OR NINE OFTEN-WARRING FACTIONS WITH VARYING IDEOLOGIES AND COMPETING SPONSORS SUCH AS IRAQ AND SYRIA. EVEN THOUGH THE P.L.O.'S INFLUENCE IS SOMEWHAT DIMINISHED IN RECENT YEARS -- DUE PRIMARILY TO ITS DEFEAT IN LEBANON IN 1982 AND HEIGHTENED FACTIONALISM -- MANY OF ITS MEMBER GROUPS REMAIN A CREDIBLE THREAT TO ISRAEL AND MANY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. SYRIA CONTROLS OR AT LEAST INFLUENCES MANY OF THE RADICAL SPLINTER GROUPS OF THE PLO THAT ARE BELIEVED TO BE BEHIND RECENT TERRORIST ATTACKS ON MODERATE PALESTINIANS AND OTHER ARABS--ESPECIALLY JORDANIAN OFFICIALS.

FOR SEVERAL YEARS, VARIOUS EUROPEAN LEFTWING TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE CALLED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT AGAINST "WESTERN IMPERIALISM," AND PARTICULARLY AGAINST ITS MOST POWERFUL SYMBOLS -- NATO AND THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN EUROPE. SINCE THE SUMMER OF 1984, AT LEAST THREE OF THESE GROUPS -- THE WEST GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION, THE FRENCH GROUP DIRECT ACTION, AND THE BELGIAN COMMUNIST COMBATANT CELLS -- HAVE APPARENTLY COLLABORATED IN A TERRORIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST NATO THAT REACHED A FEVER PITCH OF VIOLENCE BY EARLY FEBRUARY 1985.

THE OFFENSIVE SEEMS TO HAVE BEGUN IN AUGUST WITH TERRORIST ATTACKS IN PARIS ON THE ATLANTIC INSTITUTE, THE WEST EUROPEAN UNION, AND THE EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY -- ALL TARGETS THAT A

DIRECT ACTION COMMUNIQUE WRONGLY ASSERTED WERE ASSOCIATED WITH NATO. THEN, IN OCTOBER, THE BELGIAN COMMUNIST COMBATANT CELLS BOMBED SEVERAL MULTINATIONAL FIRMS BECAUSE OF THEIR CONNECTION WITH NATO MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

MORE VIOLENCE, THAT WAS INCREASINGLY COORDINATED, ENSUED IN DECEMBER. BELGIAN TERRORISTS BOMBED THE NATO PIPELINE SYSTEM AT SIX POINTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE RED ARMY FACTION AND ITS SUPPORTERS IN WEST GERMANY BEGAN A LONG-PLANNED OFFENSIVE -- MORE THAN 30 IMPRISONED TERRORISTS BEGAN A HUNGER STRIKE, WHILE DOZENS OF BOMBING ATTACKS AGAINST TARGETS ASSOCIATED WITH NATO WERE CARRIED OUT IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE HUNGER STRIKES.

IN LATE JANUARY/EARLY FEBRUARY 1985, THE OFFENSIVE REACHED ITS ZENITH. IN BELGIUM, THE COMMUNIST COMBATANT CELLS BOMBED A U.S. MILITARY RECREATIONAL FACILITY AND DECLARED ITS INTENTION TO INFLICT CASUALTIES AS WELL AS PROPERTY DAMAGE IN FUTURE ATTACKS. IN WEST GERMANY, THE RED ARMY FACTION CONTINUED ITS BOMBING CAMPAIGN AND ASSASSINATED INDUSTRIALIST DR. ERNST ZIMMERMAN. IN FRANCE, DIRECT ACTION ASSASSINATED A SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, GENERAL RENE AUDRAN [RAYNAY OH-DRAHN]. AT THE SAME TIME, FRENCH DIRECT ACTION PRISONERS BEGAN A HUNGER STRIKE IN SYMPATHY WITH THEIR GERMAN TERRORIST COLLEAGUES. FOLLOWING THE AUDRAN AND ZIMMERMAN KILLINGS, THE WEST GERMAN AND FRENCH TERRORISTS ENDED THEIR HUNGER STRIKES AND THE WAVE OF ANTI-NATO TERRORIST ATTACKS IN NORTHERN EUROPE ABRUPTLY STOPPED -- PROBABLY ONLY TEMPORARILY.

LET ME NOW TURN FOR A MOMENT TO THE SOVIET CONNECTION. IT MAY SEEM SHADOWY TO SOME, BUT IT SEEMS VERY CLOSE TO ME. IRAN AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE HARDLY ALLIES, BUT THEY BOTH SHARE A FUNDAMENTAL HOSTILITY TO THE WEST. WHEN LIBYA AND THE PLO (PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION) PROVIDE ARMS AND TRAINING TO THE COMMUNISTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA, THEY ARE AIDING SOVIET-SUPPORTED CUBAN EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE OUR SECURITY IN THAT VITAL REGION.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE SOVIETS AND THEIR EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE PROVIDED INTELLIGENCE, WEAPONS, FUNDS AND TRAINING AT CAMPS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ELSEWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE. THOSE PASSING THROUGH THESE TRAINING CAMPS RECEIVE INDOCTRINATION IN MARXISM-LENINISM WHICH PROVIDES A RATIONALE FOR TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS -- ALL IN THE NAME OF WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION.

TO GIVE THE DEVIL HIS DUE, WE HAVE SEEN ONLY INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF EAST BLOC INVOLVEMENT IN THE MURDERS AND BOMBINGS NOW CARRIED OUT BY THE EUROPEANS THEMSELVES. PUBLICLY, THE SOVIETS POSTURE LOUDLY AND PIETISTICALLY THAT THEY DISAPPROVE OF TERRORISM, AND THAT TERRORISM IS "LEFTIST ADVENTURISM" AND "SIMPLISTIC IDEOLOGY." AT THE SAME TIME, I DON'T SEE THE SOVIETS TAKING ANY ACTION WHATSOEVER TO ASSIST VICTIMIZED GOVERNMENTS IN CURBING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. MOREOVER, THE USSR AND ITS EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE ALLOWED WEST EUROPEAN TERRORISTS TO TRANSIT THOSE COUNTRIES EN ROUTE TO THE MIDDLE

EAST. SOME OF THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE ALSO BEEN UNCOOPERATIVE IN THE EXTRADITION OF TERRORISTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL ARREST WARRANTS. IT IS ALSO INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT RELATIVELY FEW SOVIET TARGETS WORLDWIDE HAVE BECOME THE VICTIMS OF TERRORIST ATTACKS. MOREOVER, RARELY DO WE HEAR OF A TERRORIST ATTACK TAKING PLACE IN THE SOVIET UNION OR IN A SOVIET-DOMINATED COUNTRY WHERE THERE IS TOTALITARIAN CONTROL. ONLY FOUR TERRORIST INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED FOR 1984 FOR THE WHOLE OF SOVIET-DOMINATED EUROPE.

THE FACT IS THAT OVER RECENT YEARS THE SOVIETS HAVE CHANGED THEIR OPERATIONAL TECHNIQUES AND HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED IN THEIR USE OF "ACTIVE MEASURES" AGAINST THE WEST. THE SOVIETS CAN NOW ACHIEVE THEIR AIMS QUITE WELL INDIRECTLY BY PROVIDING TRAINING TO SELECTED INDIVIDUALS AND VERY SMALL GROUPS; BY PROVIDING LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO THE GROUPS; AND UPON OCCASION, BY PROVIDING WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES TO VARIOUS GROUPS. THEY DO NOT HAVE TO PROVIDE MUCH, IF ANY, MONEY. THE TERRORISTS OBTAIN ALL THEY NEED FROM ARMED ROBBERIES OF BANKS, RANSOMS FROM KIDNAPPINGS, AND THEFTS OF MATERIALS AND WEAPONS FROM WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISES, AS WELL AS THE PURCHASE OF WEAPONS -- INCLUDING SOVIET-MADE WEAPONS -- ON THE BLACK MARKET.

THE SOVIETS MAKE LITTLE ATTEMPT TO CONCEAL THE EXTENT OF THEIR FINANCIAL AND MILITARY AID FOR COUNTRIES LIKE LIBYA AND SYRIA -- COUNTRIES THAT HAVE ADOPTED TERRORISM AS PART OF THEIR

STATE POLICY. THE SOVIETS ARE QUITE WILLING TO SELL LIBYA ANY WEAPONS IT REQUIRES. THE SYRIANS ALSO RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE QUANTITIES OF ARMS FROM THE SOVIETS. MANY OF THESE WEAPONS ARE PASSED ALONG TO THE PALESTINIAN GROUPS FOR USE IN LEBANON OR ISRAEL. SOME OF THESE WEAPONS FIND THEIR WAY TO RADICAL GROUPS FAR FROM THE HILLS OF LEBANON.

EVEN MORE SERIOUS IS THE CONTINUING WILLINGNESS OF MOSCOW AND ITS ALLIES TO ALLOW RADICAL GROUPS TO MAINTAIN OFFICES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND TO GRANT SAFE PASSAGE TO OPERATIVES TRAVELING TO WESTERN EUROPE OR ELSEWHERE TO COMMIT TERRORIST ACTS. NO ONE CAN SERIOUSLY BELIEVE THAT THESE ACTIVITIES -- WHICH HAVE GONE ON FOR AT LEAST FIFTEEN YEARS -- HAVE ESCAPED THE NOTICE OF THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES.

THE CHAIN EXTENDS AROUND THE GLOBE. PART OF THE SUBVERSIVE THREAT WE FACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS STIMULATED BY OUTSIDERS WHO ARE WELL-VERSED IN TERRORISM. FOR EXAMPLE, ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER CRAXI [KRAHK-SEE] STATED IN EARLY FEBRUARY THAT NICARAGUA HOSTS 44 OF ITALY'S MOST DANGEROUS TERRORISTS -- A STATEMENT CORROBORATED IN PART BY A FORMER RED BRIGADE TERRORIST WHO STATED THAT AT LEAST FIVE OF HIS FORMER COMRADES NOW SERVE AS NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS IN THE SANDINISTA ARMY. NICARAGUA, BY THE WAY, IS A MAJOR RECIPIENT OF AID FROM LIBYA, AND RECENTLY PLAYED HOST TO IRANIAN PRIME MINISTER MUSAVI (MOO-SAH-VEE). STRANGE HOW THE SAME NAMES AND FACES KEEP TURNING UP WHENEVER THE SUBJECT IS INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM!

LET US NOW TURN BRIEFLY TO THE MURKY AREA OF COLLUSION BETWEEN THE BIG DRUG DEALERS AND THE TERRORISTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. THESE TWO GROUPS HAVE RADICALLY DIFFERING GOALS. DRUG DEALERS ARE OUT FOR ONE THING -- MONEY, AND LOTS OF IT. THEY ARE, ABOVE ALL, MERCHANTS WHO WISH TO PRESERVE THEIR TRADE. DRUG DEALERS SEE THEIR INTEREST AS BEING THE CORRUPTION AND GRADUAL CONTROL OR MANIPULATION OF THE ESTABLISHED REGIME -- TO INCLUDE THE BUYING OF POLICEMEN, SECURITY AGENTS, JUDGES, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTS, AND EVEN PREMIERS. MONEY IS THE MEANS AND ALSO THE OBJECT FOR THE NARCOTICS PUSHERS.

TERRORISTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE OUT TO DESTROY THE EXISTING SYSTEM. IF THEY HAD THEIR WAY, THEY WOULD NOT CORRUPT THE POLICEMEN AND JUDGES -- THEY WOULD KILL THEM. MOREOVER, MONEY IS USEFUL FOR BUYING WEAPONS, PAYING OPERATIONAL EXPENSES, AND PERHAPS FOR BUYING INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER INFORMATION. BUT THE TERRORIST IS ABOVE ALL IDEOLOGICAL, NOT MERCENARY. HE IS COMMITTED TO OVERTHROWING THE ESTABLISHED SYSTEM.

THIS SAID, THERE IS COOPERATION BETWEEN SOME TERRORIST AND NARCOTICS GROUPS FOR AT LEAST TACTICAL REASONS. A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP HAS GROWN UP BETWEEN THE NARCOTICS DEALERS ALONG THE CARIBBEAN COAST AND THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA WHO ORDINARILY WOULD HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH ONE ANOTHER. THE DRUG MERCHANT NEEDS A SECURE TRANSIT POINT FOR HIS GOODS TO REACH MARKETS IN THE UNITED STATES. ONE SUCH TRANSIT POINT IS CUBA. THE CUBANS FUNNEL ARMS AND MONEY TO THE GUERRILLA

GROUPS THROUGH DRUG MERCHANT CHANNELS. ALTHOUGH FIDEL CASTRO, IN INTERVIEWS WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, ROUNDLY DENIES HAVING DEALINGS WITH DRUG MERCHANTS, WE'VE CAUGHT HIM RED-HANDED. BY HELPING DRUG DEALERS PUSH COCAINE AND MARIJUANA, CASTRO GAINS IMPROVED ACCESS TO THE CUBAN COMMUNITY IN SOUTH FLORIDA, CONTRIBUTES TO CRIME AND DISORDER IN THE UNITED STATES, AND AIDS HIS REVOLUTIONARY OFFSPRING IN COLOMBIA.

SIMILARLY, WE CAUGHT THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA RED-HANDED IN NARCOTIC PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING BETWEEN COLOMBIA AND MIAMI, APPARENTLY LOOKING FOR MONEY WHICH WE HAVE SEEN DEPOSITED IN PANAMA AND USED TO BOLSTER THEIR SAGGING ECONOMY.

TERRORIST METHODS ARE BECOMING MORE SOPHISTICATED. EXPLOSIVES REMOTELY DETONATED OR SET OFF BY A FANATICAL SUICIDAL VEHICLE DRIVER ARE EXAMPLES OF BOTH TECHNICAL AND TACTICAL INNOVATION. DANGERS FROM TERRORISM ARE GREATLY ENHANCED BY THE INVOLVEMENT OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PLANNING, FINANCING, TRAINING, DOCUMENTATION AND PROVIDING OF SAFE HAVEN FOR TERRORIST GROUPS. THEY ARE ABLE TO USE MORE SOPHISTICATED TECHNIQUES, DRAW ON STATE-FUNDED TRAINING PROGRAMS AND USE MORE VIOLENT, MORE DEADLY, MORE DIFFICULT TO DETECT WEAPONS. THEY HAVE BETTER INTELLIGENCE AND PLANNING, OFFICIAL TRAVEL DOCUMENTS AND DIPLOMATIC COVER TO MASK THEIR TRUE IDENTITIES, THEIR MOVEMENTS AND MUNITIONS DELIVERIES. THEY CAN GET SAFEHAVEN IN A SPONSORING STATE AFTER AN ATTACK.

RADICAL STATES SEE IN TERRORISM THE POTENTIAL FOR OBTAINING CONCESSIONS THEY COULD NEVER GET BY TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC MEANS. OUR ABILITY TO ENDURE IN OUR POLICIES IS CALLED INTO QUESTION AND CONFUSED BY TERRORISM. OUR DECISION PROCESSES ARE DISRUPTED. CONFIDENCE IN THE WORKABILITY OF OUR INSTITUTIONS IS ERODED. IT CAN IMPAIR OUR INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY AS IT DID IN THE IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS SOME FIVE YEARS AGO. PERHAPS WORST OF ALL, IT HAS BECOME A TEMPTING INSTRUMENT TO ACCELERATE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COLLAPSE.

IN SOME COUNTRIES IN THE THIRD WORLD SMALL NUMBERS OF REVOLUTIONARIES, UNABLE TO WIN POPULAR SUPPORT THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX, HAVE SUCCEEDED IN CONVERTING A MODERATE AND DEMOCRATIC CLIMATE OF OPINION INTO ONE THAT ENCOURAGES VIOLENCE AND COUNTERVIOLENCE WITH THE RESULTANT BREAKDOWN IN PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS.

CLEARLY, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES SEE THE POTENTIAL OF TERRORIST MOVEMENTS FOR DISRUPTING SOCIETIES. THEY SEE THAT THROUGHOUT ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA THERE ARE WEAK GOVERNMENTS WITH LOW LEVELS OF LEGITIMACY AND HIGH LEVELS OF INSTABILITY. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THESE GOVERNMENTS ARE ACUTELY VULNERABLE TO TERRORIST DISRUPTIONS AND ARE GOOD TARGETS FOR TERRORIST CAMPAIGNS.

WE MUST NOT BE CONFUSED ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INSURGENCY AND TERRORISM. AN INSURGENCY, OPENLY USING ARMED CONFLICT AS A MEANS FOR SEEKING CONCESSIONS FROM A DICTATORIAL

OR TOTALIARIAN GOVERNMENT THAT HAS DENIED PEACEFUL FORMS OF REDRESS OF GRIEVANCE OR CIVIC CHANGE, CAN READILY BE DISTINGUISHED FROM A GROUP THAT ATTACKS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY BY HOSTAGE TAKING, BY SUITCASES FILLED WITH EXPLOSIVES ON BOARD AIRLINERS FULL OF INNOCENT PEOPLE.

HOW DO WE COPE WITH THESE SMALL BANDS OF HIGHLY TRAINED PEOPLE, MOST OF THEM FANATICS, MANY READY TO GIVE UP LIFE ITSELF TO DO THEIR EVIL WORK, INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED AS THEY MOVE AROUND THE WORLD CROSSING BORDERS WITH OFFICIALLY AND PROFESSIONALLY PREPARED PAPERS, KNOWING THAT THEY WILL HAVE NO TROUBLE OBTAINING WEAPONS, EXPLOSIVES, AND WHATEVER ELSE THEY NEED NEAR THE SITE OF THEIR INTENDED ATTACK, KNOWING TOO THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO FIND PROTECTION AND SANCTUARY PRE-ARRANGED FOR THEM. WE CAN COMBAT THIS ONLY WITH THE HIGHEST PROFESSIONALISM, DEDICATION AND DILIGENCE.

WE NEED TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND THE VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS, THEIR STYLE AND OPERATING METHODS, THEIR SUPPORT STRUCTURES, THE TRAINING CAMPS WHICH SPROUT UP AROUND THE WORLD. THIS IS A TASK OF CONTINUING COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE IN WHICH THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF THE WORLD MUST COOPERATE. WE NEED TO PROVIDE SECURITY AND PROTECTION FOR OUR PEOPLE AND OUR FACILITIES. WE NEED TO PROVIDE THE MOST ADVANCED SECURITY AND POLICE METHODS. BUT AGAINST A THREAT WHICH CAN MOVE SO QUICKLY, WIDELY AND QUIETLY, NONE OF US CAN DO IT ALONE. WITH INCREASING TEMPO AND EFFECTIVENESS,

WE ARE DEVELOPING A WORLDWIDE COUNTERTERRORIST NETWORK. IT IS MADE UP OF THE INTELLIGENCE, SECURITY AND POLICE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE THREATENED NATIONS. THEY EXCHANGE INTELLIGENCE, SHARE DATA BANKS, WORK TOGETHER OPERATIONALLY, PROVIDE TRAINING AND TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES TO THE LESS ADVANCED OF THEIR NUMBER, UNDERTAKE SURVEILLANCE AND OTHER INTELLIGENCE ASSIGNMENTS FOR EACH OTHER, REPORT THEIR FINDINGS, TRANSMIT ALERTS AND WARNINGS.

TERRORIST GROUPS ARE A VERY TOUGH NUT FOR INTELLIGENCE TO CRACK. THEY ARE SMALL, NOT EASILY PENETRATED. THEIR OPERATIONS ARE CLOSELY HELD AND COMPARTMENTED. THEY MOVE QUICKLY AND PLACE A HIGH PREMIUM ON SECRECY AND SURPRISE. YET PROMPT REPORTING AND PROMPT FOLLOW-UP ACTION DOES FREQUENTLY FORESTALL TERRORIST INCIDENTS. THE MOST COMMON EXAMPLE IS FOREWARNING TO U.S. AND FOREIGN EMBASSIES, OR OTHER INSTITUTIONS, OF ACTUAL THREAT OR STRONG INDICATIONS OF PLANNING FOR ATTACK ON INSTALLATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS. THE USUAL RESPONSE IS HEIGHTENED ALERT, INCREASE IN PROTECTIVE MEASURES OR CHANGE IN PLANS AND SCHEDULES. RECENTLY, FOR EXAMPLE, INTELLIGENCE ON A THREATENED HIJACKING OF A FOREIGN COMMERCIAL AIRLINER RESULTED IN A CHANGE IN TRAVEL PLANS AND POLICE WORK WHICH PREVENTED THE INTENDED HIJACKING. IN OTHER INSTANCES, IN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, U.S. OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN DIRECTLY TARGETTED BY TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN TEMPORARILY REMOVED FROM THEIR POSTS. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, OUR WARNING AND DETAILED INTELLIGENCE HAS DIRECTLY ASSISTED FOREIGN AUTHORITIES IN CAPTURING TERRORISTS.

THROUGH TIMELY INTELLIGENCE WORK, TWO SOPHISTICATED SUITCASE BOMBS WERE INTERCEPTED AND DISABLED AND WARNINGS ON THE NATURE OF THESE TYPES OF BOMBS WERE PROVIDED PROMPTLY TO INTENDED AND POTENTIAL VICTIMS WORLDWIDE. THIS WARNING LED TO THE DISCOVERY OF TWO MORE SUCH DEVICES BY COOPERATING SERVICES.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE MANY FALSE ALARMS. THE VOLUME OF THREAT REPORTING HAS ALMOST INVARIABLY ESCALATED DRAMATICALLY IN THE WAKE OF A HEADLINE-MAKING TERRORIST INCIDENT. AT SUCH A TIME, SOME INDIVIDUALS SEEK TO MARKET "INFORMATION" THEY KNOW HAS BECOME SALABLE. AT THE SAME TIME, OUR OWN INTELLIGENCE COLLECTORS ARE ENERGIZED BY MAJOR TERRORIST EVENTS TO FERRET OUT ANY INFORMATION, EVEN SEEMINGLY MARGINAL, CONCERNING POSSIBLE PLANNING FOR ATTACKS THAT COULD THREATEN US LIVES AND PROPERTY. THE FLIP SIDE OF THAT IS THAT WHEN SUCH THREAT REPORTING RISES, MORE REPORTS OF DUBIOUS CREDIBILITY TEND TO MAKE IT THROUGH THE SYSTEM THAT NORMALLY WOULD FILTER THEM OUT. THIS CAN ALSO PRODUCE FALSE CONFIRMATIONS. WE HAVE MADE VERY GOOD PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING A SYSTEM OF VERY RAPID COMMUNICATIONS TO GATHER ASSESSMENTS, HAVE REPORTS TESTED BY INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS THROUGHOUT OUR GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS AND PASS CONCLUSIONS QUICKLY TO THE POINT OF THREAT.

WHAT IS OUR POLICY IN DEALING WITH TERRORISM? WE RESIST IT BY ALL LEGAL MEANS. WHENEVER WE OBTAIN EVIDENCE THAT AN ACT OF TERRORISM IS ABOUT TO BE MOUNTED, WE TAKE MEASURES TO

WARN AND PROTECT OUR CITIZENS, PROPERTY AND INTERESTS AND OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES AS WELL. WE WILL WORK INTENSIVELY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO ELIMINATE THIS THREAT TO FREE AND OPEN SOCIETIES.

WE ARE SPENDING AND WORKING TO IMPROVE THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF OUR DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND OVERSEAS FACILITIES. TRAINING PROGRAMS ARE SENSITIZING OUR DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY PERSONNEL TO THE NATURE OF THE TERRORIST THREAT. WE WORK CLOSELY WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF SECURITY PROVIDED TO OUR PERSONNEL AND TO OUR FACILITIES ABROAD. HERE, WE ARE WORKING TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL PROTECTION TO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS AND DIGNITARIES AND VISITORS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT USE FORCE INDISCRIMINATELY. BUT WE ARE READY TO CONSIDER AN ARMED STRIKE AGAINST TERRORISTS AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT THEM WHERE OTHER MEANS OF DEFENSE OR DETERRENCE ARE NOT SUFFICIENT. WE FACE VERY DIFFICULT AND SENSITIVE PROBLEMS IN CHOOSING APPROPRIATE INSTRUMENTS OF RESPONSE IN EACH CASE. YET, WE CANNOT ALLOW THIS TO FREEZE US INTO PARALYSIS.

IF WE DO NOT USE FORCE WHERE ITS USE IS CLEARLY JUSTIFIED, WE LOSE BOTH THE DIRECT BENEFITS OF ACTION AND THE DETERRENT VALUE OF HAVING THE CAPABILITY TO RETALIATE. WE NEED THAT DETERRENT. WE CANNOT PERMIT TERRORIST GROUPS OR THEIR SPONSORS TO FEEL THEY CAN MAKE FREE AND UNOPPOSED USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST US. WE MUST DEMONSTRATE OUR WILL TO MEET A TERRORIST CHALLENGE

WITH MEASURED FORCE APPLIED QUICKLY WHEN THE EVIDENCE WARRANTS. WE CANNOT PERMIT TERRORISTS AND THEIR SPONSORING STATES TO FEEL THAT WE ARE INHIBITED FROM RESPONDING OR THAT OUR RESPONSE IS GOING TO BE SO BOGGED DOWN IN INTERMINABLE CONSULTATIONS OR DEBATE THAT WE, IN FACT, DO NOT HAVE A DETERRENT.

WE NEED NOT INSIST ON ABSOLUTE EVIDENCE. NOR DO WE NEED TO PROVE BEYOND ALL REASONABLE DOUBT THAT A PARTICULAR ELEMENT OR INDIVIDUAL IN STATE-SUPPORTING TERRORISM IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SPECIFIC TERRORIST ACTS. THERE IS TODAY, FOR EXAMPLE, SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE THAT RADICAL SHIA TERRORISTS ARE RESPONSIVE TO IRANIAN GUIDANCE FOR US TO HOLD TEHRAN RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ATTACKS AGAINST UNITED STATES' CITIZENS, PROPERTY AND INTERESTS.

THE LEGITIMACY OF USING FORCE AGAINST TERRORISM DEPENDS ON OUR ALSO MAKING STRONG EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THIS CHALLENGE BY MEANS SHORT OF FORCE. PHYSICAL SECURITY, TRAINING, DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTITUTIONS FOR SHARING OUR RESOURCES AND KNOWLEDGE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, THE FORCE OF LAW--ALL THESE MEASURES MUST ALSO BE APPLIED IN AN INTEGRATED FASHION AS RIGOROUSLY AS POSSIBLE. WE MUST CONTINUE TO PROVE OUR ABILITY TO WIELD ALL OF THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER, POLITICAL ECONOMIC, DIPLOMATIC, MILITARY, INFORMATIONAL AND COVERT, AGAINST THE SCOURGE OF TERRORISM.

WESTERN NATIONS HAVE, ON THE WHOLE, BEEN WEAK, IN MY VIEW, IN APPLYING ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC MEASURES TO CHECK STATE TERRORISM.

SANCTIONS, WHEN EXERCISED IN CONCERT WITH OTHER NATIONS, CAN HELP TO ISOLATE, WEAKEN, OR PUNISH STATES THAT SPONSOR TERRORISM AGAINST US. TOO OFTEN, COUNTRIES ARE INHIBITED BY FEAR OF LOSING COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR FEAR OF PROVOKING FURTHER TERRORISM. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND OTHER FORMS OF COUNTERVAILING PRESSURE IMPOSE COSTS AND RISKS ON THE NATIONS THAT APPLY THEM, BUT SOME SACRIFICES WILL BE NECESSARY IF WE ARE NOT TO SUFFER EVEN GREATER COSTS DOWN THE ROAD.

EXAMPLES OF HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN MOVE IN CONCERT ARE THE 1973 CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF UNLAWFUL ACTS AGAINST THE SAFETY OF CIVIL AVIATION (THE MONTREAL CONVENTION) POPULARLY KNOWN AS THE ANTI-HIJACKING CONVENTION, AND THE 1979 INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AGAINST THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD PUT TEETH IN EXISTING AGREEMENTS OF THIS SORT BY SEVERELY PUNISHING VIOLATORS.

TODAY, THERE ARE ADDITIONAL INITIATIVES THAT MUST BE TAKEN BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY IF WE ARE TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM EFFECTIVELY. FOR EXAMPLE:

- WE SHOULD REVIEW INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS THAT DEFINE DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGE TO IDENTIFY STANDARDS OF DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE AND BEHAVIOR WHICH COULD BE MORE VIGOROUSLY ENFORCED. WE MAY NEED NEW INTERNATIONAL MEASURES TO COUNTER MISUSE OF DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES BY STATES SPONSORING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES.

- ALTHOUGH THE ISSUE OF EXTRADITION IS DEALT WITH BILATERALLY UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES, TERRORISM VIOLATES ALL CIVILIZED NORMS. WE SHOULD THINK ABOUT DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL TREATIES:

-- WHEREBY PERSONS WHO COMMIT TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST CITIZENS OF SIGNATORY STATES COULD BE ROUTINELY EXTRADITED,

-- WHEREBY INDIVIDUALS WHO USE FALSE PASSPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTATION AND WHO CROSS INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES CAN BE DETAINED TO PERMIT INVESTIGATION OF THE PURPOSE OF SUCH TRAVEL,

-- WHEREBY INDIVIDUALS KNOWN TO BE INVOLVED IN TERRORISM CAN BE PREVENTED FROM ENTERING ANY SIGNATORY STATES.

- IT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT SIGNAL FOR THOSE NATIONS SIGNATORY TO EXISTING COUNTERTERRORISM CONVENTIONS AND AGREEMENTS TO PROCEED TO RATIFY THOSE AGREEMENTS. FIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE YET TO RATIFY THE STRASBOURG CONVENTION (EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION OF TERRORISM).

THE AIM OF TERRORISTS AND THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF THOSE WHO SPONSOR, TRAIN AND SUPPLY THEM IS TO UNDERMINE OUR VALUES, TO SHATTER OUR SELF-CONFIDENCE AND BLUNT OUR RESPONSE.

IN THE ABSENCE OF A NATIONAL WILL TO FIGHT TERRORISM AT ITS ROOTS, WE MUST BE CONTENT ONLY TO COPE WITH TERRORISM'S

EFFECTS--NOT ITS CAUSE. A STRONG BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE. PARLIAMENTS HAVE BEGUN TO AUTHORIZE FUNDS, AND GOVERNMENTS TO ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE COUNTERTERRORIST UNITS. INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY SERVICES ARE DEVELOPING NEW CAPABILITIES AND IMPROVING THEIR METHODS AND PERFORMANCE. A CONFERENCE SUCH AS THIS GOES FAR TO AIR THE TOUGH ISSUES IN DEALING WITH TERRORISM AND DIRECTS PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THIS VITAL SUBJECT.
