NO PLACE TO HIDE The Strategy and Tactics of Terrorism

A WESTERN GOALS PRODUCTION

Griffin: A few years ago, most of us thought that terrorism was something that existed in *other* countries. It could never happen *here*. But recent events have shown that, now, our public figures are routinely the targets of kidnapping and assassination attempts, and any citizen suddenly can become a hostage, be blown apart by a hidden bomb, or killed by sniper fire in the street. Terrorism is no longer limited to a band of fanatics in the Middle East, Africa or Europe. We, ourselves, now are the target, and **there is NO PLACE TO HIDE**.

In Israel, terrorists from the Palestine Liberation Organization seize a school and hold 95 children as hostages. When their demands are not granted, they turn machine guns on the children and set off hand grenades in their midst. Twenty-eight are killed and more than 70 wounded.

In Ireland, a 100-pound bomb goes off in downtown Belfast, killing nine. Within the hour, 20 more bombs explode throughout the city. On other occasions, fireballs of plastic explosives are hurled into pubs, leaving behind a carpet of charred bodies.

In Spain, Prime Minister Luis Carrero is killed in an explosion with such force that it blows his car over the top of a church. Credit for the act is claimed by a separatist group called the Basque Nation and Liberty.

In New York, a tavern is bombed by a Puerto Rican terrorist group, the FALN. Fifty-seven people are killed or injured. The Black Liberation Army attacks a police station in San Francisco, and in New York sets up a series of ambushes for police. Two officers are killed. Members of the Weather Underground plant bombs in the U.S. Capitol Building, the U.S. Senate Building and at the Pentagon. As a joint operation, the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground carry out a series of armored truck robberies in New York which yields hundreds of thousands of dollars for future operations, and results in the deaths of several policemen and security guards. ¹

The chronicle of terrorism is lengthy and on-going, with thousands of new assaults added to the world record each year. The sheer quantity of these events tends to numb the public consciousness and to obscure any real understanding of why they happen. The more we see, the less we know. But, if we step back from the details, we find that several overall patterns emerge—patterns that are more enlightening than the events themselves.

The first pattern that becomes apparent is the fact that most terrorist groups today are not isolated from each other, but are, in fact, so closely intertwined that they constitute an international *network*. This was first documented in 1976 by European intelligence specialist, Pierre de Villemarest, in a four-volume study published in France, entitled *The Secret History of Terrorist Organizations*. In 1981, it also became the subject of a book by Claire Sterling, entitled *The Terror Network*, published by Reader's Digest Press in the United States. The reality of this network is evidenced by the fact that, not only do the groups assist each other, but they even carry out attacks on behalf of *other* organizations.

For example, in 1972, at the Lod Airport in Tel Aviv, Israel, terrorists with automatic rifles and hand grenades attack passengers in a crowded waiting room. Over 100 people are killed or wounded. This is not done by the PLO, but by members of the *Japanese* Red Army *on behalf* of the Palestinian terrorists.

The OPEC headquarters in Vienna is seized. Three men are killed, and 11 oil ministers are taken hostage. The raid is a *joint* operation of two organizations: the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the German Red Army Fraction.²

The interlocking nature of the terrorist network is the outgrowth of the fact that leaders of most of these groups, regardless of their origin, receive their training, their indoctrination, and their weapons from the same source.

REES INTERVIEW

Rees: Sometimes the Soviets will support individual terrorist groups directly as they have been doing in South Africa for the past 10 years where the terrorist organization, the African National Congress, could not possibly exist without direct and massive Soviet aid. Sometimes they provide support for terrorist groups through surrogate countries, and, in particular, Cuba and Libya.

Griffin: (Voice Over) Mr. John Rees is the publisher of *Information Digest*, an internationally circulated intelligence report dealing with terrorism and internal security.

Rees: Sometimes this will be done by them directly through the KGB, their secret police. Other times it's done through a group, badly misnamed, called the World Peace Council. And I can remember a couple of years ago, talking to a high-level Soviet defector called Igor Glagolev, who had attended World Peace Council meetings which, in turn, had had men from what was then Rhodesia present, and they had used the World Peace Council as the cover and the venue to discuss what weapons they needed the Soviet Union to supply them with. That is how Robert Mugabe got the guns and the rockets and the ammunition that was able to take over Rhodesia and turn it into the sad country of Zimbabwe.

Griffin: In 1964, the Politburo of the Soviet Union announced that it would expand its program of encouraging and supporting revolutions in non-communist countries.

Special training centers soon were established at the Lenin Institute and the Patrice Lumumba University, both in Moscow, one also at Simferopol in the Crimea. Additional centers eventually were set up in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and North Korea.

Recruits from all over the world received intensive instruction in the use of light weapons, explosives, guerrilla warfare, and propaganda.

Two years later, in January of 1966, Cuba was added to the list of training centers as an outgrowth of an international meeting held there called the Tri-Continental Conference. It was attended by over 500 representatives of 83 terrorist groups. The purpose of the meeting was to establish strategy and channels of communication for instigating civil war within the non-communist nations on the tri-continents of Asia, Africa and the Americas. This operation was placed under the supervision of Cuban Intelligence called the DGI.³

Cuba has trained and supplied literally thousands of terrorists from scores of countries in Africa and South America, particularly the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the Tupameros in Uruguay, and the F.M.L.N. in El Salvador. In fact, the Salvadoran terrorists were given *American* weapons and military equipment that had been abandoned to Hanoi after the Vietnam War. The materiel was first shipped to Cuba and then sent to Nicaragua where the Sandinistas smuggled it into El Salvador.⁴

GRATHWOHL INTERVIEW

Grathwohl: They thought I was a demolition expert and I never led them to believe otherwise. As a kid growing up my grandmother ... (fades during Griffin narration) ...if you lit it or whatever, but they had no experience at all which was a tremendous advantage to me.

Griffin: Larry Grathwohl became a member of the Weather Underground organization as an undercover operative for law enforcement agencies in Cincinnati. His role within the organization was to carry directives from the Central Committee to the operating units in the field.⁵

Grathwohl: Most of the people that had no prior experience, let's say the average Weatherman, if there is such a thing, they were sent to Cuba for training in Cuba. When the Venceremos Brigades were first being organized, I had a part in that, myself and a guy named Robert Burlingham were assigned the responsibility for organizing the first and second Venceremos Brigade in Ohio. I was told at that time that the only reason that the Venceremos Brigade existed was so that the Weathermen could send people and other terrorist organizations in

the United States could send people to Cuba for training. Also, Tri-Continental played a significant role in Weathermen activities, the leadership was in constant contact with Tricontinentale and that particular organization is funded by the DGI. I was told after my experience with the Weathermen that many of the people sent to Cuba on the Venceremos Brigade were approached by agents of the DGI and I also know that the DGI is controlled by the KGB.

Griffin: As the Soviet connection with international terrorism became increasingly obvious, the KGB made a tactical decision to establish training centers in countries that, generally, are not regarded as Communist. In this way, the Soviets could disclaim responsibility.

An example is Libya, under the dictatorship of Muammar Quadafi. Quadafi's army and air force are almost entirely supplied by the Soviet Union.

Altogether, there are 5,000 military personnel from the Eastern Communist Bloc and from Cuba. Libya received \$2.5 billion worth of arms from the Soviets between 1974 and 1981, an amount far in excess of its own internal needs. Most of these arms have moved *through* Libya and into the terrorist network.

The Provisional IRA in Ireland has been receiving weapons from Libya at the race of over \$5 million per year. They received their first Russian helicopter and rocket launchers as early as 1972.

Quadafi has maintained three separate training camps which are staffed by personnel from the Soviet Union and East Germany. He has provided instructions, money, or weapons to practically every terrorist group in the world. He has been one of the primary financial sponsors of the PLO, and he openly has called for the death of any Arab leader who is friendly to the United States.

Angola is another country that, although not officially a Soviet satellite, nevertheless serves as a Communist outpost in Africa. In September of 1981, South African troops made a surprise sweep 60 miles into Angola to destroy a guerrilla training base from which terrorists had been conducting operations. It was a highly productive raid which cleared away any doubt about Communist involvement in African terrorism. Killed in the fighting were two Soviet military officers, and a Soviet Sergeant-Major was taken prisoner. Also taken were 50 Soviet tanks and armored vehicles and over 2,000 tons of ammunition, rifles, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, and land mines. It is now known that, in Southern Africa alone, there are 3,800 Soviet and East German military personnel and, from Cuba, more than 28,000 soldiers.⁷

By the end of the 1970s, the KGB had succeeded in establishing terrorist support centers like these, not only in Libya and Angola, but also in Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, South Yemen and Mozambique.

The problem of moving terrorists from one country to another without detection by the authorities has become the specialty of an organization headquartered in Paris called the Curiel Apparatus. Henri Curiel was an Egyptian Communist who had been expelled from Egypt by King Farouk. He went to France where he established an underground railroad for draft dodgers and deserters, and, later, during the Algerian war, for terrorists of the FLN.⁸

GAUCHER INTERVIEW

Griffin: The internationally recognized authority on the Curiel Apparatus is French author and journalist Roland Gaucher, who has written widely on the subject of the Communist Party in France, and, in particular, the Curiel connection.⁹

Gaucher: It has a very important role, called logistics in the army, and Curiel's underground railroad truly serves that function. Of what does it consist? A number of activities that I shall enumerate. For international terrorists who pass through France, this group provides shelter and means of communication which permits them to be completely independent and out of reach of the police.

Secondly, it has a very important activity in forged passports. I will give you an example. Before the Curiel group was arrested, their apartments were searched. One thousand passports were found—which is considerable—out of which 200 were designated to be sent to Turkey, probably for the Armenian terrorists.

And I shall add that it is possible that one of the forged passports from Cyprus that was used by one of the terrorists who blasted the synagogue on the Rue de Campanique in Paris, this passport probably came from the Curiel organization.

Another very important activity is instruction. It provides clandestine instruction in terrorism, in propaganda, in agitation, in ways of avoiding police observation, and, to the contrary, how to spy on police operations. It is a clandestine school and some of its teachers are long-time members of the Communist Party who had belonged to the French resistance combat units during the German occupation.

One must add one more detail. These courses were given in religious institutions which provided wonderful cover, because police hesitate to search church buildings or simple religious institutions which, on the surface, appear perfectly respectable.

And finally, it is possible that the Curiel group has provided arms, although that could never be proven. What *has* been proven is that the group has made contacts possible between terrorists, subversive organizations, and certain politicians. And, in that matter, Curiel, who was a very intelligent man, was an extraordinary go-between and, in my opinion, a brilliant mind in this task.

Griffin: In May of 1981, the world was shocked at the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II. The press reported that the gunman, Mehmet Ali Agca may have been connected with *right*-wing groups in Turkey. Investigations since that time have uncovered the fact that Agca was a frequent traveler to Communist Bulgaria. He was known to have stayed at the finest hotels and his lifestyle was extravagant.¹⁰

DU BERRIER INTERVIEW

Griffin: The H du B Report, published in Manaco, was one of the first private information services to reveal the whole story of Agca. ¹¹ It is compiled by Hilaire du Berrier, a long-time foreign correspondent who maintains extensive diplomatic and intelligence contacts throughout the world.

duBerrier: There was a meeting, they had a meeting, the Russians called a meeting in Sophia, Bulgaria, and delegates of all of the Warsaw Bloc nations were there except from Poland, which is very significant and they decided at that meeting that Poland, the Polish government, the Polish Communist Party and Russia could deal with Solidarity in Poland if Solidarity could be stripped of its support of a Polish Pope, and there it was decided that something had to be done to him. And nobody wanted to come out and kill the man, they said something, he has to be silenced. But the word kill was never used.

Mehmet Ali Agca was given a notice to hold himself on readiness. He traveled on various passports and he went into Russian Crimea into a training camp and there he received training.

Very interesting that he was put through hours and hours of target practice shooting at a moving target in the form of the Pope's body.

Griffin: The existence of an interlocking terrorist network, supported directly and indirectly by the Soviet Union, is well-documented, and that leads to the second obvious pattern of terrorism. It's the fact that the leaders of these groups, almost without exception, claim to be acting in the name of Marx and Lenin. Further analysis reveals that these people are not the product of the working class, which they claim to represent, but come from the privileged middle class and upper class. They're intellectuals with college educations, and, in fact, it's within the university environment that they become steeped in the theories of Marx and Lenin.

Yassir Arafat, leader of the PLO, had entered the University of Cairo in 1951. He was the son of a wealthy merchant from Gassa.

In 1956, he was president of the leftist Palestine Student Union and was its delegate that year to the Communist World Festival of Youth in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

In November of 1974, Arafat traveled to Moscow where he placed a wreath at the tomb of Lenin and was the personal guest of Leonid Brezhnev. 12

In West Germany, the most active terrorist group is the Red Army Fraction, commonly called the Baader-Meinhof gang. It is an outgrowth of the radical student movement that flourished at German universities in the 1960s.

The German Red Army Fraction was founded by Andreas Baader Ulrike Meinhof. Meinhof previously had been married to the publisher of a "New Left" magazine called *KONKRET*, featuring articles on recreational drugs, soft pornography, and radical politics. Both she and her husband were members of the Communist Party in West Germany from 1956 to 1962, and they received \$400,000 from the Communist government of East Germany to subsidize their magazine and to support leftist student organizations at the Free University of Berlin. ¹³

In Italy, the largest and most active terrorist organization is the Red Brigades. It has a disciplined central membership of well over 500, with close supporters and part-time activists numbering into the thousands. The Red Brigades was formed by Renato Curcio and his wife, Margherita Cagol, who began their revolutionary careers as students at the University of Trent. They were activists in the youth branch of the Italian Communist Party and also in one of the Party's more militant factions called the "Metropolitan Left." ¹⁴

In Ireland, revolutionary terrorism was introduced many decades ago by the Irish Republican Army, known today as the "Official IRA." But, in recent times, that role has been taken over by a splinter organization called the *Provisional* IRA.

Bernadette Devlin has been one of the revolutionaries most eloquent spokesmen. A product of Belfast University, she has been closely affiliated with the Fourth International, which is a world-wide grouping of Communist revolutionary organizations that revere the memory and teachings of Leon Trotsky.

In September 1979, Provisional IRA spokesman Ruairi O'Bradaigh explained to the press the goals of his organization. He said, "We want a Democratic Socialist Republic ... Marxist in analysis ...similar to Communism." ¹⁵

By 1981, Nicaragua had been taken over by a group of revolutionaries called the Sandinistas. Between 5,000-6,000 Cubans now are training the new armed forces. The country is swarming with technicians and instructors from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Bulgaria, Vietnam and North Korea. Weapons are supplied by Cuba, and runways have been extended to accommodate Russian MIGs.

Humberto Ortega, the Minister of Defense, explained the nature of the new regime when he said: "Our revolution has a profoundly anti-imperialist character ... We are anti-Yankee ... We are guided by scientific doctrine, by Marxism-Leninism." ¹⁶

In the United States, the Weather Underground Organization is a direct outgrowth of the SDS, Students for a Democratic Society. One of its better known members is Cathy Boudin, who was arrested in 1981, following the robbery of a Brinks armored truck in Nyack, New York. Boudin attended Bryn Mawr College in the United States and then went to the Soviet Union to spend her senior year studying at Moscow University. Later, she became a teacher on a Soviet collective farm.

The Weather Underground Organization officially describes itself as follows: "...a revolutionary organization of communist men and women. ... Our goal is the destruction of U.S. imperialism and the achievement of a classless state: world communism." ¹⁷

It's important to acknowledge the fact that not *all* terrorists around the world are members of the Communist Party under discipline from Moscow. But most of them *are* self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninists who are dedicated to exactly the same revolutionary theories and objectives to which the Soviets are dedicated. There is no fundamental conflict between them, and the terrorists serve the purpose of the Soviet Union even though that may not be their primary intent.

It's interesting to observe how people sometimes use words, not to communicate ideas, but to conceal them. For example, while there may be terrorism in the world, there are no *terrorists*, at least not in their vocabulary. Those who commit these acts never refer to themselves as terrorists, but as revolutionaries. In fact, the very essence of Marxism-Leninism is the adoption of a whole dictionary of words and phrases that have quite different meanings than what they seem to have. The reality is that the Soviet Union has been pursuing the annexation of every non-Communist nation in the world, but they describe this process as assisting the

down-trodden peoples of those countries in throwing off their chains of "imperialism, colonialism, or racism." This is not conquest, you understand. This is what they call a "war of national liberation." When the revolutionaries finally come to power and begin to kill off their political opposition to consolidate control, they describe that as "defending the revolution" against its enemies, the "traitors, the greedy capitalists, and the militarists" who would re-enslave the peasants and workers. ¹⁸

WILLIAMS INTERVIEW

Williams: It means the right of self-determination. That people will have the right to determine their own destiny, to live free of especially external oppression, to live free of imperialism, foreign domination, and the right to decide for themselves rather than to have decisions forced upon them.

Griffin: Robert F. Williams was one of the original advocates of revolutionary violence on behalf of Black Americans. Wanted by the FBI in 1961 on a kidnapping charge, he fled to Cuba and began publishing a series of propaganda tracts called *The Crusader*, which were smuggled into the United States through Canada. *The Crusader* declared that Black Americans constituted an oppressed colony within the United States—a nation within a nation—and called for a violent revolutionary war of national liberation to free that colony from the oppressive yoke of racism and capitalist exploitation. He also had a radio program beamed into the Southern United States by the powerful transmitters of Radio Havana, and, in these broadcasts, he called for armed insurrection against Whitey and against Yankee imperialism.

Williams also traveled to Red China and became the honored guest of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. In 1969, he returned to the United States. At this time, the original kidnapping charges were dropped, and he was given a teaching fellowship at the University of Michigan under a grant from the Ford Foundation. ¹⁹

Williams: To a certain extent the revolution in Cuba was a revolution for self-determination. The revolution in China was a revolution in self-determination. Now there are Americans who will say, "Oh, but China was not a colony, oh, but Cuba was not a colony." Yes, but they had to take dictation from the United States and the United States had control of those countries, of those puppet governments, and Cuba was no more than a puppet of the United States.

And you take them, you see, the Indians is supposed to, they've had treaties, they're supposed to be an independent nation, and many of the tribes. And the United States government is not honoring, they're not honoring the treaties they signed with the Indians. They're oppressed people, and they've all but been exterminated. Puerto Rico is an oppressed, impoverished nation. And the Black people in this country, we are an impoverished nation.

Griffin: The rhetoric of revolution is the same everywhere in the world, with only slight modification to fit the unique circumstances of a particular group. Once the proper words have been memorized, practically any atrocity can be explained and justified as a noble act. Unfortunately, the majority of the world population knows very little of the actual history of these movements, and to them, this revolutionary rhetoric, these high-sounding phrases, can be very effective in concealing the reality until it's too late to resist.

But let's get back to the subject of terrorism. It's obvious, I think, that no government is going to be toppled by merely a few bombs in public places, hostages held for ransom, or even by the assassination of public figures. And so, it's equally obvious that terrorism *as such* is not viewed by Marxist-Leninists as a mechanism for the seizure of power. To the professional revolutionary, terrorism is but one tactic out of many in a larger strategy of total war. Its primary value lies, not in the killing or destruction, but in the psychological impact upon the population. In fact, it can be stated as a general law of terrorism, that its objective is to weaken a target government, not by confronting its military force, but by causing its civilian population to react in ways that will undermine the nation. In other words, the *action* is in the *reaction*. To illustrate this point, let's take a look next at some of the ways in which public reactions to terrorism can undermine a target government.

A nation's economy is a delicate balance of forces, and it responds almost instantaneously to bad news. When people have doubts about the future, they become cautious in their spending. It doesn't take many acts of terrorism before the population begins avoiding unnecessary travel and staying away from public places—the shops and the restaurants. Sales fall off, and profits decline. Investors remove their savings out of the country to more politically stable areas. Goods become scarce and unemployment rises. Food shortages become a way of life. As the economy is weakened, the *government* is weakened, and this is brought about, not by the direct action of terrorists, but by the *reaction* of the people. Thus, it is one of the calculated objectives of terrorism.

In Italy, when one of the leaders of the Red Brigades was captured and scheduled for trial in 1976, the group demanded his release and, to punctuate that demand, shot down the Attorney General, along with his bodyguard and his driver. The trial was postponed. Ten months later, the terrorists assassinated the president of the Turin Law Society and issued threats to anyone participating in the pending trial. Forty-two potential jurors asked to be excused for "medical reasons", and the trial was postponed again. The terrorists had proven they could successfully challenge an established government and stop its legal machinery from turning.²⁰

In Ireland, the spectacle of a few hundred armed revolutionaries pitted successfully against 16,000 British troops makes a similar impression on world opinion.

These events communicate a powerful message to the citizens of each target government. The message is that their leaders are weak and politically impotent. It implies, also, that the revolutionary movement is strong and that it has a real chance of ultimately succeeding. The prestige of the government is damaged in the eyes of its own citizens while the prestige of the revolutionaries is strengthened, an important factor for the attracting of new recruits and obtaining support from the population.

The development of new and powerful weapons gives more advantage to the terrorist than to the state. Since the objective of the terrorist is to create destruction, he is free to use them, the more powerful the better. But, since the objective of the government is to *prevent* destruction, it *cannot* safely use these weapons within crowds of its own citizens.

In Ireland, for example, British soldiers on occasion have been required to use rubber bullets, and their rifles have been reworked to fire single shots only, not the automatic rapid-fire bursts for which they were designed. Needless to say, the IRA has no such restrictions.²¹

In September 1973, the Italian police raided an apartment near the Rome airport and found members of a Palestinian terrorist group with two Russian, hand-held, anti-aircraft missiles, the SAM-7, with infrared, heat-seeking guidance systems. We have come to the point where one person now can shoot down a \$20 million aircraft with hundreds of people on board. And the day of nuclear terrorism may not be far away. It is no wonder, then, that a government which is well prepared to fight a full-scale war on foreign soil can become seemingly helpless and impotent when fighting within its own borders. Eventually, however, with enough humiliation and provocation, almost *any* government can be goaded into taking more vigorous action to restore its prestige, and that leads to the next part of the story.

All Marxist-Leninists are familiar with a small book called the "Mini-Manual for Urban Guerrillas," written by Carlos Marighella, a former leader of the Communist Party of Brazil. The "Mini-Manual" gives complete instructions on every aspect of weaponry, deployment of forces, and the use of terrorism. And then it says: "The government has no alternative except to intensify repression. The police round-ups, house searches, arrests of innocent people make life in the city unbearable. The general sentiment is that the government is unjust, incapable of solving problems, and resorts purely and simply to the physical liquidation of its opponentsThe urban guerrilla must become more aggressive and violent, resorting without let-up to sabotage, terrorism, expropriations, assaults, kidnappings, and executions, heightening the disastrous situation in which the government must act."

This same strategy was expressed in 1968 by Italian Communist Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, the famous millionaire publisher of the novel *Doctor Zhivago*, in a booklet entitled "Political Guerrilla Warfare."

Feltrinelli said that the task of the terrorist was—and these are his words—"to violate the law openly ... challenging and outraging institutions and public order in every way. Then, when the state intervenes as a result, with police and the courts, it will be easy to denounce its harshness and repressive dictatorial tendencies."²³

In Germany, Ulrike Meinhof, of the Red Army Fraction, explained it this way. She said: "It is necessary to provoke the latent fascism in society, ... and then the people will turn to us for leadership." ²⁴

In 1970, Kent State had been the object of an intensive organizational drive on behalf of the Weathermen faction of the SDS. For over two years, a steady stream of professional revolutionaries appeared before student groups. Weatherman Bernadette Dohrn told them that there soon would be shooting on campus and admonished them to arm themselves for rebellion. Another speaker was Jerry Rubin, who said: "The first part of the Yippie program is to kill your parents. And, I mean that quite literally, because, until you're prepared to kill your parents, you're not ready to change this country."

The SDS on campus had distributed copies of what it called the "Organizers' Manual for the Spring Offensive." The manual said: "Beginning with guerrilla theatre actions in dorms, we can escalate to disrupting classes, street marches, quick assaults on buildings, etc., before moving to the major confrontation of the struggle."

In an SDS pamphlet distributed among students in April of 1969, we find this blunt statement of intent: "We're no longer asking you to come to help us make a revolution. We're telling you that the revolution has begun, and the only choice you have to make is which side you're on."²⁸

The revolution at Kent State began in earnest on May 1, 1970. The date itself is significant. May Day is the international Communist holiday. A student demonstration was called to protest U.S. military action in Southeast Asia, and thus was the beginning of four days of violence. Unruly crowds surged through the streets breaking windows and setting fires. On campus, the ROTC building was burned to the ground. Firemen were struck by rocks from the crowd, and their fire hoses were cut. When the National Guard was called in, they became the immediate target of insults and obscenities. They were pelted with a barrage of bricks, chunks of concrete, blocks of wood with embedded nails and razor blades, and plastic bags filled with excrement. Over 60 National Guardsmen and local police were injured.

The crowds were coordinated by leaders with walkie-talkies and wearing armbands for identification. Many were not students, and several groups had previously been spotted arriving in cars with Illinois license plates. On numerous occasions, the organizers linked arms with each other and forming a human chain behind the students, pushed them directly toward the National Guard, shouting "Move on in! Move on in!"

The planned revolution came to a climax at 12:30 p.m. on May 4. Seventy-four Guardsmen found themselves in danger of becoming surrounded by angry demonstrators. Under a barrage of rocks and obscenities, the Guardsmen retreated up a small hill toward Taylor Hall. Suddenly, a shot rang out from among the advancing crowd, a fact that later was confirmed by eyewitness testimony of a student who had seen a possible sniper, and by an examination of a bullet hole in a metal structure between the position of the crowd and the National Guard. The direction of the fragmented edges of the hole shows that the shot *was* fired from the crowd.

The Guardsmen were not professional soldiers. They had been on duty for four days, and were under emotional strain. Upon hearing a shot from the hostile demonstrators, they closed ranks, faced the crowd and fired. In the melee that followed, ten students were wounded and four were killed. The victims were not leaders of the confrontation, but they became martyrs for the movement. Their tragic death was used—and still is being used today—as evidence of the repressive nature of the United States government.

While much of the nation mourned, the revolutionaries were jubilant, and, a few days later, on May 7, Jerry Rubin said: "It was the most significant day of all of our lives, because in forty-eight hours, more young people were radicalized, revolutionized and yippized than in any single time in American history."²⁹

Here then is a third benefit of terrorism in the form of, not the action itself, but the *reaction* of the public. Terrorism eventually forces the government to take drastic measures which the public finds distasteful. Calculated provocation on the part of the revolutionaries leads inevitably to disastrous events and martyrs for the cause. Revolutionary propagandists present these as evidence that the government is repressive. The major part of the population may still reject the position of the revolutionaries, but many now will begin to view their own government as no better than the terrorists themselves, and still others actually will go further and join forces *with* the revolutionaries to combat the apparent injustices. This is a huge step forward in the development

of a domestic revolution, because it isolates the government from the moral support of its own people and sets the stage for the final conflict which will be fought by relatively small numbers while the vast majority must be counted on to remain neutral.

We have spoken so far only about terrorism from the left, the MarxistLeninists who dream of socialism and Communism. Let's turn our attention next to terrorism supposedly from the right, from those who at least claim they are Communism's foes.

In Italy, on August 2, 1980, a terrorist bomb explodes in the Bologna railroad station. Eighty people are killed and 200 injured.³⁰

Weeks later, at the West German Oktoberfest in Munich, another bomb explodes killing 12 and also injuring 200.³¹

Both of these actions are the work of self-proclaimed right-wing terrorists. In some countries, like Italy, the number of casualties from the right is almost as large as from the left. The actual membership of these right-wing groups, however, is quite small, and they are splintered into competing factions. They have no central directorship, no schools for training their cadre, and no strategy for revolution. Their terrorism is limited mainly to acts of massive destruction simply to embarrass or kill their enemies.³² The damage they do, however, can be extremely helpful in destabilizing a government. If that government also happens to be the target of the Soviet Union, then terrorism from the right actually can serve many of the same purposes as terrorism from the left. This is the reason that the international terrorism network, owned and operated by the Soviets, encourages violence against target governments from *any* group, provided only that they are not serious contenders for the seizure and holding of power. It is not surprising, therefore, that members of alleged right-wing or fascist groups have been received with open arms at the terrorist training centers in Libya. Quadafi has offered assistance to terrorists on *both* sides in the Irish conflict, and members of the neo-Nazi group that bombed the Munich Oktoberfest were actually trained at the PLO camps in Lebanon.

In Vietnam, many villages are burned to the ground by the Viet Cong in retaliation for non-cooperation. In El Salvador, a small town near Opico is destroyed by terrorists because the peasants refuse to support the revolution. In a small village in Rhodesia, the inhabitants are herded into a stone roundhouse belonging to the village chief and then burned alive. Their crime, also, was refusal to accept leadership offered by the revolutionaries. In another Rhodesian village, a tribesman is seized by Mugabe's terrorists who cut off his lips, ears and fingers, and then forced his wife to eat them. In Algeria, the FLN warns the Moslem population not to work for the government and not even to go into cafes or theaters. Those who ignore these orders are hideously mutilated or massacred. In Ireland, over 100 people each year are deliberately shot through the knee to cripple them for life. These knee-cappings sometimes are inflicted with electric drills. The victims are not British troops or Protestant opposition, they are Catholics who have been punished for "backsliding", failure to support the revolution.³³

The killing or torture of the very people who supposedly are being liberated is an important feature of all Marxist-Leninist revolutions. It is through this tactic that the terrorists are able to frighten segments of the population into supporting them. With a sufficiently bloody campaign, a small band of terrorists can establish the equivalent of a second government over the people. They actually collect taxes. They issue laws and administer punishment to anyone who disobeys those laws. But, most of all, they demand loyalty. They expect massive turn-outs for their rallies, enthusiastic support of their general strikes, and they especially want the young people as eager recruits into their ranks. When these things begin to happen, the revolution is well on its way. Nothing could be more devastating to a government than to have segments of its population fall under the control of its enemy. And, yet, this is exactly what happens through terrorism, not as a result of military confrontation, but because of a civilian reaction to fear.

WILLIAMS INTERVIEW

Williams: Now the violence that we have in the Sixties was limited, but the next time it will be unlimited because the violence in the Sixties was a struggle for human dignity and for human rights. The next struggle

will be a struggle for survival and it will not just be limited to Black people, or black against white, but it will be the poor people, the masses of the people of the country, struggling for the right to live, for the right to survive.

GRATHWOHL INTERVIEW

Grathwohl: I brought up the subject of what's going to happen after we take over the government. You know, we become responsible for administrating, you know, 250 million people. And there was no answer. No one had given any thought to economics. How are you going to clothe and feed these people? The only thing that I could get was that they expected that the Cubans, the North Vietnamese, the Chinese and the Russians would all want to occupy different portions of the United States. They also believed that their immediate responsibility would be to protect against what they called the counter-revolution. And they felt that this counter-revolution could best be guarded against by creating and establishing re-education in the Southwest where we would take all of the people who needed to be re-educated into the new way of thinking and teach them how things were going to be. I asked, "Well, what is going to happen to those people that we can't re-educate, that are die-hard capitalists?" And the reply was that they'd have to be eliminated and when I pursued this further, they estimated that they'd have to eliminate 25 million people in these re-education centers. And when I say eliminate, I mean kill 25 million people. I want you to imagine sitting in a room with 25 people, most of whom have graduate degrees from Columbia and other well-known educational centers and hear them figuring out the logistics for the elimination of 25 million people and they were dead serious.

MC DONALD INTERVIEW

McDonald: Very few of these diplomats, journalists, trade missions and so forth, do not have, very few members do not have an espionage role here in this country. They have never wavered from their objective of world domination... (Griffin narrative overrides statement)

Yes, we are at war. Very definitely. We have been at war. It's an economic war. It's a war of subversion. It's a war of espionage. It's a war of ideas. And it's a war of terrorism and infiltration.

Griffin: (Voice Over) Congressman Lawrence McDonald has been an outspoken advocate of improved national security, and he has devoted hundreds of pages in the *Congressional Record* to documenting the internal threat of espionage, subversion, and terrorism.

McDonald: The type of war we are in is far more sophisticated than an exchange of gunfire or nuclear weapons, even, because it's a war of attack upon institutions, it's a war of attack upon every segment of a society. It is total war.

ASHBROOK INTERVIEW

Ashbrook: It's foolish to send high technology. We should not trade with them. We should not send high technology. We should not enter agreements with them. We should not give them the international approval that comes with dealing with them.

Griffin: (Voice Over) John Ashbrook was first elected to the U.S. Congress in 1961. For over two decades he has served as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Internal Security Committee, and, later, the Select Committee on Intelligence.³⁴

Ashbrook: They downplay the aggressive, subversive, on-going conspiratorial, criminal nature of world Communism. It's almost a propaganda drive on the part of our own people. If you told the American people what's really the truth in Communism, what their goals are, what their tactics, their successes are, then it would make many of these peace efforts, diplomatic efforts, look very foolish. And I think the American people are smart, they're not asleep, they've just been misled by their leaders.

And I think a part of our arrogance, and I can say that because I'm pro-American, I'm a patriot, but a part of our arrogance is to believe it will not happen here. America is the prize for the terrorists. America is indeed the target for the radicals, the leftists, and the Communists. And what makes you think that in Italy, in France, Britain, Germany, other democratic countries, terrorism is increasingly a part of their way of life, what makes anybody think it will not come to this country? And the real concern I have is America almost stripped naked when it comes to terrorists, because of the left's success in the last two decades in limiting the ability of the police, the FBI, and the CIA, we will not be equipped to deal with terrorism when it comes.

MC DONALD INTERVIEW

McDonald: Many of the laws have been eroded by Supreme Court decisions, by reinterpretations of the Supreme Court. At the same time, the Congress has not fulfilled its function of oversight. The House Internal Security Committee was disbanded by parliamentary maneuver in early 1975. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has just recently been re-established in an abbreviated form. The Attorney General's List of Subversives is no longer used in hiring for government positions. You have, the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department has been abolished. You have, the Subversive Activities Control Board has been abolished. You have, the intelligence units of metropolitan police forces have either been abolished, sometimes with files turned over to revolutionary groups, or fully neutralized and no longer effective. We have seen the counter-intelligence units of the Army, Navy and Air Force no longer active at the local or in the domestic scene. So that the layers of protection that we had, perhaps just ten years ago, today have been stripped away. It's necessary to start re-building those layers.

ASHBROOK INTERVIEW

Ashbrook: The solution to the problem of terrorism, I think, is probably three-fold. First of all, I think we have to wake up. We live in a fool's paradise. We believe it can't happen here. A part of the American arrogance is to think it may happen somewhere else, but not happen to us. And then, if it is ever visited upon us, we'll throw our hands up in the air and say, "Oh, my, how did this happen?" So, awareness that it can happen here is probably the first tool.

Secondly, I think we have to rebuild and strengthen the internal security apparatus in this country. We have to get back to the police, the FBI, and the CIA the basic powers that they should have under the Constitution to protect us. The heart of the Constitution is to maintain order, domestic tranquility, and to, in effect, make impediments on our intelligence and police agencies where they cannot protect the public is wrong. And I think, thirdly, we have to recognize there's an international Communist conspiracy, that there's a world-wide terrorist network, that we're living in a fool's paradise when we say we can deal with the Soviet Union. So, I think education in all three areas—education as to our responsibilities, education to what's happened in this country, and education above all to the threat to this country, from without and from within.

Griffin: One of the problems with the subject of terrorism is that new events are occurring daily, and it's never possible to remain completely up to date. By the time you see this program, undoubtedly there will have been more bloodshed and more human suffering almost everywhere in the world, but the *pattern* will not have changed. In the final analysis, the pattern of terrorism is more important than the repetitious details, because, if we can recognize that pattern, we have a chance to anticipate the next development and, then hopefully, to be able to *do* something about it.

The strategy of terrorism is bizarre, but it *works*. It has already succeeded in many countries, and it's well into the middle or final stages of development in the rest of the world. It definitely *can* happen here.

Our defense does not lie in specially trained military units or in new psychological techniques for negotiating with terrorists. The *only* way to combat terrorism is to *prevent* it, and that requires an efficient intelligence network. The issue is clear. We must pick up the pieces and re-assemble our internal security system.

The Marxist-Leninists could never succeed if their intended victims were aware of the strategy and tactics being used against them. By the same token, if these ploys remain unknown to the average person, then no amount of intelligence operations or internal security can protect us, because innocent people, particularly among the youth who are being exposed to the theories of Marx and Lenin, will fall into the trap, and new revolutionaries will be created faster than the old ones can even be identified. So the ultimate solution lies in an informed electorate, the rock foundation of any system that hopes to remain free.

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