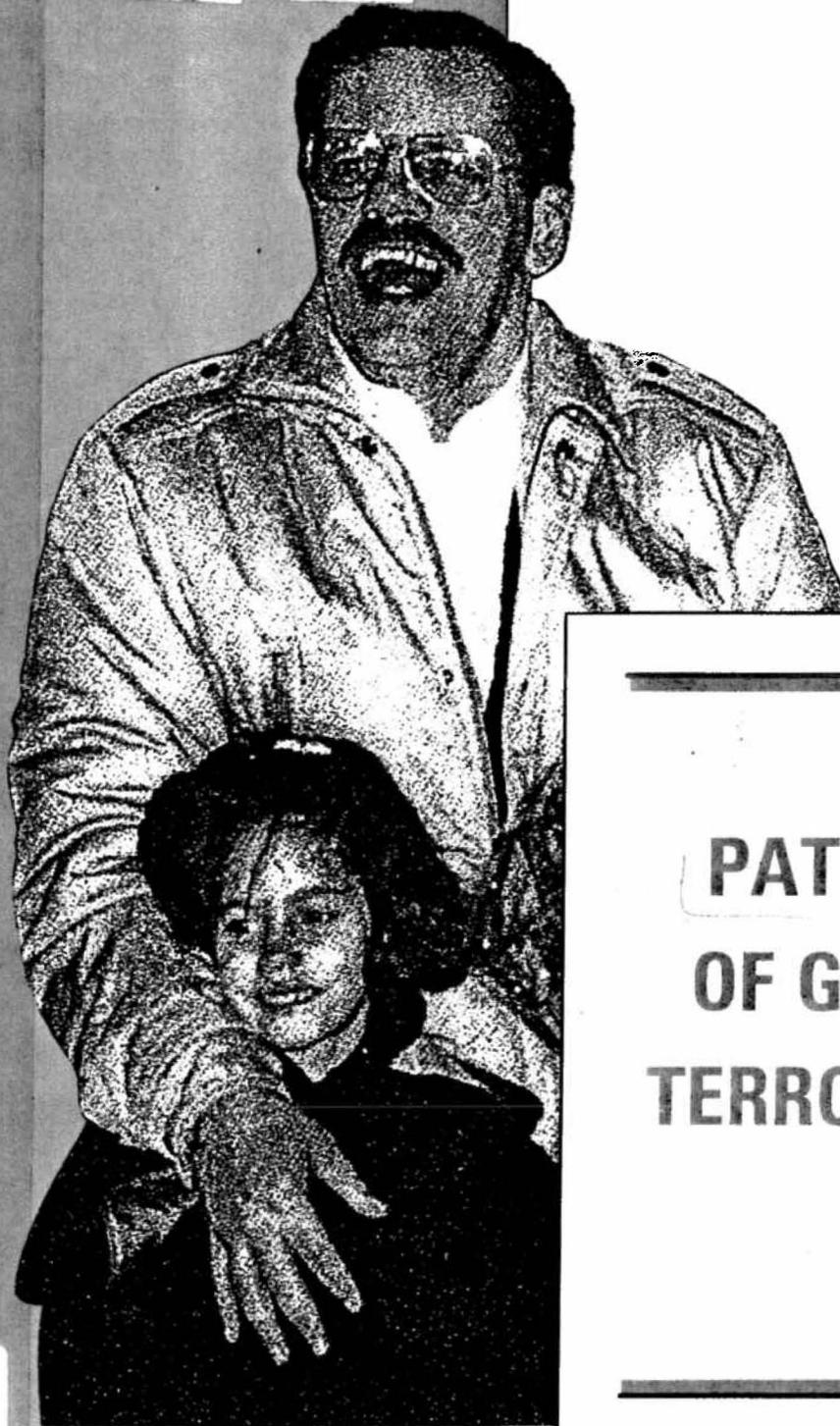


United States Department of State



**PATTERNS
OF GLOBAL
TERRORISM:
1991**

April 1992

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Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism

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Cover: Terry Anderson and his
daughter Sulome. © AP

**PATTERNS
OF GLOBAL
TERRORISM:
1991**

Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1991

Introduction

Terrorism in 1991 was marked by three major features. First, the number of international terrorist incidents increased 22 percent, from 456 in 1990 to 557 last year. This increase is solely attributable to terrorism associated with the Persian Gulf war. Second, 1991 was the second straight year in which there was no terrorist spectacular. Third, 1991 clearly demonstrated the role of state sponsorship in international terrorism.

A central part of US Government counterterrorism policy is to press countries that sponsor terrorism to cease such support. This is what the international community did last year with great success against Iraq when Saddam Hussein threatened the world with a wave of terrorism following his invasion of Kuwait. The threat failed in large part because of the firm response by the United States and its allies and cooperation among them. The expulsion of Iraqi operatives, cooperation among law enforcement and intelligence services, and enhanced security countermeasures proved effective. In April the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 687 requiring a commitment from Iraq not to engage in acts of terrorism or support terrorist groups.

Another part of US counterterrorism policy is to work with other governments to identify, apprehend, and prosecute terrorists. Following a three-year investigation into the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, US and British authorities indicted two Libyan agents for planting the bomb. We are currently working to have Libya surrender the suspects so that they may stand trial in either Scotland or the United States. Consistent with those indictments, the United States and the United Kingdom announced on 27 November that Libya must surrender those charged for trial to the United States or the United Kingdom; accept responsibility for the actions of Libyan officials; disclose what it knows of this crime; allow full access to witnesses, documents, and other evidence; and pay appropriate compensation to the families. The Government of France made similar demands concerning the UTA 772 bombing for which four Libyans, including the brother-in-law of Muammar Qadhafi, are the subject of international arrest warrants. In a joint declaration, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France demanded that Libya cease all forms of terrorist action and all assistance to terrorist groups.

A third part of our policy is to refuse to make deals with terrorists, and our firm adherence to this was rewarded in 1991 as the last remaining American hostages were freed from captivity in Lebanon. The United States made no concessions to obtain their release. Rather, the terrorists holding them realized that there would be no benefit—political or financial—in continuing to detain the hostages.

Through training provided under the Department of State's Antiterrorism Training Assistance Program, we have improved the ability of other governments to preempt, to investigate, and to prosecute the perpetrators of terrorist attacks. The program has been extremely successful. In 1991, more than 1,190 police and security personnel from 18 countries received such training, bringing the total number of persons trained in the program to more than 12,500 from over 70 countries.

The threat of terrorism, particularly state-sponsored terrorism, remains. Still, the overall trend is positive, and we continue to believe that our counterterrorism policy is working.

Legislative Requirements

This report is submitted in compliance with Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f (a), which requires the Department of State to provide Congress a full and complete annual report on terrorism for those countries and groups meeting the criteria of Section (a) (1) and (2) of the Act.

As required by legislation, the report includes detailed assessments of foreign countries where significant terrorist acts occurred, and countries about which Congress was notified during the preceding five years pursuant to Section 6 (j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (the so-called terrorism list countries that have repeatedly provided support for international terrorism). In addition, the report includes all relevant information about the previous year's activities of individuals, terrorist groups, or umbrella groups under which such terrorist groups fall, known to be responsible for the kidnapping or death of any American citizen during the preceding five years, and groups known to be financed by terrorism list countries.

Definitions

No one definition of terrorism has gained universal acceptance. For the purposes of this report, however, we have chosen the definition of terrorism contained in Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f (d). That statute contains the following definitions:

- The term terrorism means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant¹ targets by subnational or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

¹ For purposes of this definition, the term noncombatant is interpreted to include, in addition to civilians, military personnel who at the time of the incident are unarmed and/or not on duty. For example, in past reports we have listed as terrorist incidents the murders of the following US military personnel: Col. James Rowe, killed in Manila in April 1989; Capt. William Nordeen, US defense attache killed in Athens in June 1988; the two servicemen killed in the La Belle disco bombing in West Berlin in April 1986; and the four off-duty US Embassy Marine guards killed in a cafe in El Salvador in June 1985. We also consider as acts of terrorism attacks on military installations or on armed military personnel when a state of military hostilities does not exist at the site, such as bombings against US bases in Europe, the Philippines, or elsewhere.

- The term international terrorism means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.
- The term terrorist group means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism.

The US Government has employed this definition of terrorism for statistical and analytical purposes since 1983.

In a number of countries, domestic terrorism, or an active insurgency, has a greater impact on the level of political violence than does international terrorism. Although not the primary purpose of this report, we have attempted to indicate those areas where this is the case.

Note

Adverse mention in this report of individual members of any political, social, ethnic, religious, or national group is not meant to imply that all members of that group are terrorists. Indeed, terrorists represent a small minority of dedicated, often fanatical, individuals in most such groups. It is that small group—and their actions—that is the subject of this report.

Ambassador A. Peter Burleigh
Coordinator for Counterterrorism

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction	iii
The Year in Review	1
African Overview	2
Sudan	3
Zimbabwe	3
Asian Overview	3
Afghanistan	3
India	3
Pakistan	5
Philippines	5
Singapore	6
Sri Lanka	6
Western European Overview	7
Belgium	7
France	7
Germany	8
Greece	10
Ireland	10
Italy	11
Netherlands	11
Former Soviet Union	12
Spain	12
Sweden	13
Turkey	13
United Kingdom	14
Eastern European Overview	16
Latin American Overview	17
Bolivia	17
Chile	17
Colombia	18
Ecuador	18
El Salvador	19
Guatemala	19
Mexico	19

Peru	19
Middle Eastern Overview	21
Algeria	22
Egypt	22
Israel and the Occupied Territories	22
Jordan	24
Kuwait	25
Lebanon	25
Saudi Arabia	28
Yemen	28
State-Sponsored Terrorism Overview	29
Cuba	29
Iran	30
Iraq	31
Libya	32
North Korea	33
Syria	33

Appendixes

A.	Chronology of Significant Terrorist Events: 1991	35
B.	Background Information on Major Groups Discussed in the Report	43
C.	Libya's Continuing Responsibility for Terrorism	69
D.	Libya's Responsibility for the Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103	75
E.	Statistical Review	81
F.	International Terrorist Incidents, 1991	87

Insets

The Palestinian Uprising	23
International Organizations	26

Table

Foreign Political Hostages Kidnapped in Lebanon: 1991 Status Report	27
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Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1991

The Year in Review

The number of international terrorist incidents rose in 1991 as a result of the Persian Gulf war, when terrorists in many regions of the world attacked targets belonging to the international coalition opposed to Saddam Hussein. Most of these were minor incidents, resulting only in property damage. War-related attacks brought the total number of international terrorist incidents in 1991 to 557, up from 456 in 1990. Fully half of the incidents in 1991 occurred during January and February, while Operation Desert Storm was under way. After the war, however, the number of terrorist incidents dropped sharply and actually fell below 1990 levels.

Several events in 1991 revealed the threat and extent of state-sponsored terrorism, particularly as practiced by Iraq, Libya, and Iran.

In the months following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Iraq issued repeated exhortations to terrorists to strike at coalition targets worldwide. Terrorists of many stripes embraced Saddam Hussein and publicly vowed to launch attacks in the event of war. During Operation Desert Storm, we recorded 275 terrorist incidents. Most of these attacks, however, were sporadic, uncoordinated, and low-level incidents. Only a small percentage resulted in deaths, significant injuries, or property damage. The Iraqi Government was directly involved in several incidents, but the threatened massive wave of Middle Eastern terrorism that Saddam promised did not materialize; the numerous terrorist groups that had sworn allegiance to Saddam failed to act.

After an extensive investigation of worldwide scope, US and British authorities developed evidence that conclusively linked Libya to the 1988 terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. On 14 November 1991 both governments issued indictments for two Libyan agents, Abdel Basset Ali Al-Megrahi and Lamem Khalifa Fhimah, charged with carrying out the bombing. In addition, French authorities issued warrants for four Libyan agents in connection with the 1989 bombing of UTA Flight 772 that killed 171 people, including seven Americans.



Terry Anderson is welcomed by his family.

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Nine long-held Western hostages were freed from captivity in Lebanon last year, including six Americans, and the remains of William F. Buckley and Col. William R. Higgins were recovered and returned to the United States. The hostages, including the two who died while in captivity, had been held by elements of the Iranian-supported terrorist group Hizballah, which receives substantial amounts of financing, training, and political direction from Tehran. The release of the hostages was achieved largely through the efforts of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and his special envoy Giandomenico Picco. The releases apparently reflected a belief held by both the Government of Iran and the hostage holders themselves that the continued detention of the hostages served no purpose. The United States made no concessions to gain the hostages' release.

At year's end, two German hostages, Thomas Kemptner and Heinrich Struebig, remained captive in Lebanon. We continue to call for the immediate, safe, and unconditional

Sudan

In the past year Sudan has enhanced its relations with international terrorist groups, including the Abu Nidal organization (ANO). Sudan has maintained ties to state sponsors of terrorism such as Libya and Iraq and has improved its relations with Iran. The National Islamic Front (NIF), under the leadership of Hassan al-Turabi, has intensified its domination of the government of Sudanese President General Bashir and has been the main advocate of closer relations with radical groups and their sponsors. The NIF has organized its own militia, the People's Defense Force, modeled after the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps. Sudan was one of the few states to support Iraq in the Persian Gulf war. Ties to Libya and Iran also were maintained, as evidenced by the visit to Sudan last June by Colonel Qadhafi and the visit last December by Iranian President Rafsanjani to Khartoum.

Terrorist and militant Moslem groups also have increased their presence in Sudan. The government reportedly has allowed terrorist groups to train on its territory and has offered Sudan as a sanctuary to terrorist organizations. In October, the Government of Tunisia recalled its Ambassador from Khartoum to protest Sudanese renewal of a diplomatic passport for the leader of Tunisia's An Nahda party, a group that Tunisia considers a terrorist organization. Sudan also played host to members of radical groups, such as the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS), and allowed them to hold public meetings in Sudan.

Zimbabwe

There was one probable act of international terrorism in Zimbabwe in 1991. A bomb exploded at the Sheraton Hotel in Harare on 20 July, causing extensive damage to one floor and slightly injuring several people. The following day a previously unknown group, the Red Friday Liberation Movement, claimed responsibility, but the government's investigation has not determined who planted the bomb or their motives.

During the Persian Gulf war, Zimbabwe assigned additional security personnel to Western embassies, including the American Embassy. Two Iraqis suspected of plotting a terrorist operation against the US Embassy were deported in January 1991.

Asian Overview

The number of international terrorist incidents in Asia decreased from 92 incidents in 1990 to 47 in 1991, partly because of the Philippine Government successes against the Communist New People's Army. The death toll from attacks by Sikh, Kashmiri, Assamese, and other militant groups in India continued to rise, with foreigners increasingly targeted or caught in the crossfire. Sri Lankan terrorists carried out several fatal attacks in the capital of Colombo and elsewhere and are believed responsible for the assassination of Congress-I party leader Rajiv Gandhi in India. There was an increased number of attacks against Western aid workers and moderate Afghans in northwestern Pakistan attributed to militant Afghan fundamentalist groups. Also, Iraqi terrorists and their surrogates attempted or planned attacks in several Asian countries, none of which resulted in serious injuries or death to any but the terrorists themselves.

Afghanistan

Four international acts of terrorism occurred in Afghanistan in 1991, all directed at Western humanitarian organizations operating in the midst of civil strife. In January, a commander affiliated with the Afghan resistance group Hezb-I Islami kidnapped and briefly held four International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) workers. On 6 August, a Swiss employee of the ICRC was kidnapped by a member of an unidentified faction of the Afghan resistance about 60 kilometers north of Kabul; he was released 12 days later. Two Americans working for a British aid organization were seized by Afghan insurgents on 7 July in the Ghazni province of Afghanistan; one was released in October and the other in December. A French national working on a US AID project in Zabol province was kidnapped on 4 July and released on 16 July.

India

The level of indigenous terrorism was high throughout 1991, as Punjabi, Kashmiri, and Assamese separatists conducted attacks in a bid to win independence for their states. Violence related to separatist movements claimed at least 5,500 lives in Punjab and over 1,500 lives in Kashmir.

release of all persons held outside the legal system in the region as well as an accounting of all those who may have died while in captivity.

During 1991 Iran continued to build closer ties to Palestinian terrorist groups and Islamic militant organizations. Iran has used conferences like "*Intifadah* and the Islamic World"—held in Iran during the period 19-22 October—to maintain contact with numerous terrorist groups. Subsequent to this conference, some such groups issued threats to participants in the Middle East peace talks.

Iran also continued its practice of assassinating dissidents; Iranian agents are the prime suspects in the murder of former Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar in Paris last August, and the French Government has issued an international arrest warrant for an Iranian official suspected of supporting the operation.

Seven Americans died during 1991 in terrorist attacks:

- On 2 January in El Salvador, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) downed a US helicopter carrying three US military advisers who were en route to Honduras. Two of them, Lt. Col. David Pickett and crew chief PFC Earnest Dawson, were brutally executed after surviving the crash. The third, CWO Daniel Scott, died of injuries suffered in the shootdown. (The incident is considered terrorism because the three advisers provided administrative/logistic support from Honduras to US military personnel assigned to El Salvador and were thus noncombatants.)
- The Turkish terrorist group Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left or Dev Sol) murdered two Americans last year. On 7 February in Adana, Bobbie Eugene Mozelle, an American contract employee of the Department of Defense, was shot as he left his apartment on the way to his car. On 22 March in Istanbul, another American contract employee of the Department of Defense, John Gandy, was murdered when three gunmen entered his office, separated him from the other employees, and shot him in the head.
- On 12 March in Glyfada, Greece, US Air Force Sgt. Ronald Odell Stewart was killed by a bomb explosion outside his residence. The Greek terrorist group 17 November was responsible.

- US S. Sgt. Victor D. Marvick was killed in a car bombing in Ankara, Turkey on 28 October. The Turkish-based Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for the attack.

Attacks against US targets increased sharply in 1991 because of the Persian Gulf war (308 last year vice 193 in 1990). The United States was a target in 55 percent of attacks last year as compared with 42 percent in 1990. Most of these attacks were low-level bombings that caused few casualties and little damage. US businesses such as banks and restaurants were most frequently targeted. Anti-US attacks in Western Europe numbered 93 last year, up sharply from 17 in 1990; most of these occurred in Turkey, Italy, and Greece. Numerous anti-US attacks also occurred in Peru and Colombia.

Terrorism decreased sharply in Asia (47 last year vice 92 in 1990) and in Africa (3 last year vice 53 the previous year).

There were far fewer terrorist casualties in 1991. Eighty-seven people died, as compared with 200 in 1990, and 233 were wounded, as compared with 677 in 1990.

African Overview

There were only three international terrorist incidents in Africa in 1991, strikingly fewer than the 53 reported in 1990. This is largely explained by the partial or complete settlement of several insurgencies that had produced high levels of terrorism and domestic unrest. A successful peace accord was reached in Angola, negotiations moved forward in Mozambique, and the Marxist Ethiopian Government was overthrown. The number of incidents in several other countries was down considerably, though the total collapse of the Somali and Liberian Governments leaves the long-term status of those nations in doubt. Negotiations on a transition to majority rule in South Africa were accompanied by a continued high level of violence, particularly among competing black groups, but with rightwing white groups presenting a growing threat of violence. The most disturbing development was the apparent presence in Sudan of many different international terrorist organizations, with the tacit support of the National Islamic Front-dominated government.

The separatists regularly assassinated civil servants, political candidates, and presumed government informers. Last spring in the Punjab, Sikh terrorists killed 23 candidates running for state and national office. Sikh terrorists also carried out random attacks and bombings, which included massacres of people aboard trains and buses. In Assam, the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) was responsible for a spate of terrorist operations, particularly kidnappings. One such kidnapping targeted a Soviet technician, who was killed, as were several Indian kidnap victims. Kashmiri militants routinely planted bombs in and around bridges and communications targets and extorted money from local businessmen. They also kidnapped relatives of prominent officials and several foreigners.

Separatists also have stepped up attacks against journalists. In January, Sikh extremists declared war on the press in Punjab and forced reporters to stop calling them terrorists. Newsmen critical of Sikh terrorist tactics received death threats. Kashmiri groups also assassinated journalists, including the editor of the Urdu daily *Al-Safa* in April.

Although Assamese and Kashmiri terrorists limited their operations to their respective states, Sikh terrorists expanded their operations outside Punjab. In late January, Sikh terrorists bombed a movie theater in New Delhi, injuring six people. Sikh extremists probably also were responsible for a bombing in New Delhi in late April that killed three people and wounded eight. In mid-October, a Sikh bomb killed at least 55 people and wounded 125 others at a Hindu festival in Uttar Pradesh, near the Nepalese border. In late August, four members of the Khalistan Liberation Front unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate the Indian Ambassador to Romania in Bucharest; Romanian antiterrorist experts killed one person and captured the other three. This was the first Sikh terrorist operation outside India since 1987. Separatists also conducted a spate of kidnappings of foreigners in a bid to attract international attention to their cause:

- On 31 March in western Kashmir, the Muslim Janbaz Force (MJF) kidnapped two Swedish engineers working at a hydroelectric project. The MJF had pledged to hold the pair until the United Nations or Amnesty International investigated alleged human rights abuses in Kashmir. On 5 July, however, the engineers escaped when they were left unguarded.

- On 26 June an obscure Kashmiri group, Pasdaran-i-Inqilab-e-Islam, kidnapped seven Israelis and a Dutch woman who were visiting Kashmir. The Dutch national was freed shortly after being captured. One of the Israelis was killed and two others injured when the Israeli prisoners jumped the kidnappers. One Israeli who did not escape was freed in early July.
- On 1 July, the ULFA seized a Russian mining engineer and 14 Indian nationals; the Russian later was killed as were several of the Indians.
- On 9 October Sikh terrorists kidnapped the Romanian Charge in New Delhi shortly after he left his home for work. The Khalistan Liberation Front claimed responsibility and demanded the release of three imprisoned Sikh terrorists. The diplomat was released on 26 November without the conditions being met.
- On 14 October the Kashmiri separatist group Al-Fateh kidnapped a French engineer in Kashmir. He was freed in early 1992.

The Sri Lankan separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), is believed responsible for the 21 May assassination of Congress-I party president Rajiv Gandhi in southern India. Seventeen others also died in the bombing, which occurred while Gandhi was campaigning. The terrorist detonated explosives strapped to her waist as she approached and greeted Gandhi. The attack may have been conducted to avenge Gandhi's decision in 1987, when he was Prime Minister, to dispatch more than 50,000 troops to Sri Lanka to quell the Tamil separatist campaign. Numerous LTTE members suspected of involvement in the operation have committed suicide to avoid capture by Indian authorities.

Iraqi terrorists or their surrogates probably were responsible for the bombing of the American Airlines Travel Agency, an Indian-owned agent of American Airlines, in New Delhi on 16 January. The blast caused extensive damage but no casualties. New Delhi plans to either extradite or prosecute two Burmese students who hijacked a Thai airliner to Calcutta in 1990; however, the Communist-led state government in West Bengal says the pair are

“freedom fighters” and is resisting New Delhi’s efforts. India also has cracked down on LTTE elements in southern India following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

Pakistan

Westerners and moderate Afghans in northwestern Pakistan, particularly Peshawar, have increasingly become the targets of terrorist attacks. Although the sponsors of these attacks are not known, radical Afghan fundamentalist groups are suspected:

- On 24 February, a bomb blast in Peshawar at the office of the Swedish Relief Committee—a private voluntary organization (PVO) involved in cross-border work in Afghanistan—seriously injured an Afghan-Australian national who later died from the wounds.
- On 13 August, an Afghan-American USAID contractor was wounded in a shooting attack in Peshawar.
- On 30 October, an Afghan working for an Austrian PVO in Peshawar was shot and wounded.
- On 25 November, the Afghan director of the English language program of the International Rescue Committee, an American private voluntary agency, was shot and killed by unidentified assailants.

There were also numerous bombings in Pakistan’s major cities throughout the year. The Pakistani Government frequently attributed these attacks and other acts of violence to the intelligence services of India and Afghanistan. The United States is unable, however, to determine if the incidents were carried out by terrorists or criminals, or if there was external involvement.

Several terrorist attacks related to the Persian Gulf war and probably organized by Iraq or Iraqi sympathizers occurred in Pakistan in 1991. In January, gunmen fired at the Saudia Airlines office in Karachi, shattering windows but causing no casualties. In February a bomb exploded as it was thrown over the wall of the residence of the Saudi Consul General in Karachi, injuring a security guard. Later in the month a British-sponsored humanitarian organization in Peshawar was bombed.

During the Persian Gulf war, Pakistani authorities actively sought to counter possible terrorist threats. At least one Iraqi diplomat was declared *persona non grata* and two

other Iraqis were arrested and expelled for their questionable activities. Pakistan has also cooperated with the US investigation of an additional suspect in the 1986 hijacking of Pan American Flight 73.

There were continuing credible reports throughout 1991 of official Pakistani support for Kashmiri militant groups engaged in terrorism in Indian-controlled Kashmir, as well as support to Sikh militant groups engaged in terrorism in Indian Punjab. This support allegedly includes provision of weapons and training.

Philippines

The Philippine Government made major strides in its counterterrorist efforts in 1991, arresting over 80 middle- and high-level members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its military arm, the New People’s Army (NPA). Those arrested include Romulo Kintanar, chief of the NPA’s General Command, and most of the other members of the General Command. The government also successfully prosecuted two NPA operatives for the murder of US Army Col. James Rowe in April 1989. Both were sentenced in February to life imprisonment.

Primarily because of the arrests, the Communists were able to conduct only sporadic terrorist operations. The only attack against US interests occurred early in the year on 31 January, when the NPA planted bombs at the Voice of America (VOA) transmitter in Tinang; the devices were successfully disarmed. Communists in northern Luzon, however, continue to hold an American, Arvey Drown, who was kidnapped there in October 1990. They demanded the suspension of Philippine Government military operations in the region and the release of captured NPA members.

CPP leader Jose Maria Sison continues to reside in exile in the Netherlands. We believe that he is involved in raising money for his movement, mostly from sympathetic European leftist groups.

Philippine authorities aggressively worked against terrorists during the Persian Gulf war, particularly Iraqis who planned to conduct operations against Western targets in Manila. On 19 January, a bomb exploded close to the Thomas Jefferson Cultural Center in Manila, killing the man carrying the device—an Iraqi national—and seriously injuring his



Crater caused by a bomb intended for the Thomas Jefferson Cultural Center in Manila.

partner, also an Iraqi. Following the attempted bombing, the Consul General of the Iraqi Embassy was expelled. Manila also rejected the credentials of an arriving Iraqi diplomat and forced him to depart. Two Iraqi students were also expelled.

Singapore

One act of international terrorism ended in Singapore in 1991. On 26 March, four Pakistanis claiming to be members of the Pakistani People's Party (PPP) hijacked a Singapore Airlines flight shortly after takeoff from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and demanded the release of several people reportedly imprisoned in Pakistan. The PPP denied any involvement in the operation. The plane landed in

Singapore, and local counterterrorist forces stormed the plane after six hours of negotiations proved futile. The hijackers were killed; all passengers and crew were unharmed.

Sri Lanka

Although the separatist group Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) suffered a series of setbacks on the battlefield in 1991, it continued to pose a terrorist threat.

In March 1991, the LTTE returned to urban terrorism with the car-bomb assassination of Deputy Defense Minister Ranjan Wijeratne in Colombo. Scores of innocent bystanders were killed or injured. A second car-bomb attack in

June devastated the government's Military Operations Headquarters, again taking many civilian lives. Interrogation of LTTE suspects reportedly revealed that future targets included government figures and major public utilities.

In India, a Madras court indicted the leader of the LTTE and his intelligence chief in connection with the 21 May assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Seventeen others also died in this bombing, which occurred while Gandhi was campaigning. Numerous LTTE suspects tracked by Indian police committed suicide to avoid capture.

The LTTE also continued to assassinate rival Tamil politicians in Sri Lanka and India. In rural areas, the Tigers massacred hundreds of Sinhalese and Muslim villagers to drive them from areas deemed part of a "Tamil Homeland."

Western European Overview

1991 saw a marked resurgence of European leftwing terrorist groups, especially through attacks during the Persian Gulf war. Four Americans were killed in terrorist attacks in Europe this year—three were victims of indigenous leftist groups—as compared with none in 1990.

A particular concern was a surge in terrorist attacks against US, Western, and other interests in Greece and Turkey in 1991 by indigenous groups. The deadly 17 November organization carried out several bombing attacks in Greece and assassinated a US serviceman during the first quarter of 1991. In Turkey, the Turkish Revolutionary Left (Dev Sol) and the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) were both involved in terrorist activities such as assassinations, bombings, and kidnappings. Two Americans died in such attacks. A third American was killed in a fundamentalist-related murder.

Looking to the future, Western Europe may experience a growth in rightwing terrorism as European integration progresses and international migration into Europe increases.

Belgium

In January 1991, Belgium won the release of the last four Belgian hostages held by the Abu Nidal organization (ANO). However, the revelation that ANO spokesman and

negotiator Walid Khaled, as part of the hostage settlement, had traveled to Brussels on the eve of the Persian Gulf war generated an intense domestic political reaction resulting in the reassignment of three senior aides to the Belgian Foreign Minister. According to several news reports, in exchange for the hostages who had been seized from the Silco yacht in 1987, Belgium also expelled convicted ANO terrorist Said Nasser after he had served his required minimum sentence, agreed to contribute more than \$5 million in aid to Palestinian refugees, and provided two scholarships in Belgium to Palestinians.

During the Persian Gulf war itself, Belgium expelled seven Iraqi diplomats and increased security around foreign missions. There were no terrorist incidents in Belgium directly related to the Persian Gulf war.

Brussels was the scene of several incidents perpetrated by Turkish expatriates in 1991. To protest raids in Turkey against their organization, Dev Sol terrorists firebombed a Turkish bank and airlines office in July. Radical Kurds attacked a Turkish airlines office in August and a Turkish bank in December. In an unrelated development, the Belgian Parliament in March passed a motion calling for Turkey to grant full cultural and political rights for Kurds.

Three Irish suspects, who were arrested in an Antwerp safehouse in December 1990, were convicted of conspiracy against the British Government and possession of weapons and false papers in April 1991. They were sentenced to one- (suspended), two-, and three-year terms. At least one of the three is suspected of being a member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). In another case, Belgium requested the extradition from the Netherlands, expected in 1992, of Irishman Peter McNally, suspected of being a member of a PIRA splinter group and involved in the wounding in 1989 of an Antwerp policeman.

Several apparent political killings in Belgium that occurred before 1991 (Jewish leader Joseph Wybrand, Muslim Imam Abdullah al-Ahdal, Canadian "supergun" inventor Gerard Bull, and ethnic Albanian leader Enver Hadri) remained unsolved.

France

While international terrorist incidents were relatively few in France, in 1991 French authorities played a significant role in calling to account state sponsors of terrorism.

At the beginning of the Persian Gulf war in January 1991, France expelled 14 Iraqi diplomats and Embassy employees and 18 others suspected of planning terrorism or sabotage. This followed an earlier expulsion in September 1990 when France expelled 11 officials from the Iraqi Embassy in Paris after Iraqi soldiers sacked the French defense attache's house in Kuwait. The government also implemented an ambitious antiterrorist plan during the Gulf crisis which provided augmented security for potential targets. There were only a few relatively minor bombings in France related to the war.

In August former Iranian Prime Minister Shapur Bakhtiar and his personal secretary were brutally murdered in Paris in an apparent act of state-sponsored terrorism. Four Iranians were arrested in France and Switzerland in connection with the assassination. In October, a French investigating magistrate issued an international arrest warrant for Hussein Sheikhattar, a high-ranking Iranian official, for his alleged role in the crime. The French investigation led also to the arrests in Turkey of several Iranians and Turks thought to be connected to the case. Both President Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Dumas postponed planned trips to Iran because of publicity linking the Iranian Government to the murders.

The same French investigating magistrate also brought formal charges in October 1991 against four Libyan officials, including Colonel Qadhafi's brother-in-law, for the terrorist bombing in September 1989 of a French UTA airliner over Niger that killed 171 passengers and crew. He also issued material witness warrants for two other high-ranking Libyan officials.

The French Government joined the United States and Britain, which had issued indictments against two Libyan officials for the bombing in 1988 of Pan Am Flight 103, in formally pressing Libya to renounce terrorism and cooperate with the investigations. The case against Libya for these two terrorist attacks effectively stalled an upturn in Franco-Libyan relations.

Basque terrorism continued to create problems in France. Within France itself, Basque terrorism in 1991 resulted in a score of property bombings aimed at developers (real estate offices and Spanish bank branches) and public buildings, all claimed by the French Basque organization Iparretarrak (IK). More than a dozen IK members, includ-

ing its presumed leader, were sentenced to prison terms in 1991 for criminal associations. Some of them still face charges for murder and attempted murder of police officers.

Cooperation with Spain resulted in important setbacks for ETA Basque separatists operating out of France. During 1991 there were several Franco-Spanish ministerial meetings and summits where bilateral coordination against Basque terrorists was discussed. Many, if not most, ETA terrorists are thought to be French nationals or hiding in France. French authorities arrested nearly 40 of them in 1991—about half of them in December—including several recognized ETA cadres.

One Spanish ETA member was given a 17-year sentence in June after his trial in France. A Portuguese member of the Antiterrorist Liberation Group (GAL), a clandestine rightwing Spanish organization that hunted down suspected Basque terrorists in France during the 1980s, was sentenced to 15 years in France.

Various factions of the separatist Corsican National Liberation Front accounted for the plurality of terrorist attacks in France in 1991, mainly bombings of governmental and economic targets in Corsica and the French mainland. Corsican terrorism continued despite increased autonomy accorded the island in late 1990; in May 1991 the French Constitutional Council reversed a provision of the autonomy legislation that recognized a distinct Corsican people. At least some of the violence on Corsica may actually be another manifestation of organized crime.

Four IRA gunrunners were tried in 1991. Their vessel, the Eksund, and its cargo of Libyan guns and explosives had been seized by the French in 1987. The four were sentenced by the French court to prison terms of five to seven years. The ship's captain, who had fled to Ireland in 1990, was sentenced in absentia in March 1991 to seven years.

Germany

Germany experienced few incidents of international terrorism in 1991, and its prosecution of numerous international terrorist suspects continued. Rapid political evolution in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as the continued

assimilation of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), contributed to a significant increase in rightwing extremism and violence, especially against immigrants. German leftwing radical elements pursued their traditional anticapitalist and anti-imperialist agenda.

In its first lethal attack in more than a year, the radical leftist Red Army Faction (RAF) killed Detlev Rohwedder in his Dusseldorf home in April 1991. Rohwedder was the head of the government agency responsible for privatizing or closing thousands of state-owned companies in the former GDR and symbolized for the RAF the spread of capitalism to the former Communist states. In June, a Berlin housing official was killed by a letter bomb, possibly by pro-RAF militants protesting the elimination of cheap public housing in the united city.

To protest the Persian Gulf war, the RAF strafed the American Embassy in Bonn with approximately 250 rounds of automatic rifle fire in February. Only minor property damage resulted. Militants associated with the RAF and other leftwing radical groups, such as the Revolutionary Cells, mounted 10 other attacks during the war, such as firebombings against stores in Frankfurt and IBM and Coca-Cola targets in Freiburg. In March, a NATO pipeline was blown up by the Revolutionary Cells in yet another protest against the war.

None of the current generation of the RAF commando echelon has been captured. German authorities, however, did prosecute several RAF commandos, all but one of whom were arrested in 1990 after hiding for nearly 10 years in the GDR. In 1991, five were sentenced to prison terms and three were charged for terrorist crimes committed between 1977 and 1981. A renewed campaign by RAF prisoners to press authorities to colocate themselves generated relatively little outside support, possibly indicating weaker coordination and commitment among RAF prisoners, militants, and supporters.

Evidence linking the former East German secret police, or Stasi, to currently active members of the Red Army Faction did not emerge in 1991. Arrest warrants were issued in March for several former Stasi officers familiar with previous RAF activities.

There were no attacks by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) against British military targets in Germany in

1991. Several PIRA suspects were, however, extradited to Germany from the Netherlands in July and October to stand trial for anti-British attacks carried out there in the late 1980s. Two other suspected PIRA operatives were acquitted in Dusseldorf of an attempted bombing in 1988 of British army barracks in Duisburg; however, they will be tried on other charges.

Trials continued in 1991 for nearly 20 alleged members of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) on charges ranging from membership in a terrorist organization to murder. Turkish, including Kurdish, radicals remained active in Germany in support of terrorist organizations operating in Turkey. Several were arrested when demonstrations against Turkish diplomatic or consular posts in Germany turned violent. Turkish airlines and bank offices in Germany were frequent targets of firebombings and violent protests as well. Ten German tourists were abducted by the PKK in Turkey for a week in August.

Two German relief workers were the final remaining Western hostages held in Lebanon at the end of 1991. For their release, the abductors demanded clemency for two Hizballah members jailed in Germany: Mohamed Ali Hamadi, the hijacker of a TWA flight in 1985 who is serving a life sentence for murder, and his brother Abbas Hamadi who was sentenced to 13 years by a German court for related crimes. The German Government has refused to make such concessions to the hostage takers.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) members Hafiz Dalkamoni and Abdel Fattah Ghadanfar were sentenced in June to 15 and 12 years, respectively, by a German court for attempted murder in failed attacks against US military duty trains in 1987 and 1988. Dalkamoni's trial for manslaughter in the death of a German bomb-disposal technician also began in 1991. The bomb technician was killed while examining a bomb prepared for use by the PFLP-GC in its planned campaign in the fall of 1988 against civil aviation. That campaign was thwarted by arrests made by German authorities in October 1988. Charges against Daher Faour, a suspect in the 1986 bombing of the La Belle disco in Berlin, were dropped for lack of evidence.

Germany expelled nearly 30 Iraqi diplomats, including all those assigned to the Berlin office, as part of a European campaign to deny Iraq the opportunity to foment terrorist attacks against Western targets during the Persian Gulf war.

Greece

Greece experienced 29 international terrorist incidents in 1991, compared with four in 1990. All but one of these were committed by Greek terrorists.

Four terrorist attacks resulted in fatalities. In March, the Revolutionary Organization 17 November killed a US Air Force sergeant with a remote-controlled bomb. In April, a bomb intended for use against the British Consulate in Patras exploded prematurely, killing the Palestinian bomb handler and six Greek bystanders. The perpetrators in both cases were believed to be targeting symbols of the allied coalition in the Persian Gulf war. In October, 17 November killed a Turkish diplomat to protest Turkey's Cypriot policies; the same group killed a policeman in November.

These fatal attacks drew on three themes repeated in numerous other, nonfatal incidents. First, as a result of the Persian Gulf war there were more than a dozen terrorist attacks in Greece. Most were bomb or rocket attacks against material targets such as American and British corporate interests. 17 November alone committed seven of these in January. Similar attacks were mounted by the tandem of Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) and the 1 May group during the Persian Gulf war.

A second theme is inspired by strong nationalist/Hellenist and anti-Turkish sentiments over Cyprus. 17 November's shooting of the Turkish diplomat in October was preceded in July by a car-bomb attack that nearly killed the Turkish Charge in Athens. The latter occurred just before President Bush's visits to Greece and Turkey, during which the Cyprus issue was discussed. ELA and 1 May joined with 17 November at that time to exhort Turkish terrorist organizations in their attacks against the Turkish Government. 17 November even linked its killing of the US airman to Turkish "occupation" of northern Cyprus. The visit of four Greek members of Parliament to a Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) training camp in Lebanon was seen as an expression of anti-Turkish solidarity with the Kurdish terrorist group.

Most of the terrorist attacks in Greece in 1991 drew on the third theme: the government's economic austerity program. Greek terrorist organizations attacked the government for its policy of reducing the size of the public sector to conform with EC standards, viewed as endangering jobs. One policeman lost his life in such an attack by 17 November, and five policemen were injured in June by an ELA/1 May bomb intended for them. Targets of the anti-EC campaign in 1991 included private European corporations—such as Siemens, Lowenbrau, and Ciment Francrais—which were portrayed as exploiting Greece's economically troubled public sector.

The Greek Government sought to increase counterterrorist cooperation with the United States and requested increased training and other assistance in 1991. During the Persian Gulf war, the Greek Government expelled several potential terrorists and supporters, including a number of Iraqi diplomats, and mounted an effective campaign to protect possible targets in Athens. In the wake of the fatal bombing in Patras after the war, 25 Palestinians were expelled, including six PLO representatives. Five Palestinians were indicted for that bombing and are awaiting trial.

Greek authorities in March arrested Abdelrahim Khaled, wanted in Italy for the 1985 Achille Lauro hijacking. Italy's extradition request has been approved, but Khaled will first serve a lengthy jail sentence in Greece for narcotics trafficking crimes committed there. The trial of Palestinian Mohammad Rashid, accused in the 1982 bombing of a Pan Am aircraft, began in Athens in October and resulted in a conviction and lengthy jail term in early 1992.

Under provisions of the new antiterrorist legislation, the government invoked a ban on the publication of communiques issued by terrorist organizations and prosecuted newspaper editors who defied the ban.

Ireland

Irish authorities continued to work closely with Britain's counterterrorist efforts. For example, in April they uncovered a cache of PIRA guns and ammunition supplied by Libya and hidden in a farm north of Dublin. In July an Irish court sentenced Adrian Hopkins to eight years (of which five were suspended) after he pleaded guilty to running 150 tons of Libyan weapons and explosives for the PIRA as

captain of the Eksund. Hopkins had fled to Ireland in 1990 from France where his vessel was seized in 1987. Caches of Libyan-supplied Semtex explosives, presumably hidden by PIRA in Ireland, have not been found, however. Irish police did intercept a massive truck bomb in County Donegal on 8 July as it headed for the Ulster border. PIRA assembled its largest known vehicle bomb ever—nearly 4 tons of fertilizer and Semtex—in Ireland but abandoned it when it bogged down in a wet field in September.

Italy

International terrorist incidents increased in Italy from only one in 1990 to 32 in 1991. Most of these were attributed to the Spanish Basque separatist group ETA that, for the first time, attacked more than a dozen Spanish targets in Rome, Milan, and Florence. Some of the other incidents were because of Italy's participation in the coalition forces during the Persian Gulf war. In July an Iranian-inspired knifing wounded the Italian translator of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* in Milan.

To protest the Persian Gulf war, at least five firebombings in January occurred at a Pan Am office, a Ford dealership, a Coca-Cola warehouse, a British school, and an international bookstore. War-related vandalism was directed against a US-affiliated bank and vehicles owned by US Air Force personnel. Italian Autonomous Workers radicals may have been responsible for at least some of the firebomb attacks. There were no deaths or injuries as a result of these.

Like other European countries, Italy ordered home many diplomats and staff of the Iraqi Embassy and expelled other potential saboteurs and terrorists during the Persian Gulf war.

At the outset of the war, Italian authorities at the Rome airport arrested Khalid Duhan al-Jawary, who is wanted in the United States for attempted bombings of Israeli targets in New York City in 1973. A final decision on a US request for his extradition will be made in 1992.

Italy has definitively emerged from the difficult period (1976-84) during which domestic terrorism was prevalent. Nevertheless, President Cossiga had to abandon his proposal to pardon Renato Curcio, the founder of the Red Brigades, to symbolize that transition following the domestic protest it provoked.

Clemency and liberal parole were, moreover, invoked for several other incarcerated foreign terrorists in 1991. In January, two Palestinians who played supporting roles in the 1985 hijacking of the cruise ship Achille Lauro and were close to completing their terms, left Italy because of a blanket clemency act which reduced most sentences by two years. A juvenile participant in that hijacking, Bassam Al Ashker, serving a 17-year sentence, was accorded conditional freedom in June.

Greece gave final approval in December to Italy's request for the extradition of Abdelrahim Khaled, arrested in March, who was already convicted in absentia and sentenced to life in prison by a Genoa court for his role in the Achille Lauro affair.

Netherlands

The trial and appeal of four PIRA suspects concluded in July 1991. All were acquitted in the 1990 murder of two Australian tourists, mistaken for off-duty British soldiers, in Roermond.

The Netherlands, like other West European countries, was the scene of violence by expatriate Turks. Dev Sol members or sympathizers are believed responsible for the firebombing in July of a Turkish bank and travel agency in Amsterdam. Turks rioted at a Turkish Consulate in July, and Turkish Kurds claimed responsibility for an August attack on a Turkish bank in The Hague.

There were no terrorist incidents in the Netherlands directly attributed to the Gulf crisis. Several Iraqi diplomats were expelled after the war began. The investigation into the murder of a Dutch diplomat in Tunisia in February 1991 remained inconclusive.

In November, the extremist Radical Anti-Racist Action (RARA) group set off powerful bombs at the Interior Ministry and at the house of a junior justice minister to protest Dutch political asylum policy. This was apparently RARA's first attack since the late 1980s when its arson attacks, especially against Shell Oil, were intended to protest apartheid in South Africa.

Former Soviet Union

With the progressive dissolution of the Soviet Union, Soviet authorities were largely preoccupied with internal dynamics in 1991. Consequently, there was uncertainty about institutional responsibility for counterterrorism, particularly with the paring of the KGB. Nevertheless, Soviet authorities continued bilateral consultations with Western countries on terrorism, their concern sharpened by a perception of increased vulnerability to domestic political instability.

Political violence in certain areas of the former Soviet Union continued at a high level in 1991. Interethnic civil strife intensified between Armenians and Azerbaijanis as central authority weakened in the Caucasus. In April, a Soviet colonel responsible for logistics in the Caucasus was assassinated in Rostov, Russia. Soviet authorities subsequently arrested several Armenians in connection with the attack. Nearly 50 civilians were killed in attacks on trains and a bus in the Caucasus between May and August. A train proceeding through the Nakhichevan autonomous region of Azerbaijan en route to Armenia was hijacked in September; no casualties were reported. Several press reports describe an attempted bombing in Kiev's only synagogue in December by unknown assailants using grenades and artillery shells. A black market of military weapons is growing with the further demobilization of many former Soviet military personnel, and this may contribute to the arsenals of dissident groups.

Incidents of airplane hijackings in the former Soviet Union decreased, however, from about 30 attempts in 1990 to about 10 in 1991. One notable hijacking, to Turkey in November, was a political gesture prompted by Russian President Yel'tsin's attempt to impose a state of emergency in the Checheno-Ingushetia Autonomous Republic. The Chechen president threatened Russia with terrorist retaliation, including attacks on atomic power stations.

In 1991 the Soviet Union maintained its relations with most state sponsors of terrorism—Syria, Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Cuba—although at lower levels. However, its military and economic dealings with these countries were increasingly commercialized. (Iraq was the exception; Soviet dealings with that country were governed by the various UN Security Council sanctions adopted in 1990 and 1991.) Economic and budgetary constraints, as well as the overall preoccupation with domestic matters, added impetus to the reevaluation, begun in the mid-1980s, of

these ties. The announced intent to withdraw the Soviet brigade in Cuba and to sharply reduce arms deliveries to that country were perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this trend in 1991. With the final breakup of the USSR, the newly independent states exhibited little support for the former regime's alliances with state sponsors. In October, Russian President Yel'tsin outlined an agenda for Russia that included a cutoff of all foreign aid and a shift toward strictly commercial relations with former client states, including Syria, Iran, and Cuba.

Spain

International terrorist incidents in Spain decreased to 10 in 1991 from 28 in 1990. Domestic terrorism in Spain, however, increased last year, in terms of the number of incidents and casualties. The Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) separatist terrorist organization accounted for the vast majority of these, resulting in 45 fatalities, as opposed to 25 the previous year. As in the past, most victims were members of the Civil Guard, National Police, military, and their families. The group appeared particularly intent on demonstrating its continued capabilities as Spain prepared to host the Barcelona Olympics, a World's Fair, and several other major international events in 1992.

One of Spain's smaller terrorist organizations, the Catalan separatist group Terra Lliure (Free Land), renounced the use of violence. The First of October Anti-Fascist Group (GRAPO), a Marxist and anti-US organization, mounted only one confirmed attack and had two of its members arrested in 1991. More than 20 GRAPO prisoners officially ended an ineffective hunger strike in February. Iraultza, an anti-US Marxist Basque group, attempted three small bombings in March and April, but three of its members were killed in a premature explosion. A Galician separatist group was responsible for the destruction of about 10 high-tension towers; about 10 of its members, however, including the EGPGC leader, were arrested. A suspected EGPGC safehouse was discovered in Sao Martinho do Porto, Portugal.

The government directed most of its counterterrorism efforts against ETA with considerable effectiveness. Raids in Catalonia and the Basque provinces resulted in more

than 40 arrests and six ETA members killed. Approximately 40 ETA members, both Spanish and French, were arrested in France in 1991, the result of increased cooperation between French and Spanish authorities. The autonomous Basque police, Ertzaintza, accounted for one ETA member killed and one arrested. The government's success may have obliged ETA to strike less professionally at softer targets, accounting for the increase in civilian casualties. Seven children of police officials were killed by ETA bombs during the year, five in one explosion in May at a Civil Guard apartment building near Barcelona, which killed a total of nine and wounded more than 50.

ETA chose many material targets associated with Spain's tourist industry in 1991. As in previous years, ETA mounted a summer campaign designed to disrupt railroad travel in Spain. ETA issued an exceptional warning to travel agencies in Europe to alert tourists to the hazards of travel to Spain. Spanish consulates, beach resorts, banks, travel agencies, airline ticket offices, tour buses, and educational institutes were targeted more than a dozen times in Italy and three times in Germany from May to August. These were ETA's first attacks in Italy and Germany.

During 1991 Spain had very limited success in winning extradition of ETA suspects from abroad. Only a few low-level members were extradited from France, with Mexico and the Dominican Republic demurring.

Henri Parot, a prominent French Basque member of ETA's Itinerant Command who was arrested in Seville in 1990, was given an additional extended sentence in 1991 for six murders.

Two members of a Spanish rightwing terrorist organization known as GAL were tried and sentenced to lengthy prison terms in 1991 for attempted murder. GAL killed more than a score of suspected ETA members and supporters in France during the 1980s.

Sweden

In October, the Swedish Security Police arrested a suspected Palestinian terrorist for his alleged involvement in the 1971 murder in Cairo of the Jordanian Prime Minister. The suspect had been living in a refugee camp in southern Sweden. Jordan's request for extradition was turned over to Swedish judicial authorities for review.

An amended Terrorist Act became effective 1 July. The new act strengthens the ability of the Security Police and the courts to expel suspected foreign terrorists. It also eliminated the municipal arrest provision under which foreign terrorists who could not be expelled from Sweden were required to limit their movements to their local community absent specific permission for broader travel. Such individuals will, however, still be required to report regularly to local authorities and may be subject to surveillance.

A neo-Nazi group demanding the release of two supporters incarcerated for bank robbery claimed responsibility for the 20 December bombing of a pizzeria outside Stockholm, threatening more incidents if its demands were not met. Another bomb, possibly planted by neo-Nazi extremists, exploded in Stockholm's main train station on 30 December, injuring a police officer. The bombing sparked a series of bomb threats in Stockholm and other cities.

Turkey

The number of international terrorist incidents in Turkey rose from 12 in 1990 to 75 in 1991, the highest number for any country. Propelling much of this dramatic rise was the renewed emphasis placed on US targets by the leftist Turkish terrorist organization Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left or Dev Sol).

Many of Dev Sol's anti-US attacks—some 30 property bombings during the first quarter of 1991 alone—were part of a larger protest against Turkey's strategic role in the international coalition against Iraq. During that time Dev Sol also killed two American civilian Defense Department contractors: Bobbie Eugene Mozelle in Adana in February and John Gandy in Istanbul in March. Dev Sol gunmen also seriously wounded an active US military officer in Izmir in February. In August, Dev Sol also assassinated a British businessman in Istanbul.

Since its reemergence in 1989, Dev Sol has focused most of its lethal attacks against the Turkish security establishment. In 1991, the organization killed nearly 30 policemen in Istanbul, including the deputy police chief. Dev Sol also killed four active or retired general officers. The Turkish

Peasants' and Workers' Liberation Army (TIKKO), another leftist terrorist organization, is suspected in the deaths of five Istanbul policemen in 1991.

The Turkish Government responded vigorously against Dev Sol. In April, new antiterrorism legislation was enacted providing, among other things, for longer sentences for terrorists and restrictions on the publication of terrorists' statements. Police raids in July in Istanbul and Ankara killed a dozen Dev Sol members and resulted in many arrests. These raids apparently preempted several anti-US and antigovernment attacks the organization had been planning for President Bush's visit to Turkey later that month.

Despite government efforts, Dev Sol proved resilient because of its relatively large number of adherents in Turkey, thought to be more than 1,000, and the discipline of its core operatives. Dev Sol also reportedly tried to intimidate police, prison guards, and members of the judiciary. Sympathizers within Turkey's large expatriate community in Western Europe raise funds and provide other logistic support for Dev Sol. A Dev Sol training camp in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in Lebanon has also been useful as an offshore haven and for upgrading Dev Sol's paramilitary skills.

A third American, US S. Sgt. Victor D. Marvick, was killed in Ankara in October 1991 in a car bombing claimed by an Islamic Jihad cell in Turkey to protest the Middle East peace conference in Madrid. The terrorists, thought to be supported by Iran, also seriously wounded an Egyptian diplomat the same day.

Despite the significant increase in the activity of Dev Sol, the preoccupying security concern for the Turkish Government in 1991 was the continuing separatist insurgency of the Kurdish Workers' Party, or PKK, which accounted for over 900 deaths in the predominantly Kurdish region of southeastern Turkey. The plight of Kurdish refugees from Iraq after the Persian Gulf war heightened the world's awareness of Kurds in general while creating an uncertain security situation in northern Iraq. The PKK exploited this circumstance to step up its military operations in the Kurdish region of southeast Turkey. From camps in Syria, Iraq, and Iran, as well as inside Turkey, the PKK mobilized large units against Turkish military and police outposts. Lethal attacks against civilians, ranging from women and

children to a provincial subgovernor in 1991, diminished beginning in April in an apparent effort to increase PKK support among ordinary Kurds. PKK gunmen struck for the first time, however, at mainly military targets outside the southeast region, killing four and wounding more than a dozen in Adana, Istanbul, and Izmir. Turkish incursions against PKK camps in northern Iraq contributed to the military escalation in southeast Turkey.

Another departure for the PKK in 1991 was the taking of Western hostages. Propagandizing its jurisdiction over a self-proclaimed Turkish Kurdistan, the PKK kidnapped 10 German tourists in August; shortly after their release, the PKK seized a team of Biblical archeologists—three Americans and an Australian—and a British tourist, releasing them unharmed after three weeks.

Like Dev Sol, the PKK also has members and supporters among the expatriate Turkish community in Western Europe, some of whom, in the case of PKK, raise funds by drug trafficking.

United Kingdom

There were no incidents of international terrorism in the United Kingdom in 1991. Sectarian violence in Northern Ireland increased, however, though still short of levels seen in the 1970s. The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) again extended its terrorist campaign to the British mainland but was largely quiescent on the European Continent. Loyalist or Unionist paramilitary commandos in Northern Ireland significantly increased their attacks against Catholics in Ulster and mounted several terrorist operations in Ireland.

In 1991, 94 people lost their lives in the sectarian "troubles" in Northern Ireland, as compared with 76 in 1990 and some 60 in 1989. The increase is attributable to attacks by Protestant Loyalists who doubled the number of their victims in 1991. The Loyalists observed a cease-fire during the so-called Strand talks aimed at achieving some accommodation between the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland, but they sharply increased their attacks when those talks broke down in July.

Outside Northern Ireland, PIRA mounted several attacks in England, including a mortar attack there that nearly hit a Cabinet meeting at 10 Downing Street in February. Two



Vehicle in which S. Sgt. Victor Marvick was killed on 28 October in Ankara.

powerful bombs were aimed at military band concerts near London but resulted in the deaths of two PIRA bomb handlers instead. One civilian, however, was killed by a PIRA bomb on a London subway train in February. He was PIRA's only fatal victim outside Ulster in 1991, as compared with six killed by PIRA outside Ulster in 1990. Loyalist terrorists from Ulster were responsible for more than a dozen firebombings in Dublin in 1991 and killed a pro-PIRA Sinn Fein counselor in Ireland in May. Throughout the year, but particularly in December, PIRA planted scores of incendiary devices in commercial establishments and subway trains in London and other English cities—and threatened other assaults—in a campaign to cause damage and economic disruption during the busy pre-Christmas shopping period.

Convictions brought in 1976 in English courts against seven members of the Maguire family for a PIRA bombing campaign were overturned in June owing to serious procedural errors. In March, the Birmingham Six, also PIRA

suspects, were released from prison, as had been the Guilford Four in October 1990. The Home Secretary appointed a royal commission to review the legal system in light of these false imprisonments. PIRA member Desmond Ellis, extradited from Ireland in 1990 to stand trial for a 1981 PIRA bombing campaign in Britain, was acquitted of all charges.

John McCarthy, Jackie Mann, and Terry Waite, held hostage in Lebanon, were released in 1991. For the most part, author Salman Rushdie remained in hiding in Britain, however, as Iran's death threats against him continued in force. Rushdie did travel to New York City in December to deliver a speech at Columbia University; this was his first international travel since the death threats were made in 1989.

At the start of the Persian Gulf war, Britain detained about 90 Iraqis and Palestinians as a security precaution, deporting many of them.

On 14 November the Lord Advocate of Scotland brought formal charges against two Libyan intelligence officers, Abdel Basset Ali Al-Megrahi and Lamem Khalifa Fhimah, for the bombing in 1988 of Pan American Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Britain, along with the United States, formally demanded their surrender by Libya.

Eastern European Overview

Cooperation between the countries of Eastern Europe and the West on counterterrorist issues began in earnest with the fall of Communist regimes in 1989 and continued unabated in 1991. This cooperation was strengthened during the Persian Gulf crisis, as East European governments closed borders to suspected terrorists, monitored or expelled suspect alien residents, and took steps to protect US and other coalition government interests on their territories. Official procoalition stances by East European governments during the war increased the risk in several of these countries, as evidenced by numerous terrorist threats. However, only in Yugoslavia was there a war-related attack: a failed firebombing in February of a US Information Service office in Sarajevo by unknown assailants.

Incidents of international terrorism remained relatively few in Eastern Europe for the rest of the year as well. In Hungary, a caller claiming to represent "The Movement for the Protection of Jerusalem" said that the group set off a bomb in December near a bus containing Jews emigrating from the former Soviet Union to Israel. Two Hungarian policemen in an escort vehicle were severely injured in the blast. Several days before, a terrorist failed in his attempt to assassinate the Turkish Ambassador in Budapest. An anonymous caller claiming to represent the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) claimed responsibility for that attack. In August, Sikh militants in Bucharest attempted to assassinate the Indian Ambassador to Romania, who had previously served as Director-General of Police in Punjab. Sikh extremists later kidnapped a Romanian diplomat in India, demanding the release of both the two assailants held by the Romanian authorities in the attack on the Indian Ambassador and three Sikh militants held by Indian authorities for other crimes. Although none of those demands was met, the Romanian diplomat was released seven weeks later. A Soviet commercial airliner was hijacked in January to Bulgaria, where the lone Soviet hijacker was arrested.

Soviet Consulates in Poland were the targets of firebombs after the Soviet crackdown in Lithuania and Latvia in January 1991. In Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania more than a dozen bombings were aimed at political party offices and security installations, especially during the first quarter of 1991. In July, seven Lithuanian border guards were shot dead execution style. Reactionary elements were probably responsible for the incidents in the Baltics.

The civil war that consumed Yugoslavia in 1991, however, generated serious concern that combatants or their sympathizers abroad would resort to international terrorism to continue the fight on other fronts. To discourage diplomatic recognition of Croatia, for example, Serbian extremist groups made threats against German and Austrian officials and interests abroad. Actual terrorist incidents were few, however, and included the firebombing, probably by Serb nationalists, of a Croatian church near Munich and the attempted firebombing, most likely by Croat nationalists, in November of Yugoslav diplomatic missions in Canada and Germany.

For political and budgetary reasons, police presence in the East European countries continued to decline in 1991, possibly reducing the control authorities wielded over the activities of potential terrorists. The United States and others sponsored training programs in antiterrorist techniques for law enforcement and other officials of several countries in the region. Police cooperation was the subject of several bilateral agreements between Eastern and Western European countries. All states in the region except Albania are members of Interpol. Czechoslovakia, which joined Interpol in 1991, also ratified the International Civil Aviation Organization Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection. (Semtex, a plastic explosive used in several terrorist incidents, including the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, is a product of Czechoslovakia.)

There were no prosecutions in Eastern Europe of suspects of international terrorism in 1991. Hungary did, however, extradite to Greece a suspected Greek terrorist in August.

Bulgaria cooperated with Western countries in investigating the alleged involvement of its former Communist government in the assassination in London in 1978 of dissident writer Georgi Markov and the attempted assassination of the Pope in 1981.

Latin American Overview

A record number of international incidents occurred in Latin America during 1991, most in South America, while Central America and the Caribbean experienced only a handful of attacks against foreign interests. A considerable number of attacks in the Latin American region were inspired by the US role in the Persian Gulf war. Latin American terrorist groups conducted 224 attacks on foreign interests, continuing the upward trend of the past four years. It should be noted, however, that this figure represents only a small percentage of the total number of terrorist incidents in the region. In most countries with a terrorist problem, the primary targets of guerrillas and narcotraffickers have been domestic institutions—government employees, law enforcement personnel, politicians, and media representatives. Most of the attacks occurred in Peru, Chile, and Colombia. At least 30 people died—three were US citizens—and 62 people were injured in international incidents over the course of the year. Anti-US terrorism rose to 174 attacks—up from 131 in 1990. While the Persian Gulf war clearly was a factor in the large number of attacks in early 1991, 116 international incidents occurred after the end of Operation Desert Storm.

Bolivia

Bolivian terrorists hit power pylons belonging to a US-owned power company three times in 1991, all low-level bombing incidents. Domestic terrorism, however, increased almost sevenfold. More than 40 bombing incidents occurred. Among the targets were Bolivian Government buildings near the US Embassy. Five bombs detonated at the La Paz International Airport. The Nestor Paz Zamora Commission (CNPZ), part of the refurbished National Liberation Army (ELN), and several previously unknown terrorist groups claimed responsibility for a handful of the attacks, but most went unclaimed. The new groups included the Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK) and the Tomas Katari Communal Army (ECLK). Both advocate the return of Bolivia to precolonial forms of government and indigenous Indian culture.

The Bolivian Government initiated improvements in its domestic and regional counterterrorism programs, while publicly downplaying the increase in terrorist incidents. The government established various crisis management mechanisms and began developing a national counterterrorism strategy. The Bolivian police held high-level meetings with

their counterparts from Chile, Peru, and Brazil to help improve coordination against cross-border terrorism. While these steps demonstrated greater political willingness to deal with terrorism than in past years, a severe lack of resources and investigative and judicial weaknesses continued to hamper the government's ability to counter the growing terrorist problem. Nonetheless, eight members of the Zarate Willka Armed Forces of Liberation (FALZW) received stiff sentences for their role in the 1988 attack on Secretary Shultz's motorcade and the murder of two US Mormon missionaries in 1989. At the close of 1991, a trial was also under way for CNPZ terrorists who attacked the US Marine guard-house in La Paz in October 1990.

Chile

Since the end of the Pinochet regime in March 1990, several far-left groups, including the Communist Party of Chile (PCCH), have moved away from terrorist tactics, but other, more extreme organizations continue to use armed actions in pursuit of their political goals. Chilean terrorist organizations, which had targeted US interests in record numbers in 1990 and early 1991, were somewhat less active during the remainder of the year. There were 52 anti-US attacks in Chile in 1991, down from 61 in 1990. Of these attacks, more than half were conducted after the end of the Persian Gulf war. After a brief lull following the war, sporadic anti-US attacks resumed in May and became more numerous during the last quarter of the year. Attacks against Mormon churches increased in intensity toward the end of the year, involving more powerful bombs or bombs containing shrapnel clearly designed to cause serious injury and substantial damage. Three Chilean children were injured in one attack against a Mormon church in November. Two terrorist organizations, the dissident faction of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR/D) and elements of the Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL), were responsible for most of the political violence. Two previously unknown groups surfaced during the year—the Guerrilla Army of the People-Free Fatherland and the Joaquin Murieta Extremist Movement. During October, the Guerrilla Army of the People carried out several low-level domestic bombings and an armed occupation of the French News Agency. Several of its leaders were subsequently arrested.

Several significant anti-US and domestic incidents occurred in 1991. On 16 February, the FPMR/D fired a light antitank weapon rocket at a US Marine guard van, but it failed to detonate. Ensuing gunfire by the terrorists injured one Marine. Some domestic incidents were pegged to the release of the National Truth and National Reconciliation Commission Report (Rettig Report), which detailed human rights violations during the Pinochet regime. The FPMR/D assassinated a retired Army medical doctor and his wife the day before the release of the report. The assassination of Senator Jaime Guzman on 1 April was probably carried out by the FPMR/D, although the investigation is continuing. The MJL claimed responsibility for the murder of investigations police chief Hector Sarmiento Hidalgo in Concepcion on 15 March.

The Chilean Government is focusing more attention on Chile's terrorism problem. Increased training and efforts by members of the police have improved their counterterrorism capabilities in the past year. During 1991, the police uncovered several safehouses and training sites used by Chilean terrorists and arrested several leaders and members of each of the country's main terrorist organizations. Immediately after the Guzman murder, the Chilean Government created the Public Security Coordinating Council, an advisory group whose function is to unite the counterterrorism efforts of government agencies. In its first report to President Aylwin, submitted in September, the Council recommended the establishment of a permanent intelligence organization to coordinate the government's counterterrorism effort. In December, President Aylwin announced a plan to set up an Under Secretariat for Public Security and Intelligence at the Interior Ministry to coordinate police efforts to combat crime and delinquency as well as terrorism. Implementing legislation will be taken up during the next session of Congress. The government has also appointed special investigating judges to try the more serious cases, such as the Guzman murder.

Colombia

Terrorist incidents in Colombia continue to be perpetrated by three leftist insurgent groups loosely affiliated under the umbrella group Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinator (CGSB), by narcotics traffickers, and by rightwing paramilitary groups.

There were 62 international terrorist incidents in Colombia in 1991, up from 28 in 1990 and 46 in 1989. While most of the violence in the country was domestic, the two main

CGSB terrorist groups, the National Liberation Army (ELN) and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), continued to target foreign workers for kidnapping. Three French and two Japanese engineers were kidnapped and held for ransom by the FARC during 1991. Three US engineers held since November 1990 by the ELN were released a year later. The majority of the international attacks in Colombia in 1991 were bombings of Colombia's oil pipelines, particularly the Cano-Limon Covenas pipeline in northern Colombia, jointly owned by Ecopetrol and a consortium of US and West European companies.

The surrender of Pablo Escobar, the head of the Medellin drug cartel, and many other members of his narcotics ring resulted in a sharp decrease in narcotics-related violence in Colombia. As a result, several paramilitary groups publicly demobilized, claiming that with Escobar behind bars the battle they had been fighting was over.

Peace talks between the Colombian Government and the CGSB continued in 1991, with little success. The end of the fifth round of talks in November prompted an increase in guerrilla attacks, primarily directed at domestic targets, as the terrorist groups sought to strengthen their negotiating position.

The Colombian Government made efforts toward improving the nation's judicial system in the past year by forming special courts to handle terrorist and narcotics cases and approving a new antiterrorist statute that strengthens sanctions for terrorist crimes. The Colombian Government also imposed a new tax to fund counterinsurgency efforts.

Ecuador

The Government of Ecuador continued its policy of negotiating with the Alfaro Vive Carajo (AVC), a small, Marxist-Leninist extremist group, to encourage its participation in the legitimate political process. This effort resulted in a ceremony in February at which a handful of AVC members turned in 65 guns. In October, some of the members publicly announced their desire to join President Borja's Democratic Left Party, while a dissident faction denounced the move to abandon clandestine terrorist activities. AVC members occupied the French Consulate in Guayaquil in January 1991 and the British Embassy in Quito in September 1991. The Ecuadorian Government

chose not to prosecute those who seized the facilities, although one AVC member was charged with illegal possession of explosives in connection with an attempted bombing of the Social Welfare Ministry in May. Other minuscule extremist groups carried out five low-level attacks against foreign interests in Ecuador during 1991, four during the Gulf war.

El Salvador

The leftist Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) signed a cease-fire agreement on 31 December with the Government of El Salvador, ending the decade-long civil war. Before the cease-fire agreement, there were three international terrorist incidents in El Salvador in 1991. One of the incidents, notably, claimed the lives of the only three Americans to die as a result of terrorist activity in Latin America in 1991. On 2 January, the FMLN downed a US helicopter carrying three US military advisers who were enroute to Honduras. Two of them, Lt. Col. David Pickett and crew chief PFC Earnest Dawson, were brutally executed after surviving the crash. The third, Chief Warrant Officer Daniel Scott, died of injuries suffered in the shutdown. The FMLN has refused to turn over the two individuals responsible. In July, a US Embassy security vehicle was fired on in San Salvador by suspected FMLN members.

A significant development in Salvadoran justice was the September conviction of two military officers for the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests, marking the first time a military officer has been convicted for rightwing terrorism.

Guatemala

Leftist insurgent groups under the umbrella group Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) accounted for much of the terrorist violence in the country in 1991. There were seven incidents of international terrorism, the same figure as in 1990.

The Gulf war prompted the most significant international terrorist incidents in Guatemala in 1991. Attempted bombings and shootings were directed against the Uruguayan, British, and Canadian Embassies, as well as the residence of the Japanese Ambassador in February. Four armed men fired shots at the US-affiliated Covenant House in July 1991. A series of threats against foreign media in Guatemala prompted representatives of several international news agencies to leave Guatemala City in August 1991.

The Guatemalan Government, with the support of the military, made some progress in direct talks with the leaders of the URNG during 1991. But the country's ineffective criminal justice system and the intransigence of the URNG have proved to be major impediments to effective counterterrorist strategies.

Mexico

Mexico, which had not experienced international terrorist incidents in the past several years, had five terrorist bombing attacks during August, apparently timed to coincide with midterm national elections. (The Government of Mexico considers the group that claimed responsibility for carrying out the bombings to be a criminal rather than terrorist organization.) Targets included US-owned banks and other commercial interests and a Japanese automobile dealership. No other attacks were perpetrated in 1991 against foreign interests.

The Clandestine Worker's Revolutionary Party, Union of the Poor (PROCUP), a leftist extremist organization, claimed responsibility for all five attacks. PROCUP has been periodically active since its formation in 1970, but the Government of Mexico has, for the most part, effectively monitored and controlled its activities.

Peru

Terrorist activities of Peru's two insurgencies, Sendero Luminoso (SL) and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), have made Peru a dangerous country for foreigners. Of the 59 international attacks in Peru, 34 were against US interests. Most were probably perpetrated by the MRTA, although SL also claimed two attacks against US facilities. Violent terrorist attacks, which occurred on a nearly daily basis, were spread over much of Peru but were most heavily concentrated in Lima itself, where more than 600 terrorist attacks caused about 350 deaths. At least 2,800 people died during the year in an unknown number of terrorist attacks in the country; a record 422 people were killed in October alone. SL continued its campaign of assassinating teachers, clergy, engineers, development and human rights workers, Indian peasants, and political candidates, as well as government, police, and political party officials. SL killed at least 10 foreigners, none of them US citizens. Nine of the foreigners were missionaries, clergy, or economic assistance workers.



A bomb destroyed most of this Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant in the Miraflores section of Lima.

Despite extensive security precautions, President Alberto Fujimori was the target of two terrorist attacks in November by the MRTA. A letter bomb campaign directed against domestic targets occurred in Lima, the first of its kind in South America, resulting in the death of one pro-MRTA journalist and serious injuries to three other Peruvians. It is not clear which group, or groups, is responsible for the letter bombs. On 3 November, 17 persons were killed in the Barrios Altos neighborhood of Lima by a group of armed men. Those responsible have not been identified, but local human rights groups attribute the act to a paramilitary group.

The troubled Peruvian justice system has proved ineffective in the fight against terrorism. In 1991 the Government of Peru prosecuted no cases involving international terrorism and few cases of domestic terrorism. A chronic lack of basic resources plagues the judicial system. Severe staffing and morale problems pervade the judicial and law enforcement communities because of meager salaries. Constant terrorist actions have left hundreds of policemen, soldiers, prosecutors, and judges dead, injured, or co-opted. The lack of properly trained personnel, a failure to employ

modern investigative methods, and professional rivalries between the police and prosecutors are further impediments to terrorist prosecutions. Use of criminal forensics is inadequate, and the Peruvians lack an effective witness protection program. Imprisoned terrorists largely control the facilities where they are incarcerated.

The Government of Peru, nonetheless, has taken steps to strengthen its hand against terrorism. In November, the administration issued a series of legislative decrees designed to strengthen the government's counterterrorism capabilities. Among these decrees, which were subject to review by the Peruvian Congress, are measures to reduce sentences in exchange for information, to increase the powers of military commanders in areas outside emergency zones, and to reorganize the police and intelligence services.

Middle Eastern Overview

The number of international terrorist incidents in the Middle East increased from 65 in 1990 to 79 in 1991, largely because of a spate of attacks in Lebanon during the Persian Gulf war.

International terrorism by Palestinians again decreased from 41 in 1990 to 19 last year. Although many of the Palestinian groups threatened to conduct terrorist operations against the international coalition opposing Baghdad's invasion of Kuwait, few such attacks actually occurred. Most incidents recorded during the Persian Gulf war were bombing attacks outside the Middle East region, and most of these were against commercial property belonging to coalition countries' firms. Few of these attacks were carried out against civilians.

There are several reasons why Palestinian terrorists did not carry out attacks in support of Saddam Hussein:

- Military operations disrupted the command and control links between Baghdad and the terrorist networks it had established.
- Enhanced security measures were widely implemented in most regions of the world.
- Coalition countries expelled Iraqi diplomats and intelligence operatives.
- The rapidity of the coalition advance into Iraq sealed Iraq's defeat before operations could be coordinated.

Several Palestinian groups that threatened terrorism during the Gulf war were weakened during 1991. Abu Abbas, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), left the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Executive Committee in September, although the PLF itself is still represented on the Committee. The PLF also failed to follow through on the terrorist threats it issued from Baghdad during the war. The Hawari organization, which was based in Baghdad, was seriously damaged by the death of its leader, Colonel Hawari, in a car accident on the road between Baghdad and the Jordanian border immediately after the war.

During 1991, nine long-held foreign hostages—six Americans and three British citizens—and the remains of Col. William R. Higgins and William F. Buckley were released by Iranian-supported Hizballah members in Lebanon. At year's end, UN special negotiator Giandomenico Picco continued his efforts to secure the release of two German aid workers held in Lebanon and to negotiate an exchange of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners for missing Israeli servicemen in Lebanon.

Despite the decline in international incidents undertaken by Middle Eastern groups, domestic terrorism continued in Israel, the occupied territories, and Lebanon (see inset on Palestinian uprising, page 23). The attacks appeared to be carried out by rejectionist groups and coincided with positive developments in the Middle East peace process. Internecine conflicts within and between Palestinian and Lebanese terrorist groups once again added to the violence.

Iran's success in building closer ties to Palestinian terrorist groups (see a detailed discussion in the section on state-sponsored terrorism) poses a potential threat to international peace and security. Iran hosted a conference in October on the Palestinian problem, which generated a large amount of rhetorical protest against the Middle East peace talks.

A rocket attack was launched against the American Embassy in Beirut during the Madrid peace conference, and a bomb attack damaged several buildings at the American University of Beirut shortly thereafter.

Algeria

Algeria has condemned international terrorism but considers some acts of violence by movements of national liberation to be legitimate. As an expression of this position, Algeria has refused to sign numerous international agreements intended to counter acts of terrorism. The Algerian Government permits a number of radical groups, including some that have been involved in terrorism, to maintain a presence in Algeria. This has occasionally led to security incidents (for example, the April 1990 attack by the Abu Nidal organization (ANO) on an ANO dissident and a bomb explosion at a PLO office in Algiers in the spring of 1991). Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) leader Abu Abbas and a few other Palestinians affiliated with terrorist organizations attended the September 1991 meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers, but the Algerian Government made it clear that it would not tolerate terrorist activities on its territory.

In March a lone armed hijacker took over an Air Algerie flight on the ground in Algiers, holding its 44 passengers and six crewmembers hostage. The hostages were released unharmed a few hours later. In October an Algerian court handed down 10-year prison sentences to two men responsible for a similar hijacking in late December 1990.

Algeria was thrown into an internal political crisis in late December 1991 when Muslim fundamentalists won an overwhelming victory in the first round of National Assembly elections and were poised to win the second round and gain a majority in the Assembly. Since President Bendjedid's resignation, the suspension of the second round of elections, and the crackdown on the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) by the military, there has been a serious upsurge in violent clashes between Islamist elements and the security forces.

Egypt

There were no terrorist attacks against Americans or US interests in Egypt in 1991, despite concerns of such attacks in support of Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm.

US and Egyptian security services cooperated closely on security and antiterrorism matters. During the Persian Gulf war, Egyptian security forces reported several apparent terrorist threats against US interests in Egypt. Egyptian

security agents arrested a number of individuals suspected of planning terrorist acts against Egyptian or Western targets.

In early September, Egyptian authorities arrested armed agents of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) who had entered Egypt with the intention of committing terrorist acts. In November, Israeli security forces intercepted four armed Palestinians who had entered the Israeli Negev from the Sinai. It is quite likely that these terrorists entered Egypt from a third country with the intention of infiltrating into Israel for future terrorist attacks. There are unconfirmed reports that two bodies found on a Gaza beach in December were terrorists who drowned while attempting an attack that may have been launched from Egyptian territory.

The radical Islamic group Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyaa is believed responsible for a number of armed robberies of local Egyptian merchants in 1991 but has conducted no major terrorist incident since the October 1990 assassination of assembly speaker al-Mahgoub. This group seeks the violent overthrow of the Government of Egypt but is not known to have attacked US or other Western targets. More important, it receives support from Iran and has established networks with several counterparts in the Arab world and elsewhere.

Israel and the Occupied Territories

There were numerous attacks and attempted attacks in Israel and the occupied territories in connection with the Palestinian *intifadah* and the Arab-Israeli conflict, several of which coincided with key developments in the Middle East peace process.

Many small bombs exploded or were discovered and defused by Israeli authorities in the course of the year. There were several firebomb or arson attacks on coalition interests in the occupied territories early in the year, probably in reaction to the Persian Gulf war. On 12 April, a bomb exploded in East Jerusalem at the Damascus Gate just before a visit to Israel by Secretary of State Baker. In a similar incident on 16 September, two people were injured when a bomb exploded at an outdoor market in Beersheba.

Stabbing incidents in Israel and on the West Bank occurred throughout 1991. While some of the attacks were probably carried out by organized groups, others appeared to be the work of lone individuals. On 18 May, an apparent Islamic zealot stabbed and wounded three Israelis in West Jerusalem; a faction of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) claimed responsibility. Several European tourists were also the victims of stabbings.

On 7 July, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility for shooting and seriously wounding an Israeli who was transporting Palestinian workers to Israel from the Gaza Strip. The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) claimed responsibility for a similar attack the following day, also in Gaza.

On 28 October, just days before the opening of the Madrid peace conference, gunmen opened fire on a busload of Israeli settlers on the West Bank north of Jerusalem. Two Israelis were killed and at least six wounded, including five children. Both the PFLP and a PIJ faction claimed responsibility.

On numerous occasions in 1991, Jewish settlers in the occupied territories attacked Palestinian civilians and property, often in response to Palestinian attacks. In late October, the son of slain Jewish extremist leader Rabbi Meir Kahane publicly threatened to "blow up" the Madrid peace conference. He was later arrested in Madrid along with two associates while distributing leaflets critical of Israel's participation in the conference. Slogans from Kahane's group Kach were found painted on the walls of the American Cultural Center in Jerusalem after a fire-bombing there on 28 October.

Israeli security forces intercepted over 20 attempted guerrilla infiltrations into Israel from Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt in 1991. Several of the attempted cross-border attacks were conducted by Lebanese groups and Palestinian fighters from factions both within and outside the PLO. Others appear to be the work of disgruntled individuals acting alone or with a few colleagues but with no discernible ties to any known terrorist group. In most cases, the infiltrators failed to penetrate the Israeli border, and the precise targets of the attacks were not clear.

The Palestinian Uprising

Violence associated with the Palestinian intifadah, which began in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip in December 1987, continued in 1991, though at a significantly reduced level. Tight Israeli security restrictions imposed during the Persian Gulf war, and the adverse economic consequences for the local population caused by prolonged strikes, probably account for the change. In the latter part of the year, some Palestinian leaders appeared to be trying to shift the uprising toward less violent forms of protest in response to the Middle East peace negotiations.

Nonetheless, clashes between Palestinians and Israeli troops and settlers resulted in the deaths of at least 101 Palestinians and 12 Israelis in 1991. Although there were far fewer mass demonstrations by Palestinian protestors, there were many vicious personal attacks by individuals or small groups, often involving the use of firearms, over the course of the year. Several of the attacks appeared to involve Islamic extremist groups opposed to any compromise with Israel. Furthermore, at least 140 Palestinians were killed by other Palestinians in 1991, once again outstripping the number of Palestinians killed in clashes with Israeli forces. Most of the victims of intra-Palestinian violence were suspected of being informers for the Israeli authorities.

The intifadah as a whole is primarily a civil insurrection that contains elements of terrorism in specific instances. Acts of intifadah violence frequently go unclaimed and often are not clearly tied to specific goals and objectives or organized terrorist groups. In the absence of an identifiable perpetrator or motive, it is difficult to apply our working definition of terrorism to most intifadah incidents.

In late January, Palestinians fired several rockets over a three-day period at Israel from Lebanon. The rockets landed in the Israeli-controlled south Lebanon security zone. PLO forces are suspected of perpetrating these rocket attacks in order to show support for Iraq.

On 13 September, a Swedish officer with the UN peace-keeping force (UNIFIL) in south Lebanon was killed and five other officers wounded in a gun battle between Israeli troops and their Lebanese allies and a group of Palestinian guerrillas attempting to infiltrate Israel by sea. The Palestinians landed in small boats in south Lebanon and took the UNIFIL officers hostage after failing to reach Israel, where they apparently intended to conduct a terrorist attack. One of the captured guerrillas admitted he was a member of Arafat's Fatah faction of the PLO.

On 11 November, four heavily armed Palestinians were killed by Israeli forces in the Negev desert as they attempted to infiltrate Israel from Egypt.

The Lebanese Shia group Hizballah conducted several dozen attacks on Israeli soldiers in Israel's self-proclaimed security zone in south Lebanon, which continued to be the site of numerous incidents.

Israel takes a strong stand against terrorism and terrorist state sponsors. The Israeli Government has made fighting terrorism a high priority and devotes a considerable proportion of its internal and external security resources to this effort. Israeli police and military forces are involved in planning and training to meet the terrorist threat.

Israeli counterterrorist efforts continue to target countries aiding, harboring, or failing to inhibit terrorists. Israeli military forces have launched preemptive and retaliatory airstrikes against suspected terrorist installations in neighboring Lebanon and have occasionally detained Lebanese nationals in an attempt to thwart attacks. At year's end, Israel continued to hold outside the legal process Sheikh Abdul Karim Obeid, a Hizballah cleric from south Lebanon whom Israeli forces abducted in July 1989, apparently in an effort to exchange him for Israeli military personnel held by Lebanese and other groups.

Israel uses curfews and other restrictive measures to control violence in the occupied territories. The West Bank and Gaza Strip were sealed off from Israel on several occasions in 1991 when the threat was considered to be especially high, most notably during the Gulf war and during sessions of the Middle East peace talks. Israel has also responded to violent incidents by deporting to neighboring countries Palestinian activists who are deemed

to be security risks or accused of anti-Israeli offenses. The United States strongly opposes deportations as a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Israeli courts generally hand down strict prison sentences to those convicted of terrorist attacks. In May, a former member of the 15 May Organization and the Hawari Special Operations Group was sentenced to 25 years in prison for a failed attempt to blow up an El Al airliner in 1984. Mahmud Atta, a member of the Abu Nidal organization who was extradited to Israel from the United States in 1990, was sentenced to life in prison in October for a machinegun attack on an Israeli bus on the West Bank in 1986. Later that month, Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, founder of the Palestinian fundamentalist group Hamas, received a life sentence plus 15 years after admitting to Israeli charges, including plotting the murder of two off-duty Israeli soldiers.

Militant Jewish extremist Rabbi Moshe Levinger was sentenced in January to four months in prison for assaulting a Palestinian family in Hebron. The sentence was later reduced for good behavior. In June an Israeli court approved the extradition to the United States of an American-born Israeli couple suspected of sending a letter bomb that killed an American woman in California in 1980. One of the two is also a suspect in the murder of an Arab-American activist in 1985. The extradition case was appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court in December.

Jordan

Despite additional security measures provided by Jordanian authorities, tensions stemming from the Persian Gulf war led to a spate of attacks in early 1991 against business and diplomatic targets associated with countries taking part in the coalition against Iraq. Most such incidents were minor attacks apparently intended to cause property damage rather than casualties.

At least some of the attacks were apparently the work of a group of Islamic extremists known as Muhammad's Army. In July, Jordanian authorities arrested dozens of persons suspected of belonging to the group, 18 of whom went on trial in October. In open court, the defendants admitted to conducting a series of attacks on Jordanian and Western interests, including two car bombings that seriously

wounded the daughter of a local cleric in January and a Jordanian intelligence officer in July. They also confessed to planning attacks against US and other Western diplomatic facilities. Eight defendants, including two in absentia, were found guilty and sentenced to death. In December King Hussein commuted the death sentences for six defendants to varying prison terms; he let stay the death sentences on the two tried in absentia.

A variety of Palestinian factions maintain a presence in Jordan, including elements of the PLO and more radical Islamic fundamentalist groups like Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). Prominent members of the PIJ in Jordan publicly threatened attacks on US interests during the Gulf war.

There were a number of armed infiltration attempts across the Jordanian boundary with Israel in 1991. Some, such as an 8 February attack claimed by Muhammad's Army, appeared to have been carried out by an organized group; others were most likely conducted by zealous individuals with no connection to any known political organization. One Israeli farmer was killed and three others wounded in a cross-border attack in April. A decline in cross-border raids in the latter half of the year may have been because of Jordan's efforts to enforce tighter border security.

The Jordanian Government considers itself to have been a victim of terrorism over the years and has cooperated in international terrorism efforts. In late 1991 Jordan sought the extradition from Sweden of a Palestinian accused of the 1971 murder of Jordanian Prime Minister Wafsi Tell. Jordanian security services are alert to attempted terrorist acts and have detained members of groups, such as the PIJ, who have been accused of inciting violence.

Kuwait

Kuwait has historically been a target of international terrorism and has had to cope with hijackings, bombings, and assassination attempts. It has been aggressive in bringing terrorists to justice. Before the 2 August 1990 Iraqi invasion, and consistent with its no concessions policy on terrorism, the Amir resisted pressure to pardon members of the pro-Iranian fundamentalist Dawa terrorist group imprisoned in Kuwait for a series of 1983 bombing attacks against US, French, and Kuwaiti interests. The Dawa terrorists either escaped or were freed during the Iraqi occupation.

During 1991 there were no significant acts of domestic terrorism in Kuwait. The government closed down offices of the PLO and all other Palestinian groups, including some associated with terrorism. The Palestinian population in Kuwait also shrunk during the Persian Gulf war and its aftermath from approximately 350,000 to about 40,000, thus severely reducing the ability of these groups to operate in Kuwait.

Lebanon

The number of international terrorist incidents in Lebanon in 1991 rose to a high of 32, up from 10 in 1990 and 16 in 1989. Much of the increase reflected a low-level bombing campaign against foreign targets, largely French-owned banks, during the Persian Gulf war. These incidents caused only minor damage and few casualties. There also were a number of domestic terrorist incidents related to struggles between various Lebanese factions.

During much of 1991, the central government extended its control, particularly over a significant portion of the area from Beirut north to Tripoli. It disarmed several militias and began to expand its control into south Lebanon. The Lebanese Government, however, has been unable to fully implement the Taif Accords, which provide for the extension of its authority nationwide. It has yet to move into the Bekaa Valley or east Lebanon or to expand into portions of the south dominated by Hizballah or the South Lebanon Army (SLA).

Syria, however, continues to maintain a sizable military presence in Lebanon, exercising control over portions of the north and the east. Israel and its client Lebanese militia, the SLA, control a region along the Israeli border.

Terrorism continues to plague Lebanon, and the year saw many violent attacks. Eight people died in a 20 March car bombing believed to have been an attempt on the life of the Defense Minister, the first such incident since the central government's assumption of authority in Beirut. The year closed with a 30 December Beirut car-bombing incident in which at least 30 were reported killed and 120 injured. The year also saw a rocket attack on 29 October on the US Embassy and the 8 November bombing that destroyed buildings of the American University of Beirut. Both attacks

International Organizations

United Nations

The United Nations was involved in two successful efforts concerning terrorism in 1991. The General Assembly adopted Resolution 4651 on 9 December 1991 that unanimously reaffirmed the commitment of all nations to work together to counter terrorism.

Former United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and his special representative Giandomenico Picco were instrumental in securing the release of all the remaining American and British hostages during 1991 and the return of the remains of two Americans—Col. William "Rich" Higgins and William Buckley—who died while in captivity. Colonel Higgins, it must be noted, was kidnapped and murdered while serving with a UN peacekeeping group in south Lebanon.

On 13 September 1991, in Lebanon near the Israeli border, a United Nations peacekeeping soldier was killed and five other soldiers were wounded after being taken hostage during a botched terrorist raid on Israel by Palestinians. The death and injuries occurred as negotiations were in progress to free the hostages. Israeli military units became involved. The United Nations protested to the Palestine Liberation Organization and to the Israeli Government about this incident.

International Civil Aviation Organization

A Diplomatic Conference on Air Law was held under ICAO's auspices in Montreal from 12 February to 1 March 1991, at which the United States and 40 other nations joined together to sign in Montreal an international convention on The Marking of Plastic Explosives for Detection. The signing of this convention capped a two-year effort in the aftermath of the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 to develop an international convention requiring the introduction of certain marking chemicals into plastic explosives at the time of manufacture in order to improve their preblast detection by various existing technologies.

Advice and consent by the US Senate to this convention will be sought in 1993, following the completion of certain required technical studies that are currently under way. The technical assessments will help ensure that the marking chemicals required by the convention do not have any adverse effects on the safety and health of those involved in the manufacture or use of marked plastic explosives, that the shelf life of the marked explosives is sufficient for purposes of the convention, and that the properties and performance of the explosives are not adversely affected by the introduction of the required marking agents.

are believed to have been protests against the opening of the Middle East peace talks. A French aid worker was abducted on 8 August to protest the release of British hostage John McCarthy. The Frenchman was freed three days later after Syrian troops and Lebanese armed forces exerted pressure on Hizballah strongholds in Beirut.

Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya continued to provide varying degrees of financial, military, and logistic support to radical groups engaging in terrorism in Lebanon. Several international groups including radical Palestinians, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP-GC), the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Abu Nidal organization (ANO), and

Abu Musa, as well as non-Palestinian groups, such as the Japanese Red Army (JRA), the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), Turkey's Revolutionary Left (Dev Sol), and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), maintain training facilities in Lebanon, chiefly in the Syrian-garrisoned Bekaa Valley.

The Lebanese Government frequently has condemned terrorist acts and has repeatedly called for the release of foreign hostages but has been unable to rein in terrorists.

One bright spot over the past year was the winding down of the hostage problem in Lebanon. Iranian-backed elements of Hizballah freed six American and three British hostages

Foreign Political Hostages Kidnapped in Lebanon: 1991 Status Report

Name / Nationality / Profession	Date / Place Kidnapped	Kidnapping Claimed by	Status
William Buckley, United States, CIA Officer	16 March 1984 West Beirut	Islamic Jihad	Remains recovered 27 December and flown to United States for burial at Arlington National Cemetery
Terry Anderson, United States, AP Middle East Bureau Chief, journalist	16 March 1985 West Beirut	Islamic Jihad	Released 4 December
Alec Collett, United Kingdom, journalist, UNRWA	26 March 1985 West Beirut	Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims	Reported to have been killed in 1986, but information is inconclusive
Thomas Sutherland, United States, American University of Beirut (AUB), educator	9 June 1985 West Beirut	Islamic Jihad	Released 18 November
Alberto Molinari, Italy, businessman	11 September 1985 West Beirut	No claim	Presumed dead, but evidence not conclusive
John McCarthy, United Kingdom, TV journalist	17 April 1986 West Beirut	Arab commando cells	Released 8 August
Joseph Ciccipio, United States, AUB comptroller	12 September 1986 West Beirut	Revolutionary Justice Organization	Released 2 December
Edward Tracy, United States, writer	21 October 1986 West Beirut	Revolutionary Justice Organization	Released 11 August
Terry Waite, United Kingdom, Church of England, envoy	20 January 1987 West Beirut	No claim	Released 18 November
Alann Steen, United States, BUC, educator	24 January 1987 West Beirut	Oppressed of the Earth and Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine	Released 3 December
Jesse Turner, United States, BUC, educator	24 January 1987 West Beirut	As above	Released 22 October
William Richard Higgins, United States, Col., Marine Corps	17 February 1988 Near Tyre	Islamic Revolutionary Brigades and Organization of the Oppressed on Earth	Remains recovered 22 December and flown to United States for burial at Quantico National Cemetery
Heinrich Struebig, Germany, relief worker	16 May 1989 Lebanon	No claim	Still held
Thomas Kempfner, Germany, relief worker	16 May 1989 Lebanon	No claim	Still held
Jack Mann, United Kingdom, retired	6 October 1989 Sidon	Uncertain	Released 24 September
Jerome Leyraud, France, relief worker	8 August 1991 Beirut	No claim; probably Hizballah	Released 11 August

and returned the remains of US hostages Col. William Higgins and William Buckley at the end of 1991 following a UN-orchestrated process involving frequent contact with Iran, Syria, the Lebanese Shia, Israel, and others. In return, many Lebanese held by Israel and the SLA were freed, but several hundred remain in captivity. Israel received through the UN conclusive information from Hizballah that two of its six missing soldiers were dead. The remains of another Israeli soldier killed in fighting in Lebanon in the mid-1980s were returned by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

At the end of 1991, two German relief workers who are also held by Hizballah—Heinrich Struebig and Thomas Kemptner—remained in captivity; their release has been linked to freedom for two Lebanese terrorists jailed in Germany. There had also not yet been a full accounting of all those held hostage who may have died while in captivity.

Saudi Arabia

The defining event concerning terrorism in Saudi Arabia in 1991 was Operation Desert Storm and its aftermath. Throughout the Desert Shield/Desert Storm period, Saudi Arabia shared information on possible terrorist acts with other governments and made every effort to assist the international community in countering and preventing terrorism. The Saudi Government expelled Iraqi diplomats and attaches and closed its borders with Jordan and Yemen, countries it viewed as aligned with Iraq. It also tightened visa requirements for foreign workers from countries opposing the international coalition. Many foreign workers were expelled from Saudi Arabia, and others were transferred or fired from sensitive government positions. Saudi Arabia also employed additional security measures on Saudia Airline flights.

Despite the huge US military presence in Saudi Arabia, there was only one act of terrorism directed against US forces. On 3 February 1991, two US airmen and a Saudi guard were wounded in an attack on a military bus in Jeddah. Four Palestinians (one a naturalized Saudi) and two Yemenis were arrested. The incident is still under investigation, and the four Palestinians remain in custody.

The Saudi Government is still closely following the investigation of the February 1990 killing of three Saudi diplomats in Bangkok, Thailand. The Thai Government has publicly blamed a non-Thai terrorist no longer in Thailand.

Thanks to the intensive but largely unobtrusive security precautions taken by Saudi security forces, the annual Mecca pilgrimage (*hajj*) passed without incident.

Saudi Arabia has repeatedly spoken out and voted against terrorist acts in international fora. It has raised terrorism issues in bilateral discussion with governments it considers to be state sponsors of terrorism. Saudi Arabia decries acts of terrorism allegedly committed in the name of the Palestinian cause; it considers this cause to be a legitimate movement of national liberation and resistance to military occupation. Saudi Arabia suspended financial and political support for the PLO in late 1990 because of that group's strong pro-Iraqi stance but then reportedly resumed transfer to the PLO of revenue from a tax on Palestinians working in the kingdom in late 1991.

Yemen

The Republic of Yemen (ROY) is committed to cutting all ties to terrorist groups. A few groups, however, continue to maintain a presence in ROY territory, typically with the assistance of ROY officials who were previous officials of the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). The PDRY was on the US Government's list of state sponsors of terrorism until its unification with the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) to form the ROY in 1990.

The ROY is reportedly narrowing criteria and tightening procedures for issuing passports to non-Yemenis, including Palestinians, and has denied press reports that international terrorist Carlos was granted refuge in Yemen.

During the past year several incidents of international terrorism occurred in Yemeni territory, especially during the Persian Gulf war when Yemen was a strong supporter of Iraq. In January, during the Gulf crisis, the embassies of the US, Turkey, and Japan were attacked by unknown persons. The ROY condemned these attacks and increased protection of citizens and property of coalition member countries. In October unknown persons attacked the German and US Embassies in what was probably part of a wave of attacks that also included ROY government targets.

State-Sponsored Terrorism Overview

The United States and its allies focus on raising the costs for those governments that support, tolerate, and engage in international terrorism. It is widely recognized that government support for terrorist groups enhances their capabilities and makes more difficult law enforcement efforts to counter terrorism.

A number of governments continue to provide terrorists safehaven, travel documents, arms, training, and technical expertise. In addition to support for terrorist groups, some governments engage directly in terrorism as a tool of their foreign and domestic policies. During 1991 Iranian and Iraqi agents carried out international terrorist attacks, and the evidence of Libyan responsibility for the bombings of Pan Am 103 in 1988 and UTA 772 in 1989 was made public. Other governments, though not direct sponsors of terrorist groups, contribute to such groups' capabilities by allowing them unimpeded transit, and permitting them to carry out recruitment and other support activities.

The United States currently lists Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and Syria as state supporters of terrorism. This list is maintained pursuant to Section 6 (j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979. This and related US statutes impose trade and other restrictions on countries determined by the Secretary of State to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism. The list is sent annually to Congress, though countries can be added or removed at any time that circumstances warrant.

The international effort to curtail state support for terrorism achieved tangible results in 1991. The United States in concert with the international community responded swiftly and firmly to Iraq and the groups pledging to carry out terrorist attacks on behalf of Saddam Hussein. Messages were sent warning Iraq and these groups of the consequences of a resort to terrorism. Many governments preemptively expelled more than 200 Iraqi diplomatic and intelligence personnel to reduce the threat posed by Iraq's network of support. Many countries also alerted their citizens to the threat posed by Iraqi-sponsored terrorism and upgraded security at facilities likely to be terrorist targets such as airports and the airlines of coalition countries. Cooperation among law enforcement and intelligence services in many different nations increased the effectiveness of national counterterrorist measures against Iraq.

Scottish authorities and the US Department of Justice on 14 November publicly charged two Libyans with carrying out the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 on 21 December 1988 and the resulting murder of 270 innocent people. An exhaustive nearly three-year investigation, relying on cooperation among law enforcement and intelligence services in many countries, resulted in the indictments against a senior Libyan intelligence official, a former manager of a Libyan Arab Airlines office, and unidentified coconspirators. French judicial authorities had issued international arrest warrants two weeks earlier charging four Libyan officials with involvement in the September 1989 bombing of UTA Flight 772. The bombings of Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 are part of a historical pattern of Libyan Government-sponsored terrorist attacks.

Despite these counterterrorism accomplishments, there is a continuing danger posed by state sponsorship. Iranian agents have been charged with the August murder of former Iranian Prime Minister Bakhtiar and his aide outside Paris. Iran has also strengthened its relationship with extremist groups throughout the world by providing advice and financial and material assistance, often through its embassies. Iran's support is increasingly important not only to Islamic extremist organizations but also to Palestinian groups that may have lost some support from other state sponsors. Libya continues to provide financial, logistic, and training facilities for international terrorist groups, including the notorious Abu Nidal organization (ANO), which is headquartered in Libya. Syria continues to allow terrorists to operate within its territory and allows numerous terrorist groups—of both Palestinian and non-Palestinian origin—to have training facilities in the Bekaa region of Lebanon, which is under effective Syrian military control. Cuba and North Korea continue to provide safehaven and training for various terrorist groups.

Cuba

In light of its overwhelming domestic economic problems, Cuba has greatly reduced or suspended its training, arms shipments, and financial support to armed Latin American subversive groups over the past year. Havana also has

downplayed political ties to many of these groups— notably in Honduras and Chile—in hopes of upgrading diplomatic and trade relations in the region. Shortly before a settlement was reached, Havana publicly backed a political settlement between the Salvadoran Government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), a longtime beneficiary of Cuban military aid and training.

Cuba, nevertheless, reportedly continues to serve as a safehaven for some regional and international terrorist organizations. In addition, Cuba continues to provide limited political training to some leftist organizations. We have no information to confirm that Cuba has closed down its training camps for armed insurgents.

Iran

Iran continues to be a leading state sponsor of terrorism, even though the number of terrorist acts attributed to its direct sponsorship dropped to five in 1991, down from 10 in 1990 and 28 in 1989.

Iranian intelligence services continue to facilitate and conduct terrorist attacks, particularly against regime opponents living abroad. This policy is undertaken with the approval of the highest levels of the regime, although the government routinely denies involvement in assassination of dissidents or in terrorist attacks carried out by pro-Iranian groups. Iranian diplomatic and commercial facilities are reported to be used extensively in such operations.

During the past year Iran has further strengthened its relationship with extremists who engage in acts of terrorism throughout the world, with special emphasis on the Palestinians. Tehran often provides these groups with advice and financial and material assistance, often via Iranian embassies.

Iran has not limited its assistance only to terrorists who are Islamic fundamentalist in orientation. It has also provided sanctuary and some aid to the Marxist-Leninist separatist group Turkish Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), a group that has used terrorist tactics in a seven-year campaign to establish a separate Kurdish state in southeastern Turkey.

The outstanding example of Iranian state terrorism in 1991 was the 6 August assassination of former Iranian Prime Minister Shapur Bakhtiar and his aide in a Paris suburb.

French counterterrorism investigating magistrate Jean-Louis Bruguiere has thus far arrested three Iranians and issued an international arrest warrant against Hussein Sheikhattar, a senior official in the Iranian Ministry of Telecommunications. On 31 December France requested the extradition of another suspected Iranian conspirator arrested a week earlier outside the Iranian Embassy in Bern, Switzerland. Swiss officials approved his extradition to France on 24 February 1992, subject to appeals from the suspect. A comprehensive investigation into the case continues amid press reports that Judge Bruguiere could issue additional warrants against more Iranian officials. The linking of the murder to the Iranian Government by Judge Bruguiere has had significant political repercussions for French-Iranian relations, including postponement or cancellation of visits to Iran planned by President Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Dumas.

Iranian-backed Shia groups in Lebanon were involved in the continued detention of Western hostages in 1991. Iran played a key role in the UN-sponsored process that obtained the release of six American and three British hostages in 1991 and the recovery of the bodies of two Americans who died while in captivity. Iran probably helped arrange freedom for the hostages out of the belief that continuation of the crisis was detrimental to Iranian President Rafsanjani's attempt to improve relations with the West and obtain foreign assistance in modernizing Iran's economy. The hostage releases still received criticism from Iranian hardliners and elements of Hizballah. Immediately after the August release of British hostage John McCarthy, Hizballah elements opposed to the hostage releases kidnapped a French citizen. He was freed three days later only after what appeared to be significant pressure from Iran, Syria, and Lebanese figures. Iran has also reportedly offered refuge to about 40 former Hizballah hostage holders and may provide them with new identities to prevent retaliation.

Further demonstration of Iran's close involvement in hostage taking is shown by the Iranian Ambassador to Germany invoking the fate of two German relief workers in an attempt to obtain the release of the Hammadi brothers, two Hizballah terrorists jailed in Germany. Iran has indicated its willingness to help bring about the release of two German hostages believed to be held by Hizballah elements in Lebanon.

Iranian-supported groups in Turkey were believed to have been responsible for the 26 March car bombing in Ankara that injured an Iraqi diplomat and the two October car bombings that killed an American serviceman and injured an Egyptian diplomat.

Major international terrorists—including Ahmad Jabril of the PFLP-GC and various prominent members of Hizballah and factions of the PIJ—frequently visit Iran, often meeting with the regime's senior leadership. In October, representatives of these organizations and others attended a conference hosted by Iran on Palestine designed to strengthen opposition to the Middle East peace process. Tehran has in recent years focused on developing its ties to radical Palestinian groups and tried to increase its influence in the Palestinian movement as a whole.

Iran has steadfastly opposed the Middle East peace process and threatened participants. Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, declared on 30 October, "Those who take part in this treason will suffer the wrath of nations." Earlier in the month, Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili, a senior cleric, called on Muslims to attack American lives and properties as a religious duty.

Iran has continued its death threats against author Salman Rushdie. The bounty on Mr. Rushdie was apparently increased during 1991 to a total of at least \$2 million. In addition, two translators of Mr. Rushdie's works were attacked in 1991. An Italian translator was injured in an attack, and a Japanese translator was killed. Both attacks are believed to be linked to the translators' work with the writings of Salman Rushdie.

Iraq

During 1991 Iraq was a leading state sponsor of terrorism. Iraqi agents and members of pro-Iraqi groups conducted attacks on the United States and other coalition members in a variety of locations around the world. Numerous other planned attacks were frustrated by stringent security precautions imposed by both coalition and noncoalition states in response to the threat of Iraqi-sponsored terrorism.

On 11 June Iraq agreed, in accord with United Nations Security Council Resolution 687, not to support acts of international terrorism or allow terrorists to operate in Iraq. However, Iraq reportedly continues to maintain contacts

with several groups and individuals that have historically practiced terrorism. These include the Arab Liberation Front (ALF), Abu Abbas's Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), the Abu Nidal organization (ANO), and former 15 May organization leader Abu Ibrahim. Baghdad continues to make vague threats of retribution for the military defeat it suffered during Operation Desert Storm.

Iraq was linked directly to only a small number of the more than 200 war-related terrorist incidents that occurred worldwide between mid-January and the end of February 1991, a figure three times greater than the comparable period in 1990. Much of the terrorist activity associated with the Gulf war was attributed to indigenous groups such as November 17 in Greece, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) in Peru, the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) in Chile, and Dev Sol in Turkey, which was responsible for the death of two US citizens. In the months before Operation Desert Storm began, Iraq reportedly trained terrorists in intelligence activities and sabotage in special camps and prepared operations against coalition targets. During Operation Desert Storm, Saddam Hussein publicly and repeatedly called upon all of his terrorist allies to attack coalition targets, frequently through announcements on Iraq's Mother of Battles radio. The massive wave of anticoalition terrorism did not come to fruition, probably because of the cooperation of several governments in arresting or expelling several hundred Iraqi operatives from their host countries, the disruption in Baghdad's communications, and increased precautions at coalition facilities during the war. The targets hit during the Gulf crisis were typically banks or commercial facilities belonging to members of the coalition; most of the attacks caused only limited property damage.

Iraq was directly involved in the 19 January attempted bombing of the US Cultural Center in Manila by two Iraqi nationals, one of whom was killed when the powerful bomb he was carrying exploded prematurely. The Philippine Government expelled an Iraqi diplomat who directed the operation and his accomplices. Iraq was also responsible for an attempted bombing of the US Ambassador's residence in Indonesia during the same period.

Although Iraq reduced support for anti-Iranian dissident groups, including the Mujahedin-e Khalq, as part of a drive to appease Iran during the war, it probably maintains contact with several of these organizations.

Iraq is also suspected of increasing support and sanctuary provided to the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), which has staged recent large-scale raids on Turkish Government facilities from Iraqi territory. This policy probably is designed to punish Turkey for supporting the coalition during the war, providing sanctuary to Kurdish refugees, enforcing UN sanctions, and being part of a longstanding dispute over water rights. Iraq has denied such involvement.

Libya

The culmination of two important investigations in 1991 demonstrated Libya's continued responsibility for acts of international terrorism. In October, a French magistrate issued international arrest warrants charging four Libyan Government officials—including two senior officials—with the 1989 bombing of UTA 772 in which 171 persons, including seven Americans, died. One of those indicted is Abdullah Sanussi, Qadhafi's brother-in-law. On 14 November, simultaneous indictments were issued by US and British courts accusing two Libyan intelligence officers, Abdel Basset Ali Al-Megrahi and Lamem Khalifa Fhimah, of planting the bomb on Pan Am Flight 103 that killed 270 persons, including 189 Americans, in December 1988.

These two cases starkly revealed Libya's direct participation in two major acts of terror. We believe that these two incidents, resulting in the murder of 441 people, were executed with the knowledge and approval of officials at the highest level of the Libyan Government.

The international reaction to the evidence indicating Libyan involvement in these two bombings has been overwhelmingly positive. Even many of those states with close political, economic, ethnic, or religious ties to Libya have recognized that the evidence clearly supports Libya's responsibility. At year's end, the United States, France, and Great Britain were building support for a United Nations Security Council resolution to require that Libya submit the accused to the appropriate legal forum and provide proof that it has ceased its support for international terrorism. (This resolution was unanimously adopted by the United Nations Security Council on 21 January 1992.)



Libyan bombing suspect Abdel Basset Ali Al-Megrahi.



Libyan bombing suspect Lamem Khalifa Fhimah.

Despite some meaningless gestures in response to international pressure following the Pan Am and UTA indictments, Libya continued its support for a variety of terrorist or insurgent groups worldwide during 1991. Radical Palestinian groups such as the PLF, the ANO, and the PFLP-GC have maintained headquarters or training facilities inside Libya and receive money, training, and other support from the Government of Libya. In the Philippines, Libya has supported the NPA, which has killed a number of Americans and held one American hostage at the end of 1991. Libya has also supported the MRTA in Peru, the PIRA in Ireland, the PKK in Turkey, and many other radical groups.

(For further information on Libya's role in the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing and its continuing role in sponsoring international terrorism, see appendixes C and D.)

North Korea

North Korea is not known to have sponsored any international terrorist attacks since 1987. While the North Korean Government has not publicly renounced terrorism, it did agree to abandon violence against the South in the December 1991 reconciliation agreement with South Korea. North Korea has also assured the Philippines that it has broken its ties to the Communist New People's Army (NPA). P'yongyang continues to provide political asylum to a small group of Japanese Communist League Red Army Faction members who hijacked a Japanese Airlines flight to North Korea in 1970.

Syria

Syria continued in 1991 to provide support and safehaven to a number of groups that engage in international terrorism. However, it is not known to have sponsored any international terrorist attacks outside Lebanon since 1987. Several radical groups, including the notorious Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), maintain training camps or headquarters inside Syrian territory. In addition, areas of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley controlled by Syria provide sanctuary for a wide variety of groups engaged in terrorism, including factions of Hizballah, the PIJ, the ANO, the PKK, the JRA, and Dev Sol.

During Desert Shield/Desert Storm, the Syrian Government seemed to have restrained groups over which it has influence. Nevertheless, there were a number of terrorist incidents in 1991 attributed to groups based in Syria and in Syrian-controlled areas of Lebanon, particularly against Israel. Damascus tolerated the presence of active PKK and Dev Sol training camps in the Bekaa Valley and permitted the PKK to maintain its headquarters in Damascus. Dev Sol killed three Westerners, including two Americans, in terrorist attacks in 1991. The PKK was responsible for dozens of terrorist incidents in Turkey, including for the first time the kidnapping of Americans and other Westerners.

Various press sources reported that noted terrorist Ilich Ramirez (Carlos "the Jackal") lived in Damascus during most of 1991. There are unconfirmed reports that he was expelled from Syria in November, but he may have returned in December.

Syria facilitated the release of nine long-held Western hostages who were held in Lebanon.



Appendix A

Chronology of Significant Terrorist Events: 1991

- 2 January** *El Salvador*
Two US crewmen, Lt. Col. David Pickett and crew chief PFC Earnest Dawson, were executed after their helicopter was downed by Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) militants in San Miguel department. A third American, Chief Warrant Officer Daniel Scott, died of injuries he received when the helicopter was shot down.
- 12 January** *Afghanistan*
Hezb-I-Islami (Hekmatyar) kidnapped four Swiss Red Cross workers outside Qandahar.
- 18 January** *Indonesia*
A bomb was discovered outside the US Ambassador's residence in Jakarta. The device was probably placed by Iraqi agents.
- 19 January** *Philippines*
A bomb carried by two Iraqi agents detonated prematurely near the USIS library in Manila. One was killed; the second was seriously injured.
- 31 January** *Yemen*
Gunmen threw dynamite at the residences of the Turkish and Japanese Ambassadors and attacked the US Embassy.
- Peru*
MRTA terrorists fired shots and an antitank weapon at the US Embassy.
- 3 February** *Saudi Arabia*
Unknown assailants fired upon a bus transporting US Air Force personnel, wounding two US airmen and a Saudi guard.
- 7 February** *United Kingdom*
Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) conducted an improvised mortar attack against the residence of Prime Minister John Major in London. Three mortar rounds were fired from a parked van nearby. There were no deaths or serious injuries.
- Turkey*
Dev Sol shot and killed a US civilian contractor as he was getting into his car to travel to work at Incirlik Air Base in Adana.

- 13 February** **Germany**
The Red Army Faction (RAF) claimed responsibility for firing approximately 250 rounds of small-arms fire at the US Embassy in Bonn. This was the first RAF attack against a US target since 1985.
- 16 February** **Chile**
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front dissidents (FPMR/D) claimed responsibility for an antitank rocket attack on a US Marine security guard van in Santiago, injuring one marine.
- 20 February** **Iran**
Concussion grenades were thrown at the British, Italian, and Turkish Embassies in Tehran. A claim of responsibility was issued by Islamic Jihad.
- 23 February** **Japan**
Chukaku-ha attacked a US Navy housing compound in Yokohama with projectiles, causing minor damage.
- 28 February** **Turkey**
Two Dev Sol gunmen shot and wounded a US Air Force officer as he entered his residence in Izmir.
- 2 March** **Sri Lanka**
State Minister for Defense Wijeratne was killed in a car bombing in Colombo along with 50 other victims. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) probably was responsible.
- 12 March** **Greece**
US Air Force Sergeant Ronald Odell Stewart was killed by a remote control bomb detonated at the entrance of his apartment building in Athens. The Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17 November) claimed the attack was in response to "the genocide of 13,000 Iraqis."
- 22 March** **Turkey**
Three members of Dev Sol assassinated John Gandy, a US civilian contractor, in his Istanbul office.
- 26 March** **Singapore**
Four Pakistanis claiming to be members of the Pakistani People's Party hijacked a Singapore Airlines flight en route from Kuala Lumpur to Singapore and demanded the release of several people reportedly imprisoned in Pakistan. Singapore counterterrorism units stormed the plane and killed the hijackers.

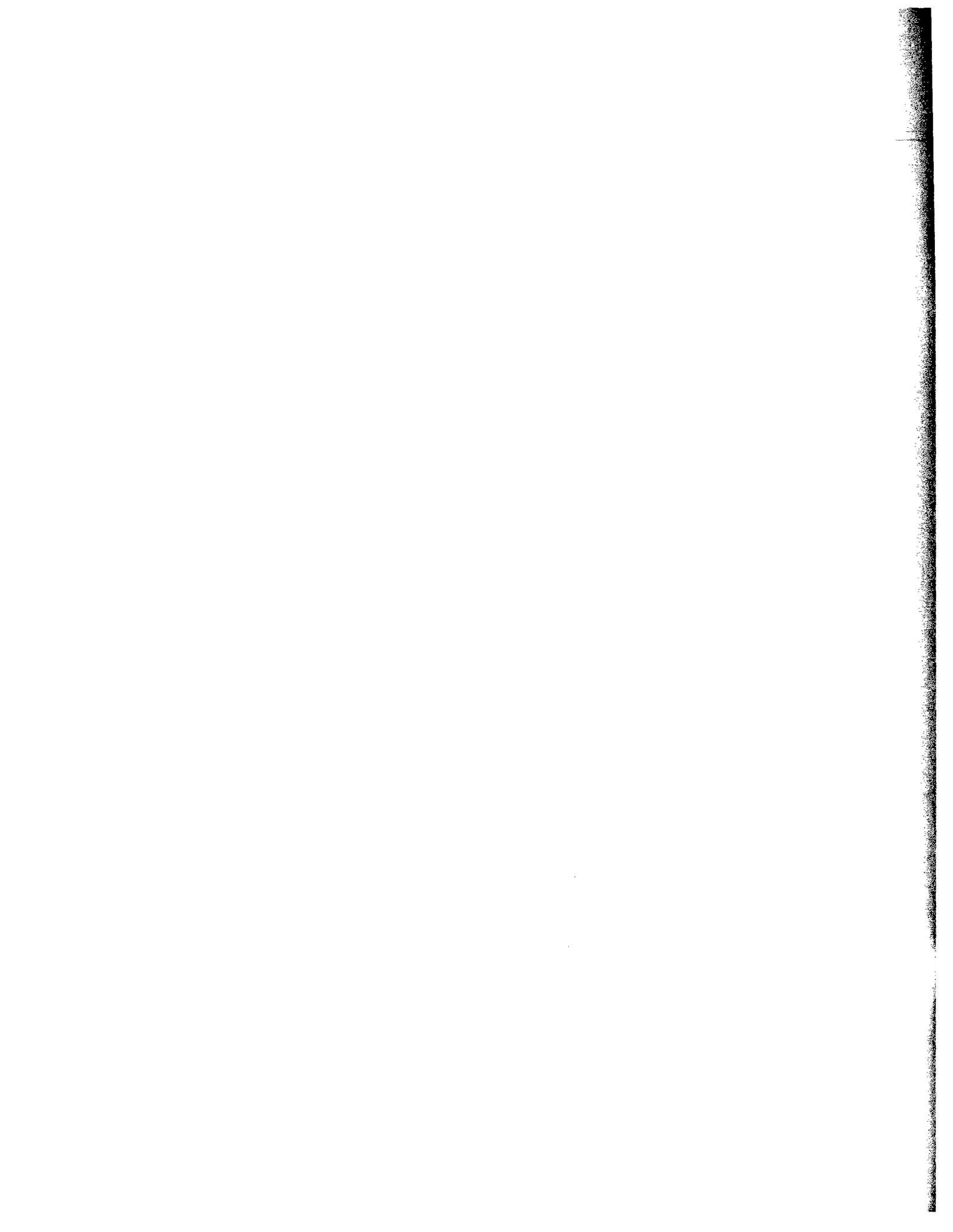
- 28 March** **Saudi Arabia**
Three US marines were shot at and injured by an Arab while driving near Camp Three, Jubial.
- 31 March** **India**
A Kashmiri separatist group, the Muslim Janbaz Force (MJF), kidnapped two Swedish engineers. They escaped on 5 July.
- 1 April** **Germany**
RAF killed Detlev Rohwedder, a leading German businessman, in a sniper attack on his Duesseldorf home.
- 19 April** **Greece**
Seven people, including six Greeks, were killed in Patras when explosives carried by a Palestinian student detonated prematurely.
- France**
An Iranian dissident leader was stabbed and killed in the lobby of his apartment building in Paris.
- 17 May** **Peru**
Sendero Luminoso (SL) killed the Canadian director of the humanitarian organization World Mission and seriously injured his Colombian assistant in a Lima suburb.
- 21 May** **India**
Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by a suspected LTTE suicide bomber while campaigning in southern India. Seventeen others also died in the bombing.
- 22 May** **Peru**
An Australian nun and four Peruvian officials were executed by SL after a "people's trial" in a rural village.
- 29 May** **Spain**
Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) claimed responsibility for a car bombing that destroyed a Civil Guard barracks near Barcelona, killing nine and injuring over 50.
- 5 June** **Peru**
A Soviet textile technician was ambushed and killed by four SL members in Lima.
- 23 June** **Honduras**
The Morazanist Patriotic Front (FPM) launched an RPG-7 rocket at the UN Observer Group headquarters in Tegucigalpa, causing some damage.

- 26 June** **India**
A Kashmiri separatist group kidnapped one Dutch and seven Israeli tourists in Srinagar. One Israeli was killed in an escape attempt.
- 1 July** **India**
A Soviet engineer was killed trying to escape after being kidnapped (along with 14 Indians) by United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) militants in Assam.
- 3, 12 July** **Italy-Japan**
The Italian translator of Salman Rushdie's book *The Satanic Verses* was stabbed and beaten by a man believed to be Iranian on 3 July in Milan. The Japanese translator of the book was stabbed to death in Tokyo on 12 July.
- 7 July** **Afghanistan**
Two private American agricultural consultants were kidnapped by Afghan militants in Joghery. One man was released in mid-October, the other in December.
- 11 July** **France**
A founder and former director of Dev Sol was assassinated in Paris by probable Dev Sol members.
- 12 July** **Peru**
Three Japanese agronomists were assassinated by 10 SL members at a Japanese-funded rural research center.
- 16 July** **Greece**
A remote control car bomb injured the Turkish Charge D'Affaires and two other members of the Turkish Embassy in Athens. 17 November claimed responsibility for the attack.
- 2 August** **Turkey**
The Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK) kidnapped 10 German tourists near Lake Van. The tourists were released on 9 August.
- 6 August** **France**
Former Iranian Prime Minister Shapur Bakhtiar and his aide were assassinated in Paris.
- 8 August** **Lebanon**
British hostage John McCarthy was released from captivity. A French aid worker was kidnapped in Beirut by probable Hizballah elements in protest of the McCarthy release. The Frenchman was freed by his captors 11 August.

- 9 August** **Peru**
Two Polish priests were shot and killed by SL members in a remote rural area; a local mayor was also murdered, and an Italian nun was held for several hours.
- 10 August** **Philippines**
A grenade attack on a cultural show killed two youth missionaries—a Swede and a New Zealander. Muslim separatists are suspected in the attack.
- 11 August** **Lebanon**
American hostage Edward Tracy was released from captivity.
- 19 August** **Turkey**
Dev Sol claimed responsibility for the fatal shooting of a British businessman in his Istanbul office.
- 20 August** **Romania**
The Indian Ambassador to Romania was wounded in a drive-by assassination attempt in Bucharest. The Khalistan Liberation Front (KLF), a Sikh terrorist group, claimed credit.
- 25 August** **Peru**
An Italian priest was killed in an ambush on his car by SL members.
- 30 August** **Turkey**
Suspected PKK terrorists kidnapped three Americans, a Briton, and an Australian near Bingol. The hostages were released unharmed on 21 September.
- 6 September** **Former USSR**
An unsuccessful assassination attempt was made against the Azerbaijani President. The opposition Azeri Popular Front (APF) is suspected.
- 13 September** **Lebanon**
Palestinian guerrillas seized a group of UN peacekeeping soldiers in south Lebanon after the guerrillas failed to reach Israel by sea. They had apparently intended to carry out a terrorist attack in Israel. One Swedish officer was killed and five other officers were wounded in an ensuing gun battle between the guerrillas and a force of Israeli troops and Lebanese militiamen.
- 24 September** **Lebanon**
British hostage Jack Mann was released from captivity.

- 7 October** **Greece**
A Turkish Embassy press attache was shot and killed near his home in Athens by two 17 November assassins. The group denounced the Turkish presence in Cyprus.
- 9 October** **India**
The Khalistan Liberation Front kidnapped the Romanian Charge D'Affaires in New Delhi in an unsuccessful effort to force the release of other terrorists jailed in India. He was released 26 November.
- 14 October** **India**
A French engineer was kidnapped by the Muslim militant group, Al Fatah, in Kashmir. The group demanded the release of 11 jailed members.
- 22 October** **Lebanon**
American hostage Jesse Turner was released from captivity.
- 28 October** **Turkey**
Two car bombings killed a US Air Force sergeant and severely wounded an Egyptian diplomat. Turkish Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- West Bank**
Gunmen fired on a bus carrying Israeli settlers, killing two Israelis and wounding several others. The PIJ and the PFLP claimed responsibility.
- 29 October** **Lebanon**
A rocket struck the edge of the US Embassy in Beirut. There were no casualties.
- 30 October** **Pakistan**
The Afghan director of the Austrian Relief Committee was wounded when unidentified gunmen fired upon his vehicle near Peshawar.
- 8 November** **Lebanon**
A 100-kg car bomb destroyed the Administration Building of the American University in Beirut, killing one person and wounding at least a dozen.
- 18 November** **Lebanon**
American hostage Thomas Sutherland and British hostage Terry Waite were released from captivity.
- 25 November** **Pakistan**
The Afghan director of an English language program run by the International Rescue Committee was assassinated by unidentified gunmen in Peshawar.

- 2 December** **Lebanon**
American hostage Joseph Cicippio was released from captivity.
- 3 December** **Lebanon**
American hostage Alann Steen was released from captivity.
- 4 December** **Lebanon**
American hostage Terry Anderson was released from captivity.
- 19 December** **Hungary**
ASALA claimed responsibility for a failed attempt on the life of the Turkish Ambassador in Budapest.
- 22 December** **Lebanon**
The remains of American hostage Col. William R. Higgins were recovered and flown back to the United States for burial at Quantico National Cemetery.
- 27 December** **Lebanon**
The remains of American hostage William Buckley were recovered and flown back to the United States for burial at Arlington National Cemetery.
- 28 December** **Hungary**
A car bomb exploded near a bus transporting Soviet Jewish immigrants to Israel, injuring two policemen who were guarding the bus.



Appendix B

Background Information on Major Groups Discussed in the Report

Abu Nidal organization (ANO) aka: Fatah Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims.	Description International terrorist organization led by Sabri al-Banna. Split from PLO in 1974. Made up of various functional committees, including political, military, and financial. Activities Has carried out over 90 terrorist attacks since 1974 in 20 countries, killing or injuring almost 900 people. Targets the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Israel, moderate Palestinians, the PLO, and various Arab countries, depending on which state is sponsoring it at the time. Major attacks include: Rome and Vienna airports in December 1985, the Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul, the Pan Am Flight 73 hijacking in Karachi in September 1986, and The City of Poros day-excursion ship attack in July 1988 in Greece. Suspected of carrying out assassination on 14 January 1991 in Tunis of PLO deputy chief Abu Iyad and PLO security chief Abu Hul. ANO members also attacked and seriously wounded a senior ANO dissident in Algeria in March 1990. Strength Several hundred plus "militia" in Lebanon and overseas support structure. Location/Area of Operation Headquartered in Iraq (1974-83) and Syria (1983-87); currently headquartered in Libya with substantial presence in Lebanon (in the Bekaa Valley and several Palestinian refugee camps in coastal areas of Lebanon). Also has presence in Algeria. Has demonstrated ability to operate over wide area, including Middle East, Asia, and Europe. External Aid Has received considerable support, including safehaven, training, logistic assistance, and financial aid from Iraq and Syria (until 1987); continues to receive aid from Libya, in addition to close support for selected operations.
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Al-Fatah

aka: Al-'Asifa.

Description

Headed by Yasser Arafat, Fatah joined the PLO in 1968 and won the leadership role in 1969. Its commanders were expelled from Jordan following violent confrontations with Jordanian forces during the period 1970-71, beginning with Black September in 1970. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 led to the group's dispersal to several Middle Eastern countries, including Tunisia, Yemen, Algeria, Iraq, and others. Maintains several military and intelligence wings that have carried out terrorist attacks, including Force 17 and the Hawari Special Operations Group. Two of its leaders, Abu Jihad and Abu Iyad, were assassinated in recent years.

Activities

In the 1960s and the 1970s, Fatah offered training to a wide range of European, Middle Eastern, Asian, and African terrorist and insurgent groups. Carried out numerous acts of international terrorism in Western Europe and Middle East in the early-to-mid-1970s.

Strength

6,000 to 8,000.

Location/Area of Operation

Headquartered in Tunisia, with bases in Lebanon and other Middle Eastern countries.

External Aid

Has had close, longstanding political and financial ties to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other moderate Persian Gulf states. These relations were disrupted by the Gulf crisis of 1990-91. Also has had links to Jordan. Received weapons, explosives, and training from the former USSR and the former Communist regimes of East European states. China and North Korea have reportedly provided some weapons.

**Armenian Secret Army
for the Liberation of Ar-
menia (ASALA)**

aka: The Orly Group, 3rd
October Organization

Description

Marxist-Leninist Armenian terrorist group formed in 1975 with stated intention to compel Turkish Government to acknowledge publicly its alleged responsibility for the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians in 1915, pay reparations, and cede territory for an Armenian homeland. Led by Hagop Hagopian until he was assassinated in Athens in April 1988.

Activities

Initial bombing and assassination attacks directed against Turkish targets. Later attacked French and Swiss targets to force release of imprisoned comrades. Made several minor bombing attacks against US airline offices in Western Europe in early 1980s. Bombing of Turkish airline counter at Orly Airport in Paris in 1983—eight killed and 55 wounded—led to split in group over rationale for causing indiscriminate casualties. Suffering from internal schisms, group has been relatively inactive over past four years, although recently claimed an unsuccessful attack on Turkish Ambassador to Hungary.

Strength

A few hundred members and sympathizers.

Location/Area of Operation

Lebanon; Western Europe, Armenia, United States, and Middle East.

External Aid

Has received aid, including training and safehaven, from Syria. May also receive some aid from Libya. Has extensive ties to radical Palestinian groups, including the PFLP and PFLP-GC.

Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)**Description**

Founded in 1959 with the aim of creating an independent homeland in Spain's Basque region. Has muted commitment to Marxism. In 1974 split into two factions—ETA/Political-Military and ETA-Military; the former has been inactive since limited home rule granted in 1982. Despite the arrest of several leaders and terrorist cells in Spain and France over the past two years, ETA-Military has continued to conduct lethal attacks.

Activities

Chiefly bombings and assassinations of Spanish Government targets, especially security forces. Finances activities through kidnappings, robberies, and extortion. Bombings are sophisticated, lethal, and sometimes indiscriminate. Over 40 people were killed and over 200 injured in ETA attacks during 1991.

Strength

Unknown; may have hundreds of members, plus supporters.

Location/Area of Operations

Operates primarily in Spain and France, but conducted low-intensity bombings against Spanish diplomatic, commercial, and cultural facilities in Italy and Germany in 1991.

External Aid

Has received training at various times in Libya, Lebanon, and Nicaragua. Also has close ties to PIRA.

Chukaku-Ha
(Nucleus or Middle-Core
Faction)

Description

An ultraleftist/radical group with origins in the fragmentation of the Japanese Communist Party in 1957. Largest domestic militant group; has political arm plus small, covert action wing called Kansai Revolutionary Army. Funding derived from membership dues, sales of its newspapers, and fundraising campaigns.

Activities

Participates in mass protest demonstrations and snake-dancing in streets; supports farmers' protest of construction of Narita airport, among other causes; sabotaged part of Japanese railroad system in 1985 and 1986; sporadic attacks usually designed to cause only property damage through use of crude rockets and incendiary devices; anti-US attacks include small-scale rocket attempts against US military and diplomatic targets; no US casualties so far.

Strength

3,500.

Location/Area of Operation

Japan.

External Aid

None known.

CNPZ
(see Nestor Paz Zamora
Commission)

**Democratic Front for
the Liberation of Pales-
tine (DFLP)**

Description

Marxist group that split from the PFLP in 1969. Believes Palestinian national goals can be achieved only through revolution of the masses. In early 1980s, occupied political stance midway between Arafat and the more radical rejectionists. Split into two factions in 1991, one pro-Arafat and another more hardline faction headed by Nayif Hawatmah.

Devrimci Sol
aka: Dev Sol

Activities

In the seventies, carried out numerous small bombings and minor assaults and some more spectacular operations in Israel and the occupied territories, concentrating on Israeli targets such as the 1974 massacre in Ma'alot in which 27 Israelis were killed and over 100 wounded. Involved only in border raids since 1988.

Strength

Estimated at 500 (total for both factions).

Location/Area of Operation

Syria, Lebanon, and the Israeli-occupied territories; attacks have taken place entirely in Israel and the occupied territories.

External Aid

Receives financial and military aid from Syria and Libya.

Description

Formed in 1978 as a splinter faction of the Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front. Espouses a Marxist ideology, intensely xenophobic, and virulently anti-US and anti-NATO; seeks to unify the proletariat to stage a national revolution. Finances its activities chiefly through armed robberies and extortion.

Activities

Conducted attacks against US, Turkish, and NATO targets until weakened by massive arrests during 1981-83. Methods of attack include handgun assassinations and bombings. Since reemergence during late 1980s, has concentrated attacks against current and retired Turkish security and military officials; responsible for the murders of four active and retired generals and nearly 30 police officers in 1991. Resumed operations against foreign interests during 1991, claiming responsibility for assassinating two American contractors and one British businessman; attempted the murder of a US Air Force officer and over 30 bombings against Western diplomatic, commercial, and cultural facilities.

Strength

Several hundred members, several dozen armed militants.

Location/Area of Operation

Carries out attacks in Turkey—primarily in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Adana. Conducts fundraising operations in Western Europe.

External Aid

Possible training support from radical Palestinians.

ELA

(see Revolutionary People's Struggle)

ELN

(see National Liberation Army)

ETA

(see Basque Fatherland and Liberty)

Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)

Description

Formed in 1980 with Cuban backing, the guerrilla umbrella organization is composed of five leftist groups: Central American Workers' Revolutionary Party (PRTC), People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), and the Communist Party of El Salvador's Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL). The group reached a peace agreement with the Government of El Salvador on 31 December 1991.

Activities

Bombings, assassinations, economic sabotage, arson, among other rural and urban operations. Since 1988 the FMLN increased urban terrorism in the capital.

Strength

6,000 to 7,000 combatants.

Location/Area of Operation

El Salvador, limited activity in Honduras.

External Aid

Has received direct support from Cuba and receives support from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, where it maintains an office. The FMLN also receives significant financial support from front groups and sympathetic organizations in the United States and Europe.

FARC

(see Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)

Fatah

(see Al-Fatah)

15 May Organization

Description

Formed in 1979 from remnants of Wadi Haddad's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-Special Operations Group (PFLP-SOG). Led by Muhammad al-Umari, who is known throughout Palestinian circles as

Abu Ibrahim or the bomb man. Group was never part of PLO. Reportedly disbanded in the mid-1980s when several key members joined Colonel Hawari's Special Operations Group of Fatah.

Activities

Claimed credit for several bombings in the early-to-mid-1980s, including hotel bombing in London (1980), El Al's Rome and Istanbul offices (1981), and Israeli Embassies in Athens and Vienna (1981). Anti-US attacks include an attempted bombing of a Pan Am airliner in Rio de Janeiro and a bombing on board a Pan Am flight from Tokyo to Honolulu in August 1982. (The accused bomber in this last attack, Mohammed Rashid, is currently jailed in Greece following his conviction for the bombing, which killed a Japanese teenager.)

Strength

50 to 60 in early 1980s.

Location/Area of Operation

Baghdad until 1984. Before disbanding, operated in Middle East, Europe, and East Asia. Abu Ibrahim is reportedly in Iraq.

External Aid

Probably received logistic and financial support from Iraq until 1984.

First of October Antifascist Resistance Group (GRAPO)

Description

Small, Maoist urban terrorist group established in 1975. Loosely associated with the Spanish Communist Party-Reconstituted. Seeks to remove US military forces from Spain and establish a revolutionary regime.

Activities

Carried out small-scale bombing attacks on US and NATO facilities in early 1980s; capabilities reduced by arrests since 1985. During 1991, GRAPO claimed responsibility for bombing a rail line outside Madrid and segments of the NATO pipeline in Spain.

Strength

Probably fewer than a dozen operatives.

Location/Area of Operation

Spain.

External Aid

Reported to have had ties to the French Action Directe and the Italian Red Brigades. The German RAF has sought ties to the group.

Force 17**Description**

Formed in early 1970s as a personal security force for Arafat and other PLO leaders.

Activities

According to press sources, in 1985 expanded operations to include terrorist attacks against Israeli targets. No confirmed terrorist activity outside Israel and the occupied territories since September 1985, when it claimed responsibility for killing three Israelis in Cyprus, an incident that was followed by Israeli air raids on PLO bases in Tunisia.

Strength

Unknown.

Location/Area of Operation

Based in Beirut before 1982. Since then, dispersed in several Arab countries. Now operating in Lebanon, other Middle Eastern countries, and Europe.

External Aid

PLO is main source of support.

FPM

(see Morazanist Patriotic Front)

FPMR

(see Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front)

GRAPO

(see First of October Antifascist Resistance Group)

Hawari Group

aka: Fatah Special Operations Group, Martyrs of Tal Al Za'atar, Amn Araissi

Description

Part of Yasser Arafat's Fatah apparatus, the group is named after its leader commonly known as Colonel Hawari, who died in an automobile crash in May 1991 while traveling from Baghdad to Jordan. The group has ties historically to Iraq. Membership includes former members of the radical Palestinian 15 May organization.

Activities

Carried out several attacks in 1985 and 1986, mainly in Europe and usually against Syrian targets. Has also targeted Americans, most notably in the April 1986 bombing of TWA Flight 840 over Greece in which four Americans were killed. Future of group uncertain following Hawari's death.

Strength
Unknown.

Location/Area of Operation
Middle Eastern countries and Europe.

External Aid
PLO is main source of support.

Hizballah (Party of God)
aka: Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine

Description
Radical Shia group formed in Lebanon; dedicated to creation of Iranian-style Islamic republic in Lebanon and removal of all non-Islamic influences from area. Strongly anti-West and anti-Israel. Closely allied with, and often directed by, Iran. Dissidents, however, have conducted rogue operations that were not approved by Tehran.

Activities
Known or suspected to have been involved in numerous anti-US terrorist attacks, including the suicide truck bombing on the US Marine barracks in Beirut in October 1983 and the US Embassy annex in September 1984. Elements of the group were responsible for the kidnapping and continuing detention of most, if not all, US and other Western hostages in Lebanon.

Strength
Several thousand.

Location/Area of Operation
Operates in the Bekaa Valley, the southern suburbs of Beirut, and southern Lebanon; has established cells in Western Europe, Africa, and elsewhere.

External Aid
Receives substantial amounts of financial, training, weapons, explosives, political, diplomatic, and organizational aid from Iran.

Japanese Red Army (JRA)
aka: Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB)

Description
An international terrorist group formed about 1970 after breaking away from Japanese Communist League Red Army Faction. Now led by Fusako Shigenobu, believed to be in Syrian-garrisoned area of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Stated goals are to overthrow Japanese Government and monarchy and to help foment world revolution. Organization unclear, but may control or at least have ties to Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB); may also have links to Antiwar Democratic Front—an overt leftist political organization—inside Japan. Details released following November 1987 arrest of leader Osamu Maruoka indicate that JRA may

be organizing cells in Asian cities, such as Manila and Singapore. Has had close and longstanding relations with Palestinian terrorist groups—based and operating outside Japan—since its inception.

Activities

Before 1977, JRA carried out series of brutal attacks over wide geographical area, including the massacre of passengers at Lod airport in Israel (1972) and two Japanese airliner hijackings (1973 and 1977). Anti-US attacks include attempted takeover of US Embassy in Kuala Lumpur (1975). Since mid-1980s has carried out several crude rocket and mortar attacks against a number of US embassies. In April 1988, JRA operative Yu Kikumura was arrested with explosives on the New Jersey Turnpike, apparently planning an attack to coincide with the bombing of a USO Club in Naples, a suspected JRA operation that killed five, including a US servicewoman. He was convicted of these charges and is serving a lengthy prison sentence in the United States.

Strength

About 30 hardcore members; undetermined number of sympathizers.

Location/Area of Operation

Based in Syrian-controlled areas of Lebanon; often transits Damascus.

External Aid

Receives aid, including training and base camp facilities, from radical Palestinian terrorists, especially the PFLP. May also receive aid from Libya. Suspected of having sympathizers and support apparatus in Japan.

Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK)
aka: Kurdish Labor Party

Description

Marxist-Leninist terrorist group composed of Turkish Kurds established in mid-1970s. Seeks to set up Marxist state in southeastern Turkey, which has a large population of Kurds.

Activities

Primary targets are Turkish Government forces and civilians in southeastern Turkey, but is becoming increasingly active in Western Europe against Turkish targets and rival Kurdish groups. In 1986, attacked NATO target in Mardin, Turkey. Last summer the PKK carried out a spate of kidnappings of Westerners; all were released unharmed.

Strength

3,000, plus 2,000 to 5,000 supporters.

Location/Area of Operations

Iran, Syria, and Iraq. Operates in Turkey and Western Europe; training facilities in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

External Aid

Probably still receives some aid and safehaven from Syria, Iran, and Iraq.

Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL)

aka: The Lautaro faction of the United Popular Action Movement (MAPU/L) or Lautaro Popular Rebel Forces (FRPL)

Description

Violent, anti-US, extremist group that advocates the overthrow of the Chilean Government. Leadership largely from leftist elements, but includes criminals and alienated youths. Recruits from poorer areas of cities. The leftist group became active in late 1980s. Its assaults during 1990 increased in number and sophistication and have continued through 1991.

Activities

Has been linked to several assassinations of policemen, bank robberies, and bombings and burnings of Mormon chapels.

Strength

Unknown.

Location/Area of Operation

Chile; mainly in Santiago.

External Aid

May have ties to Cuba.

Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR)**Description**

The FPMR was founded in 1983 as the armed wing of the Chilean Communist Party. Named for a hero in Chile's war of independence against Spain. The main movement announced it was laying down arms to become a political movement on 1 June 1991. The group splintered in 1987 into two factions, of which the dissident wing (FPMR/D) is now one of Chile's most active terrorist groups.

Activities

FPMR/D is responsible for numerous bombing attacks against domestic and foreign targets and assassinations of Chileans. Responsible for many attacks on Mormon churches and US businesses from 1986 through 1991. In November 1990 an FPMR/D bomb concealed in a softball bat killed a Canadian and injured a US Embassy officer. The group attacked a Marine guard van at the US Embassy on 16 February with an antitank rocket that did not detonate and automatic weapons fire, injuring one US marine.

Strength

1,000 to 1,500.

Location/Area of Operation

Chile.

External Aid

Received training and weapons support from Cuba in past years, none in 1991. May cross-train with Peru's MRTA.

MJL

(see Lautaro Youth Movement)

Morazanist Patriotic Front (FPM)**Description**

A radical, leftist terrorist group that first appeared in the late 1980s. Attacks made in protest of US intervention in Honduran economic and political affairs.

Activities

Attacks on US, mainly military, personnel in Honduras. Claimed responsibility for attack on a bus in March 1990 that wounded seven US servicemen. Claimed bombing of Peace Corps office in December 1988, bus bombing that wounded three US servicemen in February 1989, attack on US convoy in April 1989, and grenade attack that wounded seven US soldiers in La Ceiba in July 1989.

Strength

Unknown, probably relatively small.

Location/Area of Operation

Honduras.

External Aid

Had ties to former Government of Nicaragua and possibly Cuba.

Mozambican National Resistance
(Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana, or RENAMO)**Description**

Established in 1976 by the Rhodesian security services, primarily to operate against anti-Rhodesian guerrillas based in Mozambique. South Africa subsequently developed RENAMO into an insurgent group opposing the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

Activities

Operates as a guerrilla insurgency against Mozambique Government and civilian targets; frequently and increasingly runs cross-border operations into Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia, where it has murdered and kidnapped numerous civilians and destroyed property.

Strength

20,000 guerrillas.

Location/Area of Operation

Mozambique; border areas of Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia.

External Aid

Assistance previously received from South Africa as well as from private individuals and groups in Europe and elsewhere.

MRTA

(see Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement)

National Liberation**Army**

(ELM)—Bolivia

Description

Claims to be revived ELN that was established by Che Guevara in the 60s and was active into the early 70s. Holds traditional Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideologies. Operates as an umbrella group over numerous small Bolivian subversive movements that includes the CNPZ.

Activities

During 1991 focused on domestic Bolivian targets. See Nestor Paz Zamora Commission (CNPZ) for further information on ELN activities. Threats against US interests continued through 1991. Probably responsible for fake bomb placed in US Embassy elevator in April 1991.

Strength

Unknown.

Location/Area of Operation

Bolivia.

External Aid

May receive training, logistic, and other limited support from Peru's MRTA.

National Liberation

Army (ELN)—Colombia

Description

Rural-based, anti-US, Maoist-Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group formed in 1963. Engaged in unsuccessful peace talks with the Government of Colombia during 1991.

Activities

Periodically kidnaps foreign employees of large corporations and holds them for very large ransom payments. Extortion and bombing attacks against US and

other foreign businesses in Colombia, particularly the petroleum industry. Has inflicted major damage on oil pipelines since 1986.

Strength
1,000 to 2,000.

Location/Area of Operation
Colombia.

External Aid
In the past received limited arms and training from Cuba and training from Nicaragua.

**Nestor Paz Zamora
Commission (CNPZ)**

Description
Radical leftist terrorist organization that first appeared in October 1990. Named after deceased brother of President Paz Zamora. Currently operates under the ELN (Bolivia) umbrella. Violent, extremely anti-US, Marxist-Leninist organization.

Activities
The group attacked the US Embassy Marine guard-house on 10 October 1990 with automatic weapons and a bomb. One Bolivian policeman was killed and another seriously injured in the attack.

Strength
Unknown. Probably fewer than 100.

Location/Area of Operation
Bolivia.

External Aid
Peru's MRTA has provided training, limited funding, and logistic support.

**New People's Army
(NPA)**

Description
The guerrilla arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines, an avowedly Maoist group formed in December 1969 with the aim of overthrowing the government through protracted guerrilla warfare. Although primarily a rural-based guerrilla group, the NPA has an active urban infrastructure to carry out terrorism; uses city-based assassination squads called sparrow units. Derives most of its funding from contributions of supporters and revolutionary taxes extorted from local business.

Activities
In addition to guerrilla activities, has used urban terrorism, including attacks on government officials, police, and military officers in Manila and other major cities.

Has vowed to kill US citizens who allegedly are involved in the government's counterinsurgency campaign. The NPA has killed 10 US military members and private American citizens in the Philippines since 1987. Attacked some US businesses located in rural areas who refused to pay so-called revolutionary taxes.

Strength

16,000, plus support groups.

Location/Area of Operation

The Philippines.

External Aid

Receives funding from overseas fundraisers in Western Europe and elsewhere; also linked to Libya. Diverts some funding of humanitarian aid.

Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)

Description

Terrorist group that broke away from the PFLP-GC in mid-1970s. Later split again into pro-PLO, pro-Syrian, and pro-Libyan factions. Pro-PLO faction led by Muhammad Abbas (Abu Abbas), who became member of PLO Executive Committee in 1984, but left the Executive Committee in 1991.

Activities

Abu Abbas-led faction carried out abortive seaborne attack staged from Libya against Israel on 30 May 1990. Abbas's groups were also responsible for October 1985 attack on the cruise ship Achille Lauro and the murder of US citizen Leon Klinghoffer. A warrant for Abu Abbas's arrest is outstanding in Italy. Others who were involved in the hijacking are wanted elsewhere. Openly supported Iraq during Persian Gulf war.

Strength

At least 50.

Location/Area of Operation

PLO faction based in Tunisia until Achille Lauro attack. Now based in Iraq.

External Aid

Receives logistic and military support mainly from PLO, but also Libya and Iraq.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

Description

Founded in 1964 as a Palestinian nationalist umbrella organization dedicated to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. After the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, control devolved to the leadership of the

various fedayeen militia groups, the most dominant of which was Yasser Arafat's Al-Fatah. In 1969, Arafat became chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee, a position he still holds. In the early 1980s, PLO became fragmented into several contending groups but remains the preeminent Palestinian organization. The United States considers the PLO an umbrella organization that includes several constituent groups and individuals holding differing views on terrorism. At the same time, US policy accepts that elements of the PLO have advocated, carried out, or accepted responsibility for acts of terrorism. PLO Chairman Arafat publicly renounced terrorism in December 1988 on behalf of the PLO. The United States considers that all PLO groups, including Al-Fatah, Force 17, Hawari Group, PLF, and PFLP, are bound by Arafat's renunciation of terrorism. The US-PLO dialogue was suspended after the PLO failed to condemn the 30 May 1990 PLF attack on Israeli beaches. PLF head Abu Abbas left the PLO Executive Committee in September 1991; his seat was filled by another PLF member.

Activities

In the early 1970s, several groups affiliated with the PLO carried out numerous international terrorist attacks. By the mid-1970s, under international pressure, the PLO claimed it would restrict attacks to Israel and the occupied territories. Several terrorist attacks were later carried out by groups affiliated with the PLO/Fatah, including the Hawari Group, the Palestine Liberation Front, and Force 17, against targets inside and outside of Israel.

Strength

See numbers for affiliated groups.

Location/Area of Operation

Tunis, other bases in various countries in the Middle East.

External Aid

See affiliated groups. Accurate public information on financial support for the PLO by Arab governments is difficult to obtain.

Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)

Description

The PIJ originated among militant Palestinian fundamentalists in the Gaza Strip during the 1970s. The PIJ may be a series of loosely affiliated factions, rather than a cohesive group. The PIJ is committed to the creation of an Islamic Palestinian state and the destruction of Israel through holy war. Because of its strong support for Israel, the United States has been identified

as an enemy of the PIJ. The PIJ also opposes moderate Arab governments that it believes have been tainted by Western secularism.

Activities

The PIJ demonstrated its terrorist credentials when it attacked a tour bus in Egypt in February 1990 and killed 11 people, including nine Israelis. The PIJ also has carried out cross-border raids against Israeli targets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. A PIJ leader in Jordan has publicly threatened to attack US interests. PIJ agents were arrested in Egypt in September 1991 while attempting to enter the country to conduct terrorism.

Strength

Unknown.

Location/Area of Operations

Primarily Israel and occupied territories and other parts of the Middle East, including Jordan and Lebanon.

External Aid

Uncertain, possibly Iran and Syria.

PKK

(see Kurdish Worker's Party)

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

Description

Marxist-Leninist group that is a member of the PLO founded in 1967 by George Habash. After Fatah, is the most important military and political organization in the Palestinian movement. Advocates a Pan-Arab revolution. Although remaining in the PLO, Habbash has publicly differed with Arafat. Has spawned several dangerous splinter groups.

Activities

Committed numerous international terrorist attacks between 1970 and 1977. Since death in 1978 of Wadi Haddad, its terrorist planner, PFLP has carried out numerous attacks against Israeli or moderate Arab targets.

Strength

800.

Location/Area of Operation

Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and the occupied territories.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine— General Command (PFLP-GC)	External Aid Receives most of its financial and military assistance from Syria and Libya.
	Description Split from the PFLP in 1968, claiming that it wanted to focus more on fighting and less on politics. Violently opposed to Arafat's PLO. Led by Ahmad Jabril, a former captain in the Syrian Army. Closely allied with, supported by, and probably directed by Syria.
	Activities Claims to have specialized in suicide operations. Has carried out numerous cross-border terrorist attacks into Israel, using unusual means, such as hot-air balloons and motorized hang gliders. Hafiz Kasseem Dalkamoni, a ranking PFLP-GC official, was convicted in Germany in June 1991 for bombing US troop trains. He faces additional charges in Germany for other terrorist offenses, including manslaughter.
	Strength Several hundred.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine— Special Command (PFLP-SC)	Location/Area of Operation Headquarters in Damascus with bases in Lebanon and cells in Europe.
	External Aid Receives logistic and military support from Syria, its chief sponsor. Financial support from Libya. Safehaven in Syria. Support also from Iran.
	Description Marxist-Leninist group formed by Abu Salim in 1979 after breaking away from the now-defunct PFLP—Special Operations Group.
	Activities Has claimed responsibility for several notorious international terrorist attacks in Western Europe, including the bombing of a restaurant frequented by US servicemen in Torrejon, Spain, in April 1985. Eighteen Spanish civilians were killed in the attack.
Strength 50.	
Location/Area of Operation Operates out of southern Lebanon, in various areas of the Middle East, and in Western Europe.	

**Popular Struggle Front
(PSF)**

External Aid

Probably receives financial and military support from Syria, Libya, and Iraq.

Description

Radical Palestinian terrorist group once closely involved in the Syrian-dominated Palestinian National Salvation Front. Led by Dr. Samir Ghosheh. Rejoined the PLO in September 1991.

Activities

Terrorist attacks against Israeli, moderate Arab, and PLO targets.

Strength

Fewer than 300.

Location/Area of Operation

Mainly Syria and Lebanon, and elsewhere in the Middle East.

External Aid

Receives support from Syria and may now receive aid from the PLO.

Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA)
aka: The Provos

Description

A radical terrorist group formed in 1969 as the clandestine armed wing of Sinn Fein, a legal political movement dedicated to removing British forces from Northern Ireland and then to unify Ireland. Has a Marxist orientation. Organized into small, tightly knit cells under the leadership of the Army Council.

Activities

Bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, extortion, and robberies. Targets government and private-sector interests—including senior British officials and British military targets in Western Europe—and Northern Irish Protestant paramilitary organizations. Has become increasingly indiscriminate in its spectacular bombing attacks. PIRA has stepped up operations on mainland Britain over the past two years, conducting over 20 attacks there during 1991. In February, a mortar attack against No. 10 Downing Street was launched while Prime Minister Major and senior members of his Cabinet were meeting. Bombings at two busy railway stations in central London resulted in the death of one civilian and injury to dozens more. In December, PIRA exploded a 2,000-pound bomb outside a police station in Northern Ireland, injuring over 60 civilians, and launched a wave of bomb attacks against rail lines and shopping centers on the British mainland.

**Red Army Faction
(RAF)**

Strength

Several hundred, plus several thousand sympathizers.

Location/Area of Operation

Northern Ireland, Irish Republic, Great Britain, and Western Europe.

External Aid

Has received aid from a variety of groups and countries and considerable training and arms from Libya and, at one time, the PLO. Also is suspected of receiving funds and arms from sympathizers in the United States. Maintains links to ETA.

Description

The small and disciplined RAF is the successor to the Baader-Meinhof Gang, which originated in the student protest movement in the 1960s. Ideology is an obscure mix of Marxism and Maoism; committed to armed struggle. Organized into hardcore cadres that carry out terrorist attacks and a network of supporters who provide logistic and propaganda support. Has survived despite numerous arrests of top leaders over the years.

Activities

Bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, and robberies. Targets German Government and private sector and US interests. Among the latter, attempted assassination in Belgium of NATO Commander (1979); bombing of NATO Air Force headquarters in Ramstein (1981); rocket attack of USAREUR Commander in Heidelberg (1981); and bombing of Rhein-Main Air Force Base (1985). In February 1991, the RAF fired approximately 250 assault rifle rounds at the US Embassy in Bonn, and in April the group assassinated the German Trust Agency director, Detlev Karsten Rohwedder.

Strength

Ten to 20, plus several hundred supporters.

Location/Area of Operations

Germany.

External Aid

Basically self-sustaining, but during Baader-Meinhof period received some support from Middle Eastern terrorist groups; some ties may still exist. The RAF received logistic support, sanctuary, and training from the German Democratic Republic during the early 1980s. The RAF appears to be developing closer ties to GRAPO in Spain.

RENAMO
(see Mozambican National Resistance)

Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)

Description

Established in 1966 as military wing of Colombian Communist Party; is largest guerrilla group there. Goal is to overthrow government and ruling class; anti-US. Organized along military lines, includes at least one urban front.

Activities

Armed attacks against Colombian targets, bombings of US businesses, kidnappings of Colombians and foreigners for ransom, and assassinations. Traffics in drugs and has well-documented ties to drug traffickers. Peace talks with Colombian Government have proved unsuccessful.

Strength

Approximately 4,500 to 5,500 armed combatants and 10,000 supporters.

Location/Area of Operation

Colombia.

External Aid

FARC has ties to Cuba; amount of aid unknown.

Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17 November)

Description

A radical leftist group established in 1975 and named for the November 1973 student uprising protesting the military regime. Anti-US, anti-Turkish, anti-NATO; committed to violent overthrow of the regime, ouster of US bases, removal of Turkish military presence from Cyprus, and severing of Greece's ties to NATO and the EC. Organization is obscure, possibly affiliated with other Greek terrorist groups.

Activities

Initial attacks were selected handgun assassinations against senior US officials, including US Embassy official Richard Welch in 1975 and US Navy Captain George Tsantes in 1983. Began assassinating Greek officials and public figures in 1976 and added bombings, including attacks against US military buses in 1987 and assassination of US defense attache William Nordeen in 1988. Since 1990 has expanded targeting to include EC facilities and foreign firms investing in Greece, and added improvised rocket attacks to its methods. In 1991 was responsible for at least five of the 15 terrorist attacks against coalition targets in Greece during the Gulf war, including the assassination

in March of a US Army sergeant. Also stepped up attacks against Turkish interests with attempted murder of Turkish Embassy official in July and assassination of Turkish Embassy press attache in October.

Strength

Unknown, but presumed to be small.

Location/Area of Operations

Greece, primarily in Athens metropolitan area.

External Aid

May receive support from ELA and other Greek terrorist group cadres.

Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA)

Description

Formed in 1971 to oppose the Greek military junta; is a self-described leftwing revolutionary, anticapitalist, anti-imperialist group. Organization is unclear, but probably consists of a loose coalition of several very small and violent groups or affiliates, possibly including 17 November.

Activities

Before 1974, was nonviolent; turned to terrorism after removal of junta. Has targeted US military and business facilities and, since 1986, stepped up attacks on Greek Government and commercial interests; primary method has been bombings of buildings, apparently without intent to endanger life. Safehouse raid in November 1990 revealed weapons cache and direct contacts with 1 May and Revolutionary Solidarity; during 1991, ELA and 1 May claimed joint responsibility for over 20 bombings.

Strength

Unknown, perhaps up to 20 or 30, plus supporters.

Location/Area of Operation

Greece.

External Aid

No known foreign sponsors.

Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path, SL)

Description

Peru's largest subversive organization is among the world's most dangerous and ruthless terrorist groups. Formed in late 1960s by then university professor Abimael Guzman Reynoso. Goal is to destroy existing Peruvian institutions and replace them with a peasant revolutionary regime as well as to rid Peru of foreign influences. Has extensive ties to narcoproducers and narcotraffickers working in Peru.

Activities

Killed 10 foreigners in 1991. Engages in particularly brutal forms of terrorism. Originally rural based, but has increasingly operated in urban areas since 1986. Has attacked diplomatic missions of nearly every country represented in Peru, foreign businesses, foreign and domestic humanitarian aid projects, in addition to Peruvian Government and private-sector targets.

Strength

4,000 to 5,000 combatants. Strong rural support base.

Location/Area of Operation

Peru.

External Aid

No known foreign sponsors. Receives money from drug trade, including Colombian narcotics traffickers.

17 November

(see Revolutionary Organization 17 November)

Sikh Terrorism**Description**

Sikh terrorism is carried out by several domestic and international groups seeking to establish an independent Sikh state called Khalistan. Sikh violence outside India is on the wane after surging in 1984 following the Indian Army attack on the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Groups that carry out terrorism include the Dashmesh, or 10th Regiment, (active in India, western Germany, and Canada), Dal Khalsa (hijacked an Indian airline to Pakistan in 1981), Babbar Khalsa (also operates in India, western Germany, and Canada), and the All-India Sikh Students Federation (militant student wing of the main Sikh party, Akali Dal).

Activities

Regular and bloody attacks against Hindus and against Indian official targets, particularly in the Punjab; desecration of Hindu holy places; assassinations; bombings; and aircraft hijackings. Although Sikhs have disclaimed responsibility, were probably responsible for bombing the Air India airliner downed over the Atlantic in June 1985, in which the crew and 329 passengers were killed, and for an explosion at Tokyo airport on the same day, when luggage from a flight from Vancouver blew up and killed two Japanese baggage handlers. In 1991, Sikh terrorists attempted to assassinate the Indian Ambassador in Romania and kidnapped and held the Romanian Charge in New Delhi for

seven weeks. No US interests have been targeted. Sikh terrorism within India, ranging from kidnappings and bombings to assassinations, continues at a high level.

Strength

Unknown.

Location/Area of Operation

India, Western Europe, and North America.

External Aid

Unknown.

Terra Lliure (TL)
(Free Land)

Description

Leftwing Catalonian separatist terrorist group formed in the 1970s with the goal of establishing an independent Marxist state in the Spanish Provinces of Catalonia and Valencia. Leadership announced in July 1991 that the group had ceased terrorist operations, but hardcore members may remain active.

Activities

Mainly small-scale bombing attacks against property in northeastern Spain. Targets include foreign banks and travel agencies. Reportedly renounced terrorism in July 1991.

Strength

Unknown.

Location/Area of Operation

Spain.

External Aid

None known.

Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)

Description

Traditional Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement in Peru formed in 1983. Led by Nestor Cerpa and Victor Polay. Objective is to rid Peru—and perhaps region—of “imperialist” influence and establish a Marxist regime.

Activities

Responsible for more anti-US attacks than any other group in Latin America. In 1990 and 1991, attacked the US Ambassador’s residence, bombed the US Consulate and US-Peruvian Binational Center, attacked US businesses and Mormon churches. Attacked Peru’s Presidential Palace, and President Fujimori’s airplane in 1991.

Strength

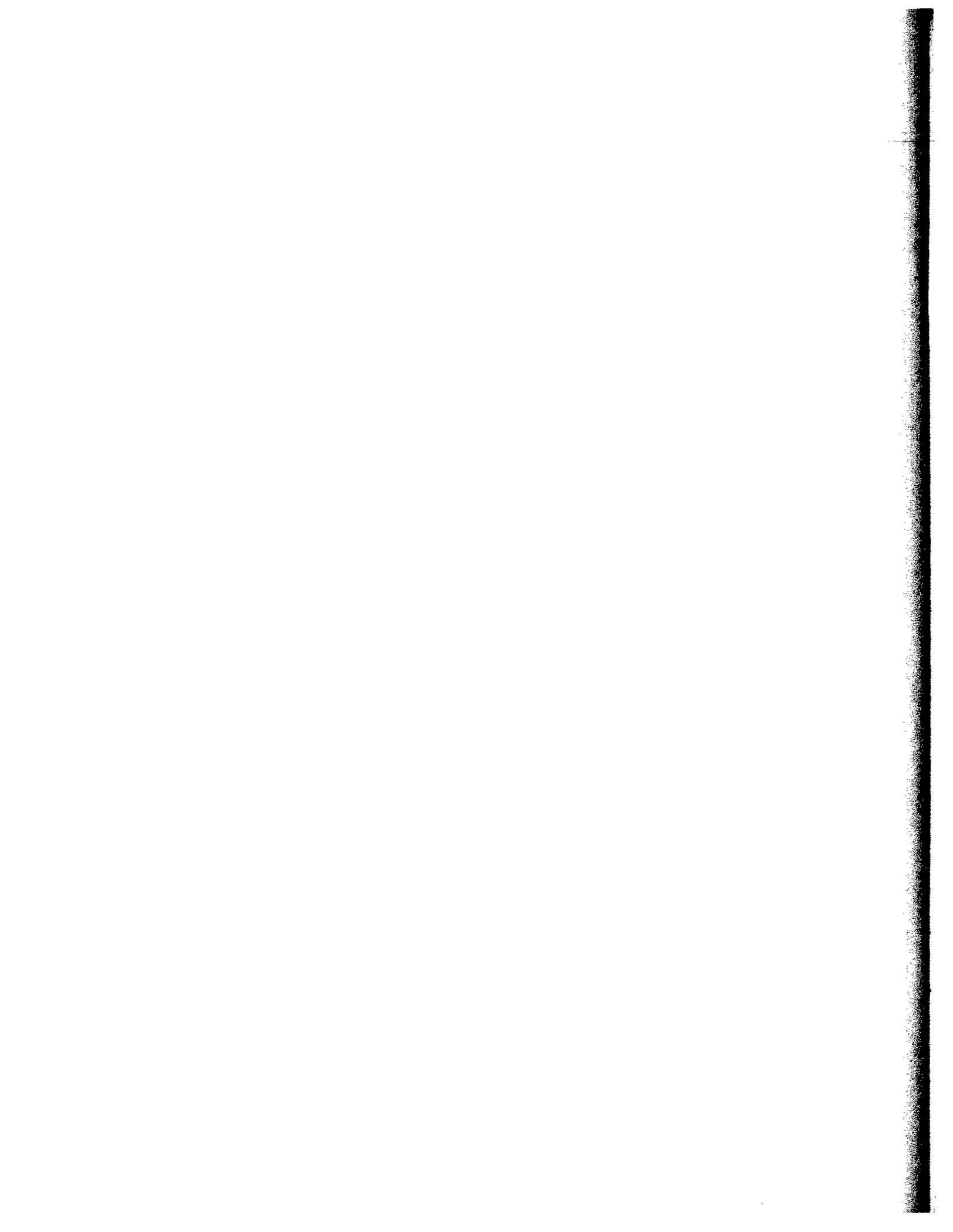
1,000 to 2,000 combatants.

Location/Area of Operation

Peru. Bolivia in conjunction with the ELN.

External Aid

Has received training in Cuba. May have ties to Libya.



Appendix C

Libya's Continuing Responsibility for Terrorism

Introduction

This appendix is designed to provide context for the allegations in the US and Scottish indictments of Libyan nationals for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 in December 1988. To this end, it discusses the attitude of the Qadhafi government toward terrorism and outlines Libyan responsibility for terrorist acts.

Based on analysis of Libyan behavior over many years, on the results of investigating the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 since 1988, and on the structure of the Libyan regime and the relations among leading officials in that regime, we conclude that the bombing of Pan Am 103 was not an aberration and was an action authorized by the Libyan Government. Libya's support for terrorism began in the earliest days of the Qadhafi regime. As early as 1972, Libyan leader Mu'ammarr Qadhafi publicly offered to help extremist movements—including the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Black Power movement in the United States—and to support any group in the Middle East willing to attack Israel. Qadhafi dispatched terrorists to Italy in 1973 to shoot down an Israeli airliner and at least as early as 1975 ordered the murder of Libyan dissidents living abroad. Although dissidents historically have posed little—if any—threat to Qadhafi's rule, the Libyan leader has concentrated on eliminating them. Assassinations took place in the early and mid-1980s and included two attempts (one of them successful) against Libyan students in the United States.

Libyan involvement in and support of terrorism expanded throughout the early 1980s. Tripoli provided passports to Abu Nidal organization (ANO) members who attacked the El Al ticket counter at the Vienna airport in December 1985. Libya also sponsored the bombing of the La Belle disco in Berlin in April 1986 that killed three people, including two US servicemen.

Over the years, even as Libyan agents and their proxies planned and carried out terrorist attacks, Qadhafi regularly sought to calm international concerns through public

denunciations of terrorism. For example, in 1977, Qadhafi plotted to assassinate a US Ambassador, just after assuring President Carter that he sought good relations with the United States. Moreover, Qadhafi periodically has issued public denials of his involvement in terrorism while his intelligence apparatus was preparing for acts of terrorism.

Libyan action has not been limited to Israeli and Western targets. In the mid-1980s Libya backed plots against President Mubarak of Egypt, former President Nimeiri of Sudan, President Mobutu of Zaire, former Tunisian President Bourguiba, and former President Habre of Chad. In addition to using and supporting terrorism, Qadhafi also has a long history of trying to subvert governments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Record Over the Past Five Years

The 1986 airstrike on Libya by the United States, combined with other international pressures, did not end Tripoli's support for terrorism. Following the air attack, Qadhafi began to use front companies and other organizations to hide Libya's hand (see inset). In addition, Qadhafi has placed a premium on masking Libya's support for terrorism in an attempt to avoid jeopardizing Libya's economic links to his African neighbors and major European trading partners. The Libyans sponsored a series of anti-US operations immediately after the US airstrikes in April 1986. Tripoli was responsible for the shooting of a US Embassy communicator in Sudan on 15 April 1986 and for the shooting of another Embassy communicator in Sanaa, North Yemen, on 25 April 1986. In addition, two Libyans were apprehended on 18 April 1986 as they attempted to attack the US Officers Club in Ankara with grenades obtained from the Libyan People's Bureau there. The Libyans confessed that they were ordered to cause the maximum number of casualties, particularly women and children.

Qadhafi and Kidnapping

The hollowness of Qadhafi's rhetoric is best illustrated by Libya's longstanding involvement in kidnapping, despite his regular denunciations of such acts. In 1978, Libyan intelligence officers kidnapped Imam Musa Sadr, the spiritual leader of the Lebanese Shia community, just after he arrived in Tripoli. Musa Sadr eventually died in Libyan captivity. Throughout the 1980s, Qadhafi publicly denounced the illegal detention of hostages by extremist groups in Lebanon. Yet in April 1986, Libya bought and arranged for the murder of three Western hostages in Lebanon, including American Peter Kilburn. More recently, in November 1987 the Abu Nidal organization (ANO) hijacked the yacht Silco in international waters. The hostages—Belgian and French nationals—were released in stages, with the last detainees freed in January 1991. The yacht was seized by ANO elements under the direction of the Libyan intelligence service, and some of the hostages were even held on Libyan soil.

We believe that Libya was responsible for the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, on 21 December 1988 and that senior government officials involved in previous terrorist attacks around the world orchestrated the operation. Forensic evidence indicates that the bomb's timer was unique to Libyan inventories, and an official of the Libyan national carrier, Libyan Arab Airlines, used his credentials to circumvent security procedures in Malta to assist in the operation.

Over the past several years, Libya has provided assistance to Palestinian terrorists, enabling them to launch attacks against Israel and Western targets:

- In May 1990, Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) members attempted a seaborne raid on Israel; the operation failed, and four terrorists were killed and 12 captured. Libya provided the group with training, sophisticated equipment, weaponry, and the mother ship used in the operation.
- In July 1988, ANO operatives attacked the Greek cruise ship *The City of Poros*, killing nine and wounding over 100 people. Libya provided the weapons used in the operation.

Libya has regarded Africa as an attractive environment for its operations and is responsible for several attacks there:

- On 30 October 1991, a French judge issued international arrest warrants, charging four Libyan officials with involvement in the bombing of UTA Flight 772 in September 1989.
- In March 1990, Libyan diplomats were expelled from Ethiopia after a bomb exploded in the Hilton Hotel in Addis Ababa in an apparent attempt to kill the Israeli Ambassador who was staying there.
- In February 1988, two known Libyan terrorists were arrested in Dakar, Senegal, in possession of explosives and weapons.
- In October 1987, a bomb exploded in the office of World Vision, a private relief organization operating in Moudou, Chad. Libyan diplomats based in Cotonou, Benin, assisted the terrorists who carried out the attack.
- In March 1987, a bomb exploded at the cafe "L'Historil" in Djibouti, killing 11 and wounding 50. The Libyans ordered a Palestinian group, the Popular Struggle Front, to conduct the attack or risk losing Tripoli's financial support.

The Libyans have supported terrorist groups in Europe, particularly the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), which Colonel Qadhafi has called a popular national liberation movement. Throughout the mid-1980s, Libya provided the group with arms. Libya's hand was openly revealed in October 1987, when French authorities intercepted a freighter, the *Eksund*, off the coast of France and seized 150 tons of weapons and explosives destined for the PIRA. Libya has also provided financial support to the PIRA.

Since April 1986, Libyan assassins have murdered three anti-Qadhafi Libyan dissidents residing in Greece, Italy, and France. Tripoli has continued to target other exiles deemed "opponents" of the Libyan Government.

Current Support for Terrorism

Despite the efforts of the international community, Libyan involvement in terrorism today remains extensive. Tripoli is one of the largest financiers of terrorists worldwide, and it continues to permit terrorist groups to operate at camps throughout Libya.

In the Middle East the Libyans continue to support a wide range of terrorist groups:

- The ANO—which has conducted over 100 terrorist attacks resulting in the deaths of more than 280 people and the wounding of over 650 since its founding—continues to receive significant Libyan support. The group is headquartered in Tripoli, and Libya provides the ANO with major training facilities and several million dollars annually.
- Qadhafi provided well over \$1 million to Ahmed Jabril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command in 1990. The group was responsible for the bombings of two US military trains in Germany in 1987 and 1988.
- Elements of the PLF remain based in Libya and receive financial and logistic support from the Libyan Government. The group has a long history of terrorist attacks, including the hijacking of the cruise ship Achille Lauro in October 1985, which resulted in the murder of a wheelchair-bound American tourist on board, and the previously mentioned attack on a Tel Aviv beach.
- Libya also funds Sa'iq'a and elements of the Palestine Islamic Jihad.

Libyan support for non-Palestinian groups has become increasingly selective. The main criterion appears to be the degree to which a group demonstrates a capability and willingness to attack Libya's enemies worldwide, including US and other Western targets.

In Europe, Libya maintains ties to the PIRA, despite Qadhafi's claim earlier this year to have ended support for the group. The Libyans have contact with the Kurdish separatist group, the PKK, which has conducted numerous terrorist attacks against Turkish targets.

A principal recipient of Libyan financing in Asia is the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its military wing, the New People's Army (NPA), which has killed 10 Americans since 1987. The Libyans have provided at least \$7 million to the CPP/NPA since 1987.

In Latin America, the Libyans continue to search out groups willing to kill Americans. For example, last year Tripoli paid the Haitian Liberation Organization over \$20,000 to carry out an attack against the US Embassy in Port-au-Prince; the group, however, failed to accomplish its mission. Libya has unsuccessfully tried to recruit the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador to conduct anti-Western attacks in return for money.

The Libyans also maintain contact with other terrorist groups in the region, including the Costa Rican Juan Santa Maria Patriotic Organization, Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement in Peru, and the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front in Chile.

The Anti-Imperialism Center (AIC)—also known as Mathaba—is used by the Libyan Government to support terrorist networks and thus plays an important role in Qadhafi's terrorism strategy. Established in 1982 to support "liberation and revolutionary groups," the AIC has sponsored a number of stridently anti-Western conferences in Tripoli. At the same time, the AIC's mission is to identify and recruit revolutionaries for ideological and military training in Libya. During their training at AIC camps, individuals are selected for advanced training, including in weapons and explosives, and indoctrination.

The AIC is headed by Musa Kusa, a Qadhafi confidant who is also Libya's Deputy Foreign Minister. With representatives in many Libyan embassies worldwide, the AIC runs its own independent clandestine operations and disburses payments to terrorist, insurgent, and subversive groups.

Training

Colonel Qadhafi continues to train Middle Eastern, African, Asian, and Latin American terrorist and dissident organizations at camps in Libya, including Tripoli. The largest training camps include:

- *Al Qalah*. About 100 kilometers southwest of Tripoli, it is the principal ANO facility in Libya. Over the past year the ANO has significantly expanded the size of the camp.

The Libyan Use of Terrorist Fronts

Because of public exposure of the role of Libyan People's Bureaus (LBPs) in international terrorism in the early 1980s, Libya has over the past few years shifted some of its terrorist support operations to other institutions. These institutions include the Islamic Call Society, student organizations and friendship societies, and Libyan front companies. By using multiple organizations, Libya is able to continue its activities even if one group is exposed.

Front companies provide Libyan operatives with cover and deception capabilities. Some of these companies probably were established as legitimate corporations, but they have been blackmailed into cooperating with the Libyan intelligence services. The front companies typically establish a partnership with local nationals to enhance their cover. The companies' partners rarely know that they are dealing with Libyan intelligence officers or Libyan businessmen taking orders from the Libyan Government.

Libyan front companies known to have been directly or indirectly involved in terrorist operations over the past decade include **Exo-Commerce** and **Sarra** or **Sarrah**. For example, under the guise of a "legitimate" business, the Benin-based Sarrah company infiltrated arms and explosives into neighboring African countries for terrorist acts in the late 1980s. Another front company, the Greek-based **Germa Shipping and Stevedoring Company**, owned the *Tiny Star*, the mothership used in the 30 May 1990 PLF attack on Israel launched from a Libyan port.

In addition, other businesses are surrogates of the Libyan intelligence service. **Neutron International** is run by Musbah Warfalli, an architect of Libyan attacks against Libyan dissidents in the early 1980s. The **Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Company**, or **LAFICO**, is wholly owned by the Libyan Government and is sometimes used by the Libyan intelligence service for cover purposes. **The General Arab African Company** is a major trading company serving as a front for Libyan intelligence throughout Sub-Saharan Africa.

Even Libyan businessmen not readily identified with the Libyan intelligence service or a front company have been used in operations. For example, in January 1991 the Chadian Government arrested two Libyan agents posing as businessmen who were apparently attempting to smuggle explosives into Ndjamena. We have reason to believe that many other Libyan businessmen and businesses worldwide are linked to the Libyan intelligence service.

Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA) is the government-owned national flag carrier, providing scheduled passenger and cargo service to Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Although it conducts legitimate activities, LAA has been used to transport arms, explosives, and terrorists. Among the Libyans implicated in supplying arms to the PIRA from 1985 to 1987 was an LAA employee. An LAA flight was used in the August 1986 escape of six terrorists believed to be responsible for the 3 August attack on the British base at Akrotiri, Cyprus. The six were disguised as airline crewmembers, and the captain made false statements to airport authorities about the crew's size to disguise their presence. The airline remains well positioned to assist in an attack, particularly since at least 30 percent of LAA employees posted abroad are Libyan intelligence officers.

The Islamic Call Society (ICS), created by the Libyans to propagate Islam, is used for legitimate religious purposes, but Qadhafi also exploits the organization's philanthropic reputation to advance his terrorist agenda. The ICS office in Curacao assisted separatists who bombed a government office in Cayenne, French Guyana, in January 1987. For much of the 1980s, Tripoli used its Call Society office in Cotonou, Benin, to recruit and fund terrorists in the region.

The Libyans also use travel agencies around the world to facilitate the movement of local terrorists to Libya for advanced training. The agency normally books dissidents/terrorists for travel through third countries so their ultimate destination—Libyan terrorist training camps—goes undetected.

The Case of UTA Flight 772

On 30 October 1991 a French magistrate issued international arrest warrants against four Libyan officials for their role in the bombing of UTA Flight 772 in September 1989. The flight, which was bound from Brazzaville, Congo, to Paris via Ndjamena, Chad, exploded over the desert in southeastern Niger, killing all 171 passengers and crewmembers. Seven Americans, including the wife of the US Ambassador to Chad, were among the passengers. In addition to the warrants against Abdallah Sanussi (a relative of Qadhafi and second in command of Libya's intelligence services), Nayli Ibrahim (one of Sanussi's subordinates), Abd Al-Azragh, and Abbas Musbah (a representative of the Libyan services in Brazzaville), the judge issued international lookout notices against Musa Kusa (head of the AIC and Deputy Foreign Minister) and Abd al-Salam Zadma. According to the charges, Al-Azragh, the First Secretary at the Libyan People's Bureau in Brazzaville, Congo, recruited three Congolese to plant a suitcase bomb on the flight and provided them with the device. Two of the three are now in jail—one in Congo and one in Zaire.

How Libya Funds Terrorists

The Libyans use a variety of mechanisms to finance terrorist groups:

- Tripoli frequently passes money to terrorists who train in-country. Virtually all terrorist operatives who are trained in Libya receive, at a minimum, travel money and a small stipend for personal expenses.
 - Libyan People's Bureaus and the Anti-Imperialism Centers are used to transfer funds to terrorists.
 - Radical Palestinian groups often receive Libyan funding through bank accounts, particularly in the Middle East.
 - On rare occasions the Libyans have used couriers to deliver money to terrorist organizations; the transfer usually occurs in a third country.
-

Libyan Training Camps

Libya has trained Palestinian and other terrorists in-country since the early 1970s. In addition to the principal facilities in and around Tripoli, over the past two decades the Libyans have operated smaller training camps dispersed throughout their country. On some occasions, terrorists are trained at Libyan military bases. For example, in 1988 members of the radical Palestinian group, the Popular Struggle Front, trained at an Air Force base in the Aouzou region. Members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command also are known to have trained in Libyan military camps.

Non-Palestinian groups that have received training in Libya in recent years include the Ecuadorian Alfaro Vive, Carajo organization, Colombia's M-19, the Haitian Liberation Organization, the Chilean Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, and the Japanese Red Army.

Trainees from Asia, Latin America, and Africa often go to Libya legally, usually pretending to be students. Sometimes, Third World nationals travel to Libya for what they believe to be legitimate schooling, such as technical or religious training. When they arrive, however, they find themselves met at the airport by soldiers, placed on a truck, and transported to a terrorist/dissident training camp. Those students hostile to Libyan overtures are summarily deported and branded as unworthy students.

Extremists travel to Libya using other methods as well. For example, radicals from Mauritius traveled to Tripoli in 1987, ostensibly to attend a youth conference. Instead, they went to a terrorist training camp.

- *Seven April Training Camp.* Located about 9 kilometers from Tripoli, the facility provides training in terrorism and subversion to Africans and Latin Americans, as well as to Libyan military personnel.
- *Sidi Bilal Port Facility.* Terrorists who carried out the May 1990 seaborne attack against Israel were trained here.

- *Bin Ghashir*. Just south of Tripoli, it has been used to train dissidents from Africa, Asia, and Latin America in terrorist/ guerrilla tactics.
- *Ras al Hilal*. Palestinian terrorist groups have trained at this facility.

Outlook for Involvement in Terrorism

Terrorism is an important instrument of Libyan foreign policy. Libya will use terrorism to further its agenda, particularly when Colonel Qadhafi believes he can plausibly deny involvement. Qadhafi's use and support of terrorism as an instrument of policy belie efforts to persuade the world that he does not sponsor terrorist acts. Libyan officials responsible for acts of terrorism remain in senior government positions. Last year Qadhafi appointed Ibrahim Bishari, the head of the Libyan intelligence service and a key player in Libyan terrorist attacks in the 1980s, as Libya's Foreign Minister.

Appendix D

Libya's Responsibility for the Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103

The Government of Libya was responsible for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 on 21 December 1988. This appendix reviews both evidentiary material upon which the US indictment of two Libyan officials is based and background information that establishes links between those indicted and senior Libyan Government officials.

Summary

Scottish authorities and the US Department of Justice have charged two Libyans with carrying out the attack: Abd al-Basit Al-Megrahi, a senior Libyan intelligence official, and Lamem Fhimah, the former manager of the Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA) office in Malta. The charges are based on clear evidence that Al-Megrahi, Fhimah, and other unidentified coconspirators planned to bomb Pan Am 103 by:

- Obtaining and attaching an appropriately marked Air Malta tag that circumvented baggage security measures and routed the bag containing the bomb to the Pan Am 103 feeder flight to Heathrow and then to Pan Am 103.
- Setting the timer that activated the device so that the bomb would explode about one hour after Pan Am 103 was scheduled to depart Heathrow Airport in London.
- Using the knowledge and access gained from their official status as representatives of Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA) to facilitate the operation at Valletta's Luqa airport. This would have enabled them to bypass security checks and ensure that the suitcase containing the bomb was inserted into the baggage of an Air Malta flight to Frankfurt.

Al-Megrahi, a senior Libyan intelligence official, acted with the approval of the highest levels of the Libyan Government. We believe Sa'id Rashid—a leading architect and executor of Libya's anti-US and antidissident terrorist policies for the last decade, and a member of the Libyan Government's inner circle—was the senior government

official who orchestrated the attack. An operation of this sophistication and magnitude, involving people so close to the Libyan leadership, could have been undertaken only with the approval of senior Libyan officials.

The Case

The US indictment is based on evidence, summarized below, directly linking Libyan officials to the suitcase containing the bomb and its insertion into the baggage system. The evidence also directly links Al-Megrahi to the Swiss company that manufactured the timer used in the attack.

The Suitcase

Forensic analysis has identified the bag that contained the Pan Am 103 bomb as a brown, hard-sided Samsonite suitcase. The following evidence links Al-Megrahi and Fhimah to the suitcase:

- Al-Megrahi, traveling in alias, arrived in Valletta with Fhimah from Libya on the evening of 20 December 1988—the day before the bombing. Fhimah, the former manager of the LAA office in Valletta, retained full access to the airport. Al-Megrahi and Fhimah brought a large, brown hard-sided Samsonite suitcase with them into Malta on that occasion.
- Scottish investigators traced clothing that had been packed in the bomb suitcase to a Maltese clothing shop. A Libyan bought the items several weeks before the bombing, most likely on 7 December 1988. Airport arrival cards demonstrate that Al-Megrahi was in Malta on 7 December.
- In February 1991, Al-Megrahi was described as resembling the Libyan who had purchased the clothing items.

The Insertion

Frankfurt airport records for 21 December show that an unaccompanied bag was routed from Air Malta Flight 180 (KM 180), out of Valletta's Luqa airport, to Frankfurt, where it was loaded onto the Pan Am 103 feeder flight to London. The evidence indicates that a properly marked Air Malta baggage tag would have routed the suitcase containing the bomb to John F. Kennedy Airport in New York via Pan Am 103. The following evidence directly implicates Al-Megrahi and Fhimah in this process:

- Fhimah's diary contains a reminder for 15 December 1988 to pick up Air Malta tags—a violation of airport and airline regulations. Other diary notations indicate that Fhimah accomplished this task.
- According to Luqa airport records and staff, the baggage for KM 180 was processed at about the same time as their bags for a Libyan Arab Airlines flight (LN 147), bound for Tripoli.
- Al-Megrahi, still traveling in alias, boarded LN 147 on the morning of 21 December 1988, the same morning that the bomb was inserted into the baggage of the KM 180 flight. Al-Megrahi's flight back to Libya checked in at the same airport passenger check-in counter as KM 180, and the check-in periods for the two flights overlapped.

The Timer

A circuit board fragment recovered from the Pan Am 103 bomb was part of a sophisticated electronic timer of a type that Senegalese authorities discovered in the possession of two Libyan terrorists arrested in February 1988. The timers, marked MST-13, were manufactured by Meister et Bollier (MEBO), a Swiss electronics firm located in Zurich.

The MST-13 timers are unique. MEBO was the sole manufacturer. All the MST-13 timers produced were delivered to the Libyans.

MEBO provided the Libyan External Security Organization (ESO, also referred to as Jamahiriya Security Organization [JSO]) with 20 MST-13 timers in late 1985 and made no more MST-13 timers. Two ESO electrical engineers commissioned and took possession of the timers: Izz Aldin Hinshiri, Libya's current Minister of Communications and Transport, and Sa'id Rashid.

Al-Megrahi is a close relative and longtime associate of Sa'id Rashid. At the time Rashid took delivery of the timers, Al-Megrahi was his immediate subordinate.

Al-Megrahi rented office space at MEBO and transited Zurich on at least two occasions in December 1988.

Libyan Government Responsibility

The conclusion that the Libyan Government approved the Pan Am 103 bombing is based on Abd al-Basit Al-Megrahi's central and continuing role in Libyan intelligence operations and on his close association with Libyan Government officials who have implemented and directed Libya's use of terrorism over the years as a tool of government policy. The career progress of these officials over the years indicates that the Libyan Government has consistently endorsed their operations, tactics, and targets.

Al-Megrahi's Intelligence Responsibilities

Abd al-Basit Al-Megrahi's deep involvement in Libya's most sensitive, high-priority procurement operations indicates that he enjoyed the fullest confidence of Libya's leadership. We believe that his contacts and experience in the fields of civil aviation, cargo movement, and small business operations also provided him with a ready-made infrastructure to support the staging of the Pan Am 103 bombing.

Al-Megrahi is a senior intelligence official with strong ties to Libya's military procurement apparatus and to the ESO. In 1987 he became the director of the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), a unit that served the ESO and the Department of Military Procurement through a variety of activities, including:

- Procurement of chemical weapons precursors. An Al-Megrahi subordinate operating in Germany in 1988 played an important role in acquiring and shipping chemical weapons precursors to Libya. Al-Megrahi is also linked to a senior manager of Libya's chemical weapons development program.

Attorney General William Barr points to a photo of a fragment of the circuit board from the Pam Am 103 bomb's timer.



AP ©

- Procurement of aircraft and aircraft components for the Libyan military and LAA. Badri Hasan, another close collaborator of Al-Megrahi, is one of Libya's leading experts in circumventing US embargo provisions barring the sale of US technology and aircraft components to Libya.
- Assisting with Libya's effort to co-opt or sponsor Latin American terrorist groups. Under Al-Megrahi's leadership, the CSS assisted other Libyan outreach agencies by contributing to propaganda campaigns, collecting intelligence on the attitudes of radical groups, and assessing the intelligence or operational utility of Arabs who resided in target countries.
- Setting up travel agencies and other front companies to facilitate the travel and movement of goods and people, an activity that we believe supported both the procurement and outreach programs of the CSS and other Libyan intelligence entities.

Senior Libyans who worked closely with Al-Megrahi and other CSS officials involved in these activities include:

- Col. Rifi Ali al-Sharif, a senior Libyan military officer with a prominent role in Libya's procurement effort. Col. al-Sharif, the mentor/patron of Badri Hasan, reportedly assisted efforts by Al-Megrahi and Badri Hasan to illegally acquire US aircraft via Benin in 1986 and 1987 and sponsored the establishment of a travel agency as a joint CSS/military procurement enterprise in Eastern Europe.

- Sa'id Rashid, who in 1988 paid and instructed the chemical weapons precursor procurement specialist working for Al-Megrahi in Germany.

Al-Megrahi's Terrorist Record

Al-Megrahi's position and contacts in the Libyan intelligence apparatus place him firmly in the camp of his first cousin Sa'id Rashid—a leading architect and implementer of Libya's terrorist policies and a powerful member of the Libyan Government's inner circle. For at least 2 years before his early 1987 appointment as CSS director, Al-Megrahi was ESO chief of airline security, reporting directly to Rashid, who was ESO chief of operations throughout 1986.

Al-Megrahi continued his terrorist activities after becoming CSS director in early 1987. During 1988, Al-Megrahi:

- Met in Malta with a team of Libyan intelligence operatives planning to travel to Chad to conduct an unspecified operation. Abdallah Sanussi—newly appointed chief of ESO operations—ordered the team to abort the operation when it was unable to make appropriate airline connections. Sanussi is one of four Libyans whom France indicted on 30 October 1991 for the September 1989 bombing of UTA 772, which exploded after leaving Ndjamena airport in Chad.

- Met with Greek arms dealers and expressed interest in acquiring 1,000 letter bombs and associated technical equipment.

Sa'id Rashid and Libyan Terrorist Operations

Sa'id Rashid has managed a sustained Libyan effort to conduct terrorist attacks against US interests since the early 1980s. Rashid has long enjoyed privileged access to the top levels of the Libyan Government and is involved in a wide range of intelligence activities. He is a senior member of the Revolutionary Committees Bureau, which oversees the execution of the Libyan Government's radical policies in Libya and abroad.

Rashid rose rapidly in the ESO and in Libya's revolutionary committee apparatus during the early and mid-1980s, while aggressively pursuing the Libyan Government's dissident assassination programs and the terrorist and subversive aspects of the government's African policies.

An Italian court has sentenced Rashid in absentia to life imprisonment for his leadership of a team that assassinated a Libyan exile in a Milan train station in July 1980. This assassination was one of many in an antidissident campaign that spanned Western Europe and was directed by Rashid through at least 1985:

- In October 1980, Rashid led a team to Togo that planned to assassinate Chadian President Hissan Habre.
- In 1983, Libya illegally detained 37 French citizens in a successful effort to force France to release Rashid, who had been jailed in Paris pending extradition to Italy on murder charges related to the 1980 assassination in Milan.

Rashid began to direct attacks specifically against US interests in late 1981, when he assumed overall operational responsibility for Libya's effort to overthrow the Sudanese regime of President Ja'far Numeiri, then a close ally of the United States. During this period, Rashid and his subordinates trained, equipped, and directed Sudanese terrorists who attempted to bomb US interests on several occasions using concealed bombs equipped with decade timers and containing Semtex-H. Decade timers were a signature item of Libyan and Libyan-sponsored terrorists during the early 1980s.

One such bomb, concealed in a cigarette carton, was used in a failed attempt to bomb a Pan Am flight in December 1983. The terrorist attempted to check an unaccompanied bag onto an Alitalia flight departing Istanbul for Rome. The bag, which was discovered by Turkish authorities as a result of heightened security procedures, was tagged in such a way that it would have connected with a Pan Am flight departing Rome for New York, thus following essentially the same procedure that succeeded in the case of Pan Am 103.

Rashid continued to play a key role in Libyan targeting of US interests after tensions mounted between the two countries in mid-1985:

- Rashid's operatives began planning an attack on US facilities in Turkey in early 1986, culminating in a failed attempt to bomb the US Officers Club in Ankara in late April 1986. The Libyan intelligence officer who directed the operation within Turkey was operating under cover as an LAA official.
- Rashid tasked several Palestinians to target US facilities in Germany and directed the April 1986 bombing of the La Belle disco in Berlin. The La Belle bomb, specifically intended to kill American service personnel and their dependents, killed three people—two of them Americans.
- The day after the La Belle disco bombing, Rashid traveled to Khartoum, where he continued his work with Sudanese oppositionists. Rashid was in Khartoum on 15 April 1986 when a US Embassy official was seriously wounded in retaliation for the US bombing of Libya earlier the same day.
- Rashid was one of the Libyan engineers who provided design specifications to the Swiss firm MEBO which manufactured the timer used in the Pan Am 103 bomb. He also demonstrated a MEBO remotely activated briefcase bomb to Palestinian recruits.
- Both the Libyans arrested in Senegal with the MEBO timer had been Rashid's subordinates since the early 1980s.

In early 1987, the Libyan Government moved Rashid from the ESO to the directorship of the Libyan Electronics Company, which is heavily involved in technology transfer and other procurement activities. At the same time the Libyan Government placed Al-Megrahi in charge of the Center for Strategic Studies. We believe that the two cousins continued to coordinate their activities as they became more deeply involved in procurement programs—as in their joint supervision of Al-Megrahi's chemical weapons procurement specialist in Germany.

Al-Megrahi's Other Supervisors

Al-Megrahi, as CSS director, reported, or can be linked directly, to the following prominent Libyans:

- ESO director Ibrahim al-Bishari used Al-Megrahi's office at MEBO, in Zurich, as an accommodation address and claimed that Al-Megrahi worked directly under him as director of the CSS. Al-Bishari is currently Libya's Foreign Minister and reportedly retains his intelligence portfolio.
- In fall 1988, Abdallah al-Sanussi was Al-Megrahi's immediate ESO supervisor. Al-Megrahi was a terrorist who worked at the CSS for Sanussi. Al-Sanussi is one of the Libyan Government's chief intelligence aides. He authorized, directed, and provided funding for a number of Libyan terrorist operations over the years. French judicial authorities have lodged criminal charges against al-Sanussi for the September 1989 bombing of UTA 772.
- Nasir Ali Ashur has been linked both to Al-Megrahi and to the MEBO timers. Ashur, who oversaw earlier tests of the timers to ensure they would be completely destroyed by an explosion, was seen at a meeting at Al-Megrahi's house two days before the Pan Am 103 bombing. Maltese embarkation records and a US intelligence source also show that Ashur and Al-Megrahi met on Malta in early October 1988 and that the two traveled together from Zurich to Malta in August 1987. Ashur has

been declared by the French to be the equivalent of an unindicted coconspirator for his management of Libya's policies of providing massive amounts of arms—including tons of Semtex-H—to the Provisional Irish Republican Army.

- Abdallah Mahmud Hijazi is probably also a key contact of Al-Megrahi, although we lack concrete evidence of direct linkage. Hijazi, Rashid's longtime patron, was until 1986 the director of Libya's Department of Military Procurement. In 1988, he was reportedly a key organizer of Libyan subversive operations in West Africa and Chad.
- Ibrahim Nayili, whom the French indicted on 30 October 1991 for his role in the bombing of UTA 772, has been identified by several sources as the ESO official in Athens who placed potential sources of arms and aircraft components in contact with Al-Megrahi. Al-Nayili became ESO chief of airline security in mid-1989—the same position that Al-Megrahi held before becoming CSS director.

The Historical Context

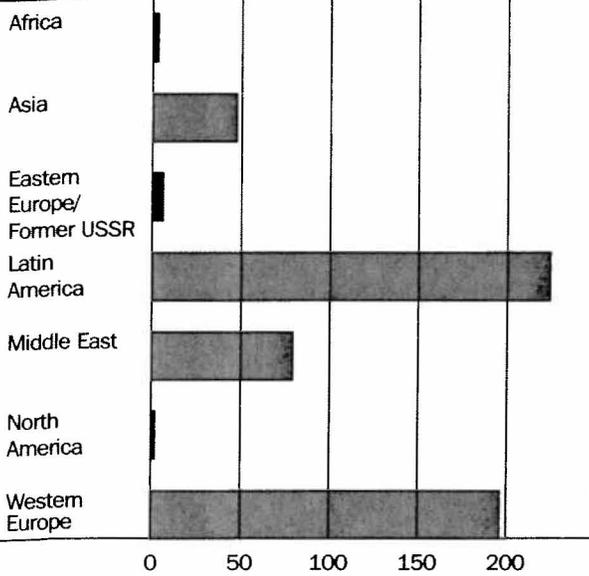
The foregoing has described Libya's links to Pan Am 103, the individuals involved, and the central role those individuals play in the terrorist and intelligence programs of the Libyan Government. The terrorist case against the government does not begin or end with the destruction of Pan Am 103. We have seen a consistent pattern of Libyan-inspired terrorism that continues after the Pan Am 103 atrocity to the present. This pattern seriously undermines any argument that Pan Am 103 was a rogue operation that did not meet with the approval of Libya's most senior authorities. An operation this important could not have been undertaken without the consent of the highest levels of the Libyan Government.



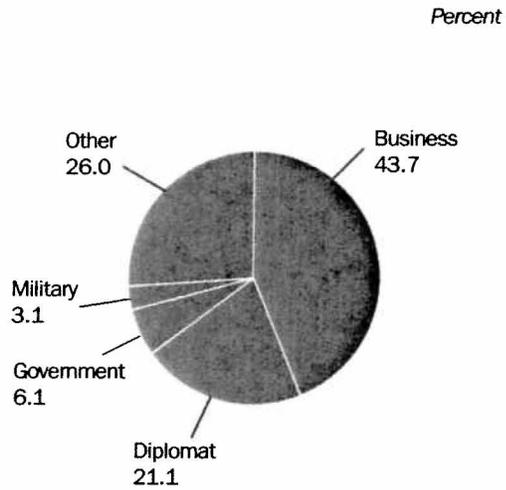
Appendix E
Statistical Review

International Terrorist Incidents, 1991

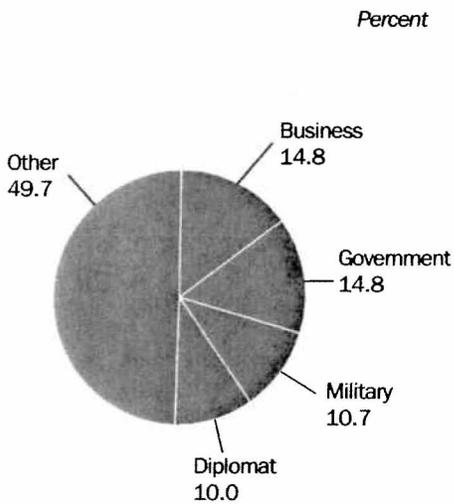
By Region



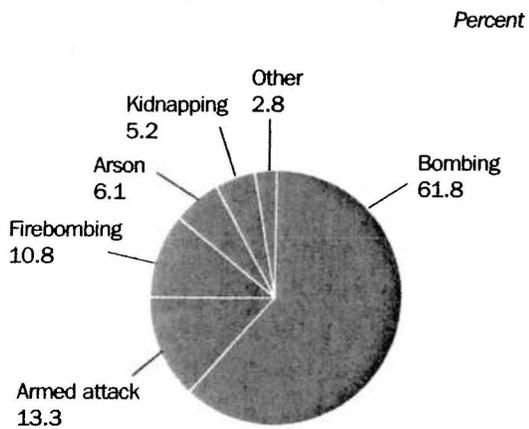
By Type of Facility



By Type of Victim

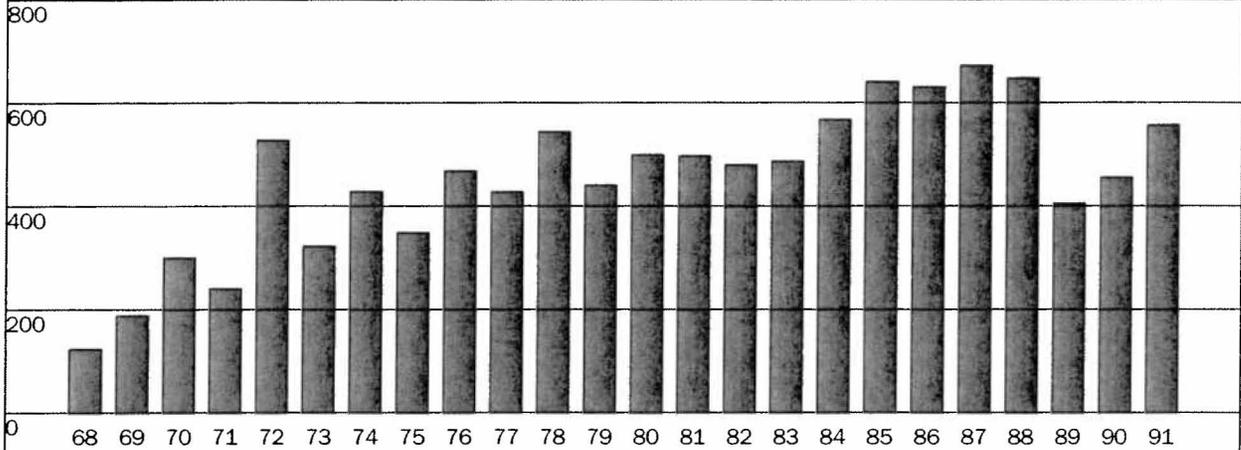


By Type of Event



International Terrorist Incidents Over Time

1968-91

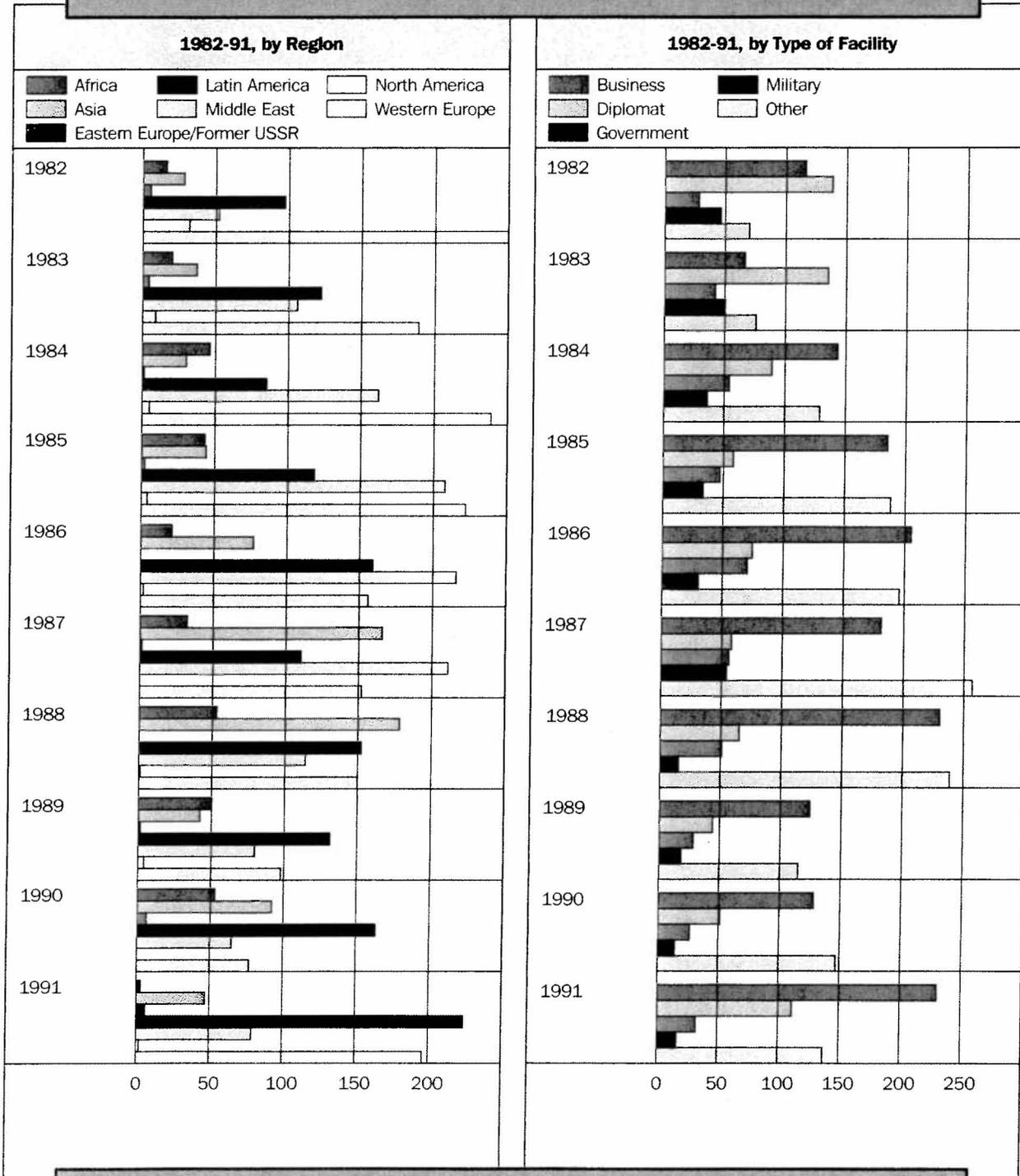


In past years, serious violence by Palestinians against other Palestinians in the Occupied Territories was included in the data base of worldwide international terrorist incidents because Palestinians are considered stateless people. This resulted in such incidents being treated differently from intraethnic violence in other parts of the world. In 1989, as a result of further review of the nature of intra-Palestinian violence, such violence stopped being included in the US Government's statistical data base on international terrorism. The figures shown above for the years 1984 through 1988 have been revised to exclude

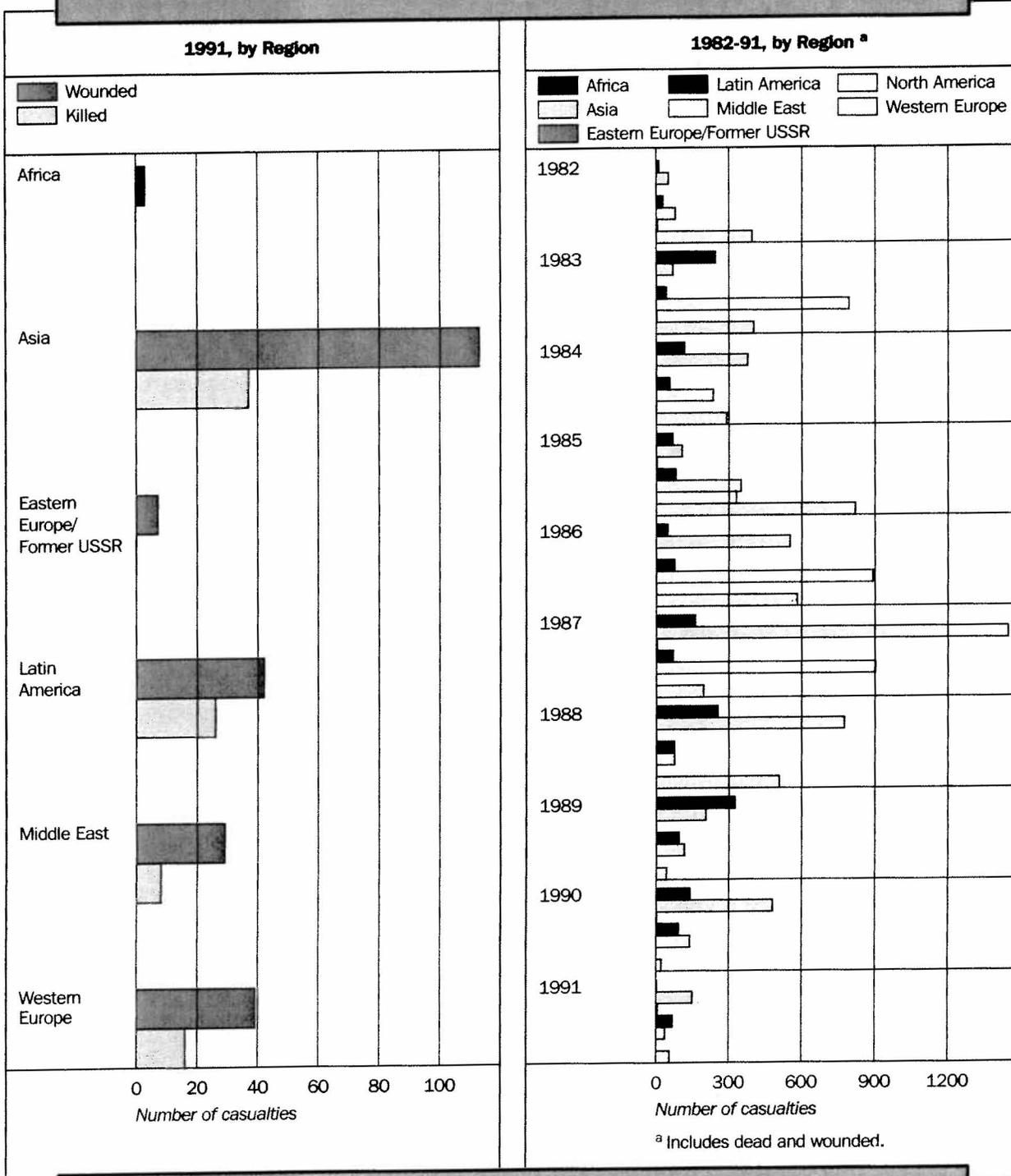
intra-Palestinian violence, thus making the data base consistent.

Investigations into terrorist incidents sometimes yield evidence that necessitates a change in the information previously held true (such as whether the incident fits the definition of international terrorism, which group or state sponsor was responsible, or the number of victims killed or injured). As a result of these adjustments, the statistics given in this report may vary slightly from numbers cited in previous reports.

International Terrorist Incidents Over Time (continued)



Casualties Caused by International Terrorist Incidents



**Appendix F
International Terrorist Incidents, 1991**

Appendix F

