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Attacks in Europe seem coordinated

This is the first of four reports about mounting terrorism in Europe and the Middle East.

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

PARIS — A French general and a West German industrialist are shot dead outside their homes. Mortar shells explode amidst Western warships in Lisbon harbor. In an Athens bar, a bomb injures 69 U.S. servicemen.

"Euroterrorism" — a new word in the "Euro-vocabulary" — has gained currency, leaving a trail of blood and warnings across Western Europe. The targets were selected carefully. Almost all were connected with the West's arms industry and with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The attacks appeared to have been coordinated, often involving more than one terrorist organization. Unlike the frequently amateur bungling of the 1970s, they were carried out with a cool, almost detached, professionalism.

The subsequent telephone calls and the often conflicting claims were part of the strategy to confuse the "enemy" — which happens to be the Western political system.

Although the initial wave of attacks in late January and early February subsided, the "red alert" continues — in Paris, Rome, London, Brussels, Bonn and other capitals.

Formerly reluctant to act in unison, or simply incapable of it in many cases, the Europeans are now pulling together to combat Euroterrorism.

"It is more dangerous because of its selectivity," an Italian expert said. "Fight it as if you were fighting a dirty war," according to instruction issued by the French Direction Generale de la Securite Exterieur — DGSE (General Directorate for External Security).

Fear of Euroterrorism has spread across the Atlantic. In Washington, Reagan administration officials are said to be concerned about the mobility of the various terrorist

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organizations and the relatively low level of international cooperation, at least in the early stages of responses to attacks.

Recently, however, cooperation among the nations concerned has grown considerably. For example, France and West Germany have decided to institutionalize information sharing. France has also assured Italy that it will not be so generous in granting political asylum to terrorist suspects on the run — provided there is adequate proof of their guilt.

The French no longer underrate Italian intelligence on fugitive terrorists. For example, acting on information received from Rome last Feb. 19, Paris police arrested Sergio Tornaghi, condemned to life imprisonment by an Italian court for his role in the notorious Red Brigades.

Across Western Europe, giant headlines speak of the new groups that have signed their names in blood. There is the Red Army Faction in West Germany, which recently united with Action Directe (Direct Action) of France.

The Red Brigades, which acquired a sinister reputation during Italy's "reign of terror" in the 1970s, are back in the news. A dozen or so other leftist organizations have been identified.

Do they have a joint command? Are they inspired by the local communist parties? Are they infiltrated or manipulated by Soviet or any other East European intelligence services?

Teams of experts are trying to unravel this deadly puzzle. The stakes are exceptionally high: the survival of Western democracies and NATO's ability to function.

The experts' findings are by no means conclusive, but they stress three points:

- There has been a dramatic ideological and military radicalization of several key extremist left-wing

groups. While still using hysterical anti-Western slogans, their performance has been far from hysterical, showing a high degree of almost military coordination.

- The targets invariably have been connected with NATO or the Western arms industry. Thus, Gen. Rene Audran, assassinated last Jan. 25, dealt with French arms sales abroad. Ernst Zimmerman, who was killed five days later outside his Munich home, was a leading West German arms manufacturer.

- While not diminishing the threat posed by terrorists, experts caution against exaggerating their impact. The terrorist slayings have not impaired the West's ability to defend itself, they say, and the number of terrorists is smaller than during the 1960s and '70s.

Still, the number of terrorists appears to be less important than their accuracy and coordination.

In short, the disparate bands scattered through Western Europe have been replaced by a better organized and obviously better trained "European brotherhood of terror."

The most significant development in the murky world of European urban terrorism was the apparent linking of two major organizations: Germany's Red Army Faction and France's Direct Action. This took place Jan. 15.

Significantly, both groups are said to have been involved in the killing of Gen. Audran outside his home in suburban La Celle St. Cloud outside Paris only 10 days after the reported alliance between the two groups.

Experts divide the known terrorist organizations into three distinct groups, each using different methods and claiming different ideologies.

The first, and oldest, are "traditional" independence movements with strong regional bases. They include the Irish Republican Army, the Basque separatists in Spain and southern France, Corsican nationalists, whose favorite weapon is the plastic explosive, and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia. The Armenians have found Western Europe a convenient arena for attacks against Turks. They seek not only a separate Armenia, but revenge on Turkey for alleged massacres of Armenians in the 1920s.

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Then there is a proliferation of various subgroups and splinter factions of terrorist organizations with roots in the Middle East. They include the Islamic Jihad, or Holy War, and the Abu Nidal group, whose leader is said to be alive and well in Syria, despite various claims of his death.

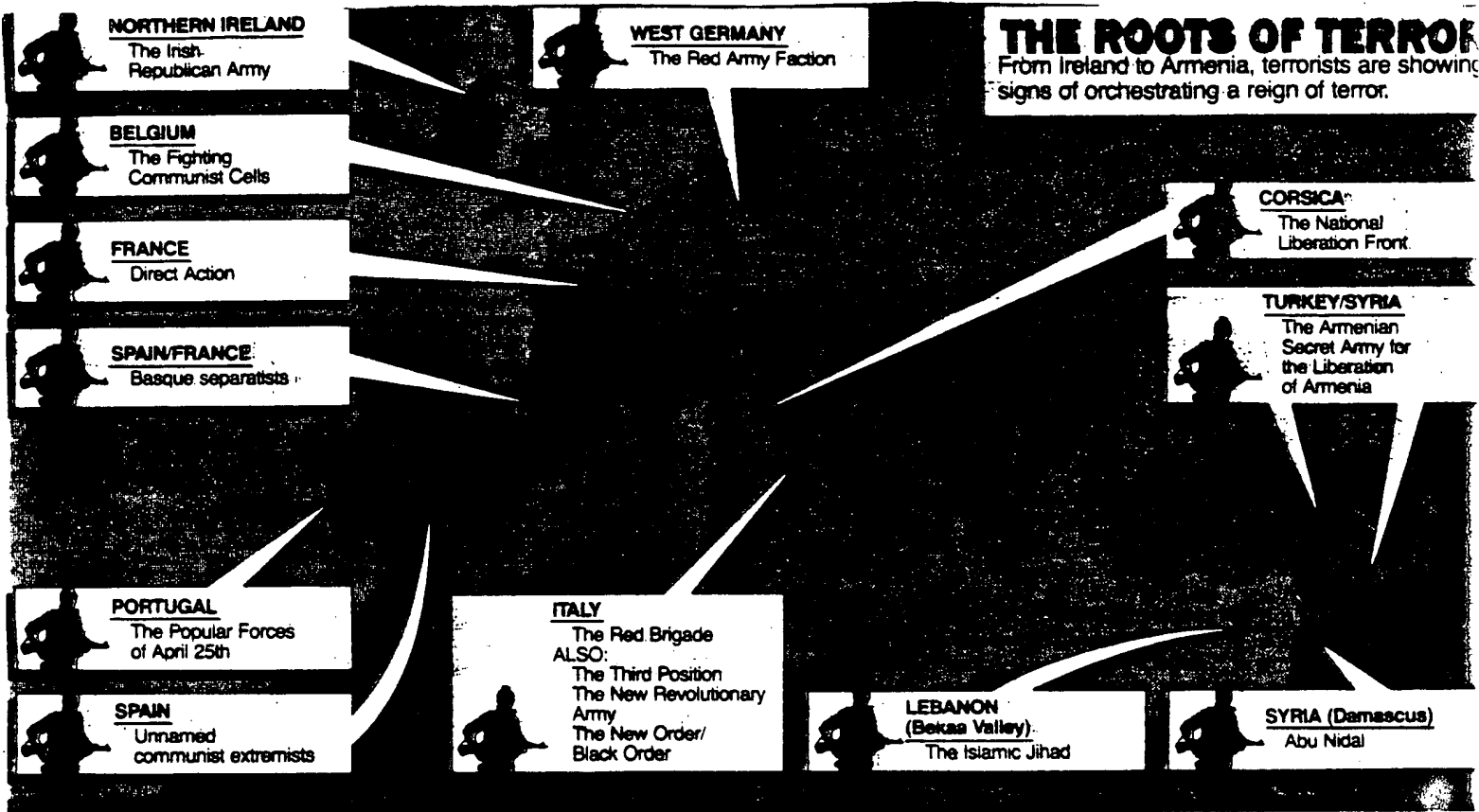
The Middle Eastern groups are easier to identify and observe, because they tend to use Arabs rather than Europeans as their hit men.

The terrorists who concern European capitals most belong to extreme communist groups. Their enemy is the capitalist state, which their publications describe as "the puppet of American imperialism." Their favorite slogan is "war against warmongers," meaning NATO.

The recent demonstrations of their professionalism and coordination have caused the mobilization of thousands of experts in Western European countries. The results are coming in. For example, during the past two weeks, it has been established that the West German Red Army Faction and the French Direct Action are cooperating with a shadowy Belgian group calling itself *Celles Communistes Combattantes*, or Communist Combat Cells.

The authorities are a long way from dismantling or neutralizing this new form of terror. To charges that the attention given the recent attacks tends to inflate their importance, officials reply that a maximum alert is needed before too much damage is done.

Tomorrow: Germany — the crucible of Euroterrorism.



Map by Lee Carlson/The Washington

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Germany called heart, soul of new Europe an anarchy

West Germany is the crucible of today's Euroterrorism. This is the second of four reports.

By Peter Almond
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

LONDON — More terrorist acts occur in Paris than anywhere else in Europe. IRA killers are probably the continent's most proficient. Italy may still produce Europe's largest number of terrorists.

But experts believe the heart and soul of Europe's new wave of terrorism is West Germany's Red Army Faction.

The timing, targets and evidence point to profound German involvement, although terrorists' anti-NATO ideology is considered broad enough to accommodate the anarchic communism of the other groups in what the press is calling "Terror Inc."

"One should not underestimate the separate power of the Red Brigades or Direct Action or any of the others, but the Red Army Faction is

probably the most determined, the most technically proficient, the most genuine in making efforts to coordinate actions with other groups," said Prof. Paul Wilkinson of Aberdeen University, an international expert on terrorism.

"The Germans have a major role, if only because of their relative size and extensive underlying support," he added.

The evidence of German origins in recent bombings and killings is considerable:

Item 1: The upsurge since December has coincided with a hunger strike by 35 Red Army Faction (RAF) terrorists who demanded "prisoner of war" treatment in German jails. With the assassination of Munich arms executive Ernst Zimmermann on Feb. 1, the eight-week-old hunger strike of RAF leaders Christian Klar and Brigitte Mohnhaupt ended almost immediately. So did a hunger strike by Regis Schleicher, jailed leader of the French terror group Direct Action.

Item 2: Among the targets for bomb attacks in West Germany last summer were the offices of three American companies: Litton, MAN and Honeywell, in that order. The first targets of the Belgian Celles Communistes Combatantes (Communist Combat Cells) last fall were: Litton, MAN and Honeywell, in that order.

Item 3: Shortly before French Army Gen. Rene Audran arrived home on Jan. 25, his daughter received a telephone call, reportedly from a woman speaking with a strong German accent, asking when he was expected to arrive. Gen. Audran was assassinated shortly afterwards.

Direct Action claimed responsibility and said it had joined forces with the RAF. Police remarked that the letter containing the claim, posted in Paris the day before the killing, was written in flawless German. The French translation was said to be "laborious." A telephone caller said the murder was the work of the "Direct Action Elizabeth van Dyke Commando," named after an RAF member shot by West German police in 1979.

Item 4: Police regard it as significant that a target of Portugal's Popular Forces of April 25 terror group was 18 cars belonging to West German personnel near the training base of Beja, southeast of Lisbon. The same Portuguese group fired three rocket-propelled grenades at six NATO ships in the Tagus River estuary near Lisbon.

NATO is the key to recent attacks in

Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Holland and Belgium. And it is in front-line Germany where anti-NATO sentiment is strongest, most extreme and where such terrorists are most feared.

Certainly, Direct Action founders Jean-Marc Rouillan and Nathalie Menignon did not hold much fear for French authorities in 1981 when President Francois Mitterrand released them from jail under a now much-regretted amnesty. After a spree of bank robberies to refinance Direct Action, the two are believed to have gone to Belgium to help found Communist Combat Cells and to have helped steal 816 kilograms of plastic explosives from a quarry near Brussels. Some of it later appeared as unexploded bombs in Paris and West Germany.

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estimated only about 20 members of the Red Army Faction were still at large, with perhaps 400 potential helpers.

These potential terrorists worry German authorities. Most are believed to be frustrated members of the Greens peace movement who failed to stop the deployment of cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles.

These sympathizers are believed to have been responsible for 70 bombings and cases of arson against German, U.S. and NATO targets in West Germany since December.

Mostly from middle-class families, these "revolutionaries" and their hard-core RAF leaders do not have the intellectual status of their predecessors in the Baader-Meinhof Gang of the late 1970s. That may change with the recent admission by West German Public Prosecutor

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Kurt Rebman that the Red Army Faction has been underestimated and "has succeeded in making good their losses 100 percent."

German terrorism, according to generally accepted accounts, was born of a youthful rejection of a materialistic West German society whose elders had wallowed in guilt over the nation's Nazi past, abandoned the nation to permanent front-line NATO status and tied Germany unashamedly to American culture and domination.

One German government official noted that Germany became a nation only under Bismarck in the 1870s, but never found secure boundaries or a society from which the concept of the state naturally flowed.

Germany historically looks East as much as West. Its eastern border, which is not officially recognized, cuts off millions of other Germans. Understandably, there is some extremist discontent under a NATO led by "American imperialists." The discontent is thought to manifest itself as much in right-wing as left-wing groups, but the latter are more violent and better organized.

Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, speaking during the cruise-missile deployment debate in the Bundestag in November 1983, echoed an oft-heard sentiment that Germany needs visionaries. Quoting German poet Heinrich Heine he said:

"The Russians and the French have the territory. The English have the sea, but the Germans have power in the empire of dreams."

There has been speculation — and comment from German and Belgian officials — that the Soviet KGB is responsible for the trans-European rise in terrorism. While the Soviets may be delighted by the attacks on NATO, there has been no persuasive new evidence linking the RAF, Direct Action, the CCC or any other terrorists to KGB direction. In the 1970s, however, Italian police were persuaded that the KGB played a part in terrorist action there.

The "vision" of German terrorists is believed to be inspiration enough for terrorists throughout Europe.

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French police give no quarter in battle against Direct Action

Coordination and professionalism are hallmarks of the new Euroterrorists. Here is the third of four reports.

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

PARIS — Robert Broussard does not mince words, rarely talks to reporters and believes in going straight for the target.

His present target is formidable and elusive: To destroy "by infiltration and any other expedient method" an organization the authorities believe is threatening French democracy.

The name of the organization is Direct Action. Since 1979 it has robbed banks, placed bombs in official buildings and distributed tracts

attacking the Western system, particularly "American imperialism on French soil."

Last Jan. 25, Direct Action — working with the West German Red Army Faction — "executed" Gen. Rene Audran, who supervised the French arms sales program in the Defense Ministry. Gen. Audran died of eight .45-caliber bullets fired into his head in the Paris suburb of La Celle St. Cloud.

Direct Action thus entered a new stage — and the French police apparatus was put on virtual war footing.

Mr. Broussard, 49, one of France's top policemen, was put in charge of coordinating the vast anti-terrorist effort. He previously served in Corsica and is credited with reducing the number of bomb attacks carried out by the underground Corsican National Liberation Front.

The two main state organizations involved in the struggle are UCLAT (French initials for the Unit for Coordination of the Fight Against Terrorism) and DGSE (General Directorate for External Security).

Because of the close links — only recently established — between French and West German terrorists,

both French state organizations cooperate closely with West Germany's Bundeskriminalamt (BKA — roughly translated, the Federal Crime Office). The BKA is a vast and powerful organization. It has

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3,000 experts on all forms of crime, sophisticated equipment and files on no fewer than 4 million existing and potential suspects.

Little is known about Mr. Broussard's mandate beyond the curt directive at the time of his appointment Feb. 6. But the French establishment has not been hiding its concern about the new aspect of urban terrorism that — according to some overly optimistic statements last summer — had previously been considered virtually eliminated.

To quote a recent statement by Gen. Jeannou Lacaze, French armed forces chief of staff, Direct Action and its members have "thrown down the gauntlet at the free world in order to destabilize and demoralize it."

"It is a new form of war," the general said.

Direct Action is not new to French security agents. The organization was born in September 1979 in a modest apartment on Rue Titon in the 11th arrondissement (ward) of Paris. Its first "action" was an attack on the Ministry of Labor, followed by a rash of bank robberies, which apparently provided money for the gang.

And in those days it was hardly more than a gang, led by a man identified as Jean-Marc Rouillan and a group of "activists" from various leftist groups that had been dismantled by the police or were in the process of disintegration.

The organization's aims were soon obvious on the basis of documents, tracts and testimony of its arrested members: "To attack the capitalist society wherever possible, to create a unified communist guerrilla movement in Western Europe."

Unfortunately for Mr. Broussard and his policemen, a number of Direct Action suspects and convicted members were released from custody during the 1981 presidential amnesty.

However, Mr. Broussard is not starting from scratch: The French say that 19 Direct Action members are in custody as

a result of recent arrests while seven identified members are fugitives — including Mr. Rouillan.

The band has hit many targets, mainly representing either what it considers to be "Western capitalism" or "militarism." Among its objectives were the armored car manufacturer Panhard & Levassor, the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, the Naval Research Construction Center and the European Space Agency.

Until the death of Gen. Audran, Direct Action claimed only the killing of two French policemen and one police informer. According to French police analysts, these were "reactions rather than actions."

As Commissioner Broussard starts his new assignment, the authorities are holding a number of notorious Direct Action members. They include Frederich Oriach, Regis Schleider, Christian Gauzens and a young woman identified as Frederique Germain and known as "Blond-blond."

All of them — and particularly "Blond-blond" — have talked. As a result, the French police have been able to establish a certain number of facts:

Direct Action has had links and contacts not only with the West German Red Army Faction but with the Italian Red Brigades, the Corsican separatists, the Irish Republican Army and the Spanish and Belgian communist extremist underground.

The interrogations further confirmed what the French describe as "dramatic radicalization" of the movement as well as its increased professionalism.

And here all information stops. There are hints that Direct Action is "helped from outside," but officials simply refuse to speculate about who is providing such help. They agree that "the political significance" of this help is considerable and that "foreign interests are involved."

"Their aim is geopolitical, and our aim is to destroy them," one official said. "Talking about it would be counterproductive."

Tomorrow: Italy's Red Brigade survives.

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WASHINGTON TIMES
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Red Brigades hurt by arrests, but still pose threat

In Italy, the authorities have learned something about terrorism, red or black. Here is the last of four articles on Euroterrorism.

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

ROME — "Hit the magistrates, the ruling political class, the press and the industrial barons! Then strike at that multinational criminal syndicate calling itself NATO!"

That excerpt from tons of printed, typed and mimeographed documents seized in recent years by the Italian police shows the general ori-

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entation of what is known here as "red terrorism."

To the outside world, it is personified by the Red Brigades. Attacked systematically by the police and the crack Gruppo Interventi Speciali (Special Intervention Group), "destroyed" time and time again in official communiques, the "Brigate Rosse" appears to have survived.

Some 1,100 of its members are in prison, an estimated 200 have fled abroad, mainly to France. The organization has lost much of its support among left-wing intellectuals following the 1978 kidnapping and murder of former Premier Aldo Moro. Nonetheless, it has remained a threat, a plague over Italy that the West European press has been calling the "birthplace of Euroterrorism."

According to West European

headline writers, the "spiritual father" of international terrorism is Mario Moretti, who escalated urban guerrilla warfare in 1979 with the purchase of two Soviet assault rifles from West German leftist gangsters.

It has been established that even after his arrest, Moretti masterminded from his prison cell the kidnapping of U.S. Gen. James Lee Dozier, deputy chief of staff of NATO ground forces, in December 1981.

Gen. Dozier was freed by the Italian "carabinieri" and special intervention units (aided by the Central Intelligence Agency) on Jan. 28, 1982 — after 42 days of trepidation, during which no one was sure whether he was dead or alive or how much he had revealed under torture.

By then, the Western intelligence services had reasonable proof that the Red Brigades worked closely with the Soviet KGB and that some of the organization's early leaders had been trained in camps set up in various Soviet bloc countries, mainly Czechoslovakia.

Apparently, Gen. Dozier said nothing, and NATO survived that "attack" by the Red Brigades.

Today, the guerrilla war continues, its intensity varying from day to day and month to month. But the danger is there, and Italian Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini had some personal satisfaction when the French admitted that, alas, they had not taken his warning about "exiled" terrorists seriously enough.

Today, the Red Brigades is far from the omnipresent underground organization of the late 1970s. It has lost some fringe groups such as the New Revolutionary Armies and Terza Posizione (Third Position), the main effect of which was to confuse

the authorities tracking down the nucleus.

"But it would be a folly to dismiss red terrorism as a broken force," a Western expert here said.

To anyone familiar with Italy, the stress on "red" terrorism is clear. In this country there is also "black terrorism," recruiting supporters and "hit squads" among frustrated neo-fascists without much following but enough weapons and explosives to disrupt Italy.

Thus, the bomb attack Dec. 23 on the crack Milan-Naples express (15 dead and 116 wounded) is generally blamed on "black terrorism." It could have been "Ordine Nuovo-Ordine Nero" (New Order-Black Order) or some of its splinter groups. None of these groups has mass support or even any hope of imposing its system on a country adequately "inoculated" against fascism.

But they do exist and strike, usually in indiscriminate but exceptionally bloody attacks — as distinguished from the precise ones carried out by the Red Brigades.

Through the confessions of accused Red Brigades members — and particularly those of "convert" members who have voluntarily surrendered to the police — the Italian police have learned a lot about the organization.

The existence of terrorism in Italy is generally explained as an "outburst" against that country's corrupt administration, its inefficiency and general political fatigue.

While "black terrorism" has remained isolated, "red terrorism" has joined a vast network generally thought to be connected with the Soviet strategy of undermining Western society. A number of

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prominent Italian officials have gone on record as saying that much.

The radicalism of the left wingers was thought to be a reaction against the Italian Communist Party's relative moderation and periodic claims of willingness to cooperate with the existing order.

Of particular interest to analysts of the "red terror" was the so-called "Document 142," spelling out the "international connection" of the Red Brigades.

The document identifies various national organizations cooperating with the Red Brigades by numbers.

For example, France's communist terrorists (as distinguished from the legal Communist Party) have the code number 394 and Switzerland is identified as 389, although so far no links between any Swiss organization and the Red Brigades have been established.

Like many other directives, Document 142 specifies that "we must attack everywhere in cooperation with foreign revolutionaries."

The massive Western pursuit of "red terrorism" continues. What is increasingly being referred to as "the war" is far from over. For many policemen and experts, it has merely begun — and no end is yet in sight.



Reuters/UPI

Former Red Brigades terrorists Mara Nanni, left, and Caterina Piunitti behind steel bars in a Rome courtroom last December. They were appealing the sentences they received earlier for the 1978 kidnapping and murder of former Italian Premier Aldo Moro and the killing of his police escort.