

A RAND NOTE

A REVIEW OF RECENT TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM AND NUCLEAR INCIDENTS ABROAD

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PREFACE

This Note was prepared as part of a continuing research effort sponsored by Sandia National Laboratories and designed to analyze the potential threat to U.S. nuclear and other strategic energy facilities from a variety of adversaries. Rand maintains chronologies of incidents of international terrorism and nuclear incidents abroad, monitoring them for possible signs of increasing threats to nuclear and other energy facilities in the United States. This Note analyzes incidents in these chronologies for the period 1980-1981. A companion document, N-1980-SL, *Actions Against Nonnuclear Energy Facilities: September 1981-September 1982*, by Gail Bass, with the assistance of Bonnie Jean Cordes, April 1983, reports on attacks and crimes against nonnuclear energy facilities in the United States and abroad between September 1981 and September 1982.

SUMMARY

This Note reviews trends in international terrorism and nuclear incidents abroad during the period 1980-1981. From the perspective of protecting U.S. nuclear and energy facilities from hostile attack, information on both of these aspects of terrorism is useful. Incidents of international terrorism, particularly those that require high levels of skill and organization, demonstrate the types of capabilities and weapons that adversaries might bring to bear against nuclear or other energy facilities. Overall trends in global terrorism may also lead to the creation of a climate that is conducive to nuclear and energy-related crime. More specifically, the record of nuclear-related incidents overseas provides valuable information about the possible motivations, capabilities, actions, and targets of potential adversaries of nuclear facilities in the United States. A companion document, Rand Note N-1980-SL, *Actions Against Nonnuclear Energy Facilities: September 1981-September 1982*, by Gail Bass, with the assistance of Bonnie Jean Cordes, April 1983, reports on attacks and crimes against nonnuclear energy facilities in the United States and abroad between September 1981 and September 1982.

Between 1980 and 1981, incidents of international terrorism increased dramatically. There were 250 such incidents in 1980 and 326 in 1981, a nearly 100 percent increase over the previous two-year period. The in the number of incidents with fatalities and the number with multiple fatalities also increased.

Six basic tactics accounted for 95 percent of the total incidents: bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, barricade and hostage situations, and hijackings. Diplomatic facilities continued to be a popular target for terrorist seizures. Diplomats are the most common target in incidents of international terrorism, and this trend is increasing. In 1980, terrorists directed 38 percent of their attacks against diplomats and diplomatic facilities. In 1981, diplomats were the targets in 29 percent of all incidents. The total for the two years represents a 60 percent increase in attacks on diplomatic facilities over the total of the previous two years.

In 1980 and 1981, numerous incidents were also directed against nuclear facilities abroad by political terrorists, antinuclear extremists, and foreign governments. The Basque separatist group ETA continued its violent campaign against the nuclear reactors at Lemoniz, murdering two plant officials in separate incidents and succeeding, at least temporarily, in halting work on the plant.

France was another center of violent antinuclear activity. In addition to a number of bombings of nuclear-related facilities, the first recorded instance of a high-level standoff attack against a nuclear facility occurred in France, when five antitank rockets were fired at the breeder reactor under construction at Creys-Malville. The attack, which was claimed by the "Pacifist and Ecologist Committee," caused little damage.

Attacks on individuals involved in nuclear programs became more common, as did violent actions aimed at halting nuclear proliferation. Several incidents were directed against the Iraqi nuclear program and foreign businesses participating in it. Iraq's Osirak reactor was destroyed by Israel in a surprise bombing raid in June 1981.

The Note includes chronologies of selected international terrorist incidents and nuclear incidents abroad during 1980-1981.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This Note reviews trends in international terrorism and nuclear incidents abroad during the period 1980-1981. From the perspective of protecting U.S. nuclear and energy facilities from hostile attack, information on both of these aspects of terrorism is useful. Incidents of international terrorism, particularly those that require high levels of skill and organization, demonstrate the types of capabilities and weapons that adversaries might bring to bear against nuclear or other energy facilities. Also, overall trends in global terrorism may lead to the creation of a climate that is conducive to nuclear and energy-related crime. More specifically, the record of nuclear-related incidents overseas provides valuable information about the possible motivations, capabilities, actions, and targets of potential adversaries of nuclear facilities in the United States.

Section II analyzes incidents of international terrorism. Section III examines nuclear incidents abroad. Appendixes A and B provide, respectively, chronologies of significant international terrorist incidents and nuclear-related incidents abroad during 1980-1981.

II. RECENT TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Often overshadowed by events of grander scale--the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the war between Iran and Iraq, the declaration of martial law in Poland--terrorists have continued to wage a hundred little wars on the boulevards and back streets from Beirut to Bogota.

As part of its continuing research on terrorism, The Rand Corporation maintains a chronology of incidents of international terrorism that have occurred since 1968. This chronology now contains over 2,000 incidents and is a valuable research tool supporting Rand's research on behalf of its various clients. The following discussion reviews recent trends discernible from incidents that occurred in 1980 and 1981.

Terrorism is best defined by the quality of the acts, not by the identity of the perpetrators or the nature of their cause. All terrorist acts are crimes. Many would also be violations of the rules of war if a state of war existed. All involve violence or the threat of violence, usually directed against civilian targets. The motives of most terrorists are political, and terrorist actions are generally carried out in a way that will achieve maximum publicity. The perpetrators are usually members of an organized group, and unlike other criminals, they often claim credit for their acts. Finally, a terrorist act is intended to produce effects beyond the immediate physical damage it causes.

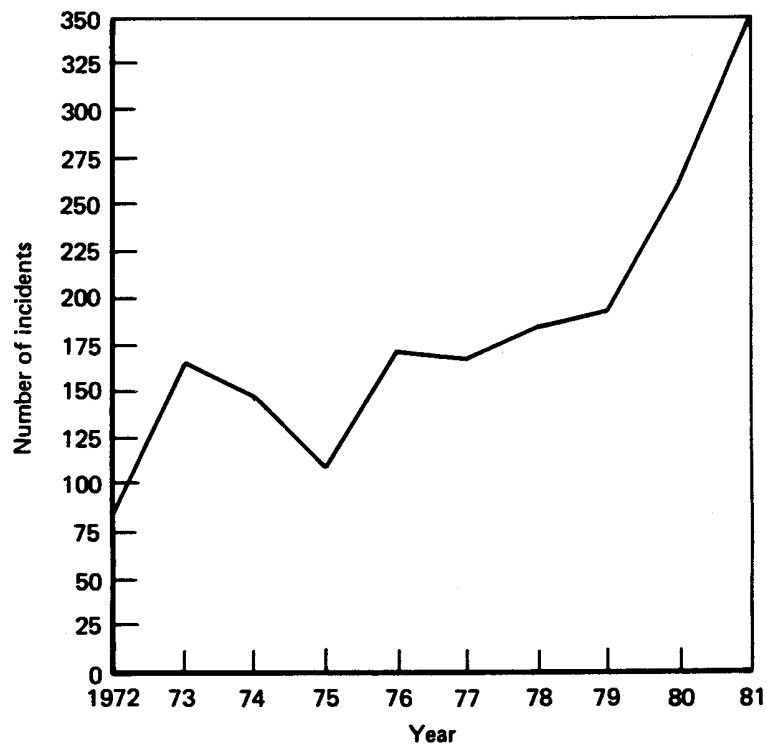
This definition of terrorism does not limit the application of the term to actions by nongovernmental groups. Government terror tends to be primarily internal, however, and most incidents of international terrorism are carried out by nongovernmental groups, although they may have direct or indirect state support.

International terrorism comprises those incidents that have clear international consequences: incidents in which terrorists go abroad to strike their targets, select victims or targets because of their connections to a foreign state (diplomats, executives of foreign corporations), attack airliners on international flights, or force airliners to fly to another country.

THE LEVEL AND DISTRIBUTION OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE

Many of the trends noted in the 1970s continued during the first two years of the 1980s. The use of terrorist violence has increased significantly during the last 14 years. The number of recorded incidents of terrorism oscillates from year to year, but the overall trajectory is clearly upward.

In 1980 and 1981, the number of recorded incidents of terrorism increased dramatically. There were 250 such incidents in 1980 and 326 in 1981. This represents a nearly 100 percent increase over the previous two-year period (Fig. 1).



Source: The Rand Corporation's *International Terrorism Chronology*

Fig. 1 – Trends in terrorist incidents

The increase is not merely a reflection of better reporting. It appears to be genuine. Although the numbers of incidents reported in chronologies of terrorism kept by government agencies and research organizations in the United States and abroad vary because of differences in criteria for inclusion, the upward trend is consistently apparent. Moreover, if the increase were due entirely to better reporting, one would expect to see a greater proportion of minor incidents identified through more efficient monitoring of the news media, the primary source of information about terrorist incidents.

The number of incidents with fatalities, an appropriate measure of seriousness, increased in actual number during the 1970s and continued to increase in 1980 and 1981. The percentage of incidents with fatalities ranged between 10 and 33 percent during the 1970s, with 23 percent being the average. Twenty percent of the incidents in 1980 and 1981 included fatalities, 24 percent in 1980, and 18 percent in 1981. Given the relatively stable proportion of incidents with fatalities, we can confidently conclude that the increase in recorded incidents at least roughly reflects a real increase in terrorist activity.

Terrorist incidents that resulted in multiple fatalities have also increased. There were 24 incidents with multiple fatalities in 1980 and 25 in 1981, but the number of fatalities increased sharply, from 159 in 1980 to 295 in 1981. A series of bloody bombings in Beirut caused most of the fatalities.

The phenomenon of terrorism spread throughout the world in the 1970s. Incidents of international terrorism occurred in 40 countries in 1980 and in 50 countries in 1981. Western Europe had the highest percentage of incidents, with 37 percent of the total in 1980, 43 percent in 1981. Latin America followed Western Europe, with 25 percent of the incidents in 1980 and 22 percent in 1981. The Middle East and North Africa were the sites of 17 percent of the incidents recorded in both 1980 and 1981. North America (actually, the United States alone) accounted for 16 percent of the incidents in 1980 and 11 percent in 1981. Only about 5 percent of the incidents occurred in Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the Pacific together.

The distribution is more unequal than these percentages imply. Ten countries accounted for 70 percent of the incidents in 1980 and 69 percent of the incidents in 1981. The top ten tend to remain the same, with the United States, France, Lebanon, Italy, and Germany, respectively, heading the list. Obviously, the number of international terrorist incidents in a country is not always an accurate indicator of the overall level of violence. For example, numerous incidents of international terrorism occur in the United States. For the most part, these attacks are carried out by emigre groups--Croatians, Armenians, anti-Castro Cubans--and are directed against foreign diplomats. Half of these attacks occur in New York, where the large diplomatic community assigned to the United Nations offers a smorgasbord of targets for diverse groups and causes. Most of these attacks are symbolic--small bombs planted in front of consulates--and few involve casualties. Thus, the position of the United States at the head of the list of countries in which the most incidents have occurred does not reflect a serious domestic terrorism problem.

On the other hand, the number of international terrorist incidents in El Salvador declined slightly in 1981. There were 19 incidents in 1980 and only 14 in 1981. This decline reflects a recurring pattern in Latin America. Groups publicize their existence and fill their war chest through a series of attacks on foreign diplomats and kidnappings of executives of foreign firms. They then switch to more traditional modes of guerrilla warfare in the countryside, directed against local authorities. Violence against foreigners declines as the volume of violence increases.

In the case of Lebanon, the great number of incidents of international terrorism reflects the anarchic political situation in that country.

THE TACTICS OF TERRORISM

Terrorists operate with a very limited tactical repertoire that has changed little over time. They appear to be more imitative than innovative. Six basic tactics account for 95 percent of the total incidents: bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings,

barricade and hostage situations, and hijackings. Bombings alone comprise approximately half of all terrorist incidents. In 1980, 42 percent of the total number of incidents were bombings; in 1981, bombings comprised 51 percent of the total. Incidents involving hostages--kidnappings, hijackings, barricade-and-hostage situations--declined somewhat, from 23 percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1981.

Seizing embassies became a common form of protest and coercion in the 1970s. Terrorists took over 36 embassies and consulates during the decade and attempted unsuccessfully to storm embassies on five occasions. This does not include the numerous times embassies were sacked by mobs or unarmed protesters occupied diplomatic facilities without taking hostages.

Embassy seizures appeared to proliferate in 1979, when 14 takeovers occurred. Of paramount concern to the U.S. government was the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran by armed militants on November 4, 1979. The episode was not resolved until January 20, 1981, when, after 14 months of frustrating negotiations with the Iranian government and an abortive rescue attempt by U.S. military forces, the 52 American hostages were finally released.

Governments increasingly responded with force to embassy seizures. When a group of 33 armed protesters seized the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City on January 31, 1980, Guatemalan police assaulted the building, despite the Spanish ambassador's pleas that force not be used. During the fighting, one of the protesters threw a Molotov cocktail, and within minutes the entire building was in flames. Thirty-nine persons died in the fire, including all but one of the 33 hostage-takers and all but one of the eight hostages, the Spanish ambassador. (The surviving protester was later kidnapped from his hospital room and killed, presumably by right-wing gunmen.) Outraged at the assault, Spain broke diplomatic relations with Guatemala. Guatemalan officials privately boasted that the prompt use of force in one church seizure and the embassy takeover discouraged the tactic from being repeated, as it was in El Salvador.

British commandos had better luck. On April 30, 1980, five Iranian Arab terrorists seized 26 hostages at the Iranian embassy in London. British commandos were ordered to assault the embassy on the sixth day

of the siege; all but one of the terrorists were killed in the assault, and the remaining hostages were freed.

On June 4, 1980, Iraqi forces stormed the British embassy in Baghdad, killing three terrorists who had shot their way into the building but had failed to seize any hostages.

French police stormed the Iranian embassy in Paris on July 4, 1980, and arrested a group of militant protesters who had occupied the embassy.

There were several more takeovers of diplomatic facilities in 1980. On August 16, leftist gunmen seized the offices of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. On September 17, leftist gunmen seized the OAS offices in San Salvador. And on December 11, 14 armed Cubans assaulted the Vatican mission in Havana, taking five hostages and demanding safe passage out of the country. Cuban security forces stormed the building, capturing the group.

Five takeovers occurred in 1981. On February 13, 30 Cubans armed with pistols, machine guns, and hand grenades seized the Ecuadoran embassy in Havana, taking the ambassador and three other persons hostage. The terrorists demanded safe passage out of the country. Cuba refused to yield to their demands, and on the eighth day of the siege the group surrendered to authorities, without bloodshed. On August 2, a single individual, who said he was an IRA sympathizer and claimed he had a bomb strapped to his wrist, took over the British consulate in New York. Police determined that the device was a harmless piece of steel attached to an alarm clock and arrested the man. On August 24, 30 Iranian militants seized control of the Iranian embassy in Stockholm and held the ambassador and his wife hostage until riot police, using dogs, stormed the building. The incident resulted in extensive damage but no injuries. On September 24, four armed members of the Armenian Secret Army shot their way into the Turkish consular offices in Paris, taking 51 persons hostage. They demanded that the Turkish government release all Armenian political prisoners and fly them to Paris. Turkey refused to discuss the demand. After 15 hours, the terrorists surrendered to authorities, claiming that they had achieved their objective of obtaining publicity.

The decline in embassy takeovers from the high point of 1979 could simply reflect the decline in urban terrorism in El Salvador and the restoration of a degree of order in Iran. Embassy takeovers in these two countries had accounted for the sharp increase. Some credit may also be due to increasing willingness on the part of governments to respond with force.

In several cases, terrorists achieved at least some of their demands. M-19 guerrillas who seized the Dominican embassy in Bogota on February 27, 1980, demanded a ransom of \$50 million, the release of 300 prisoners held in Colombia, and safe passage out of the country. After 61 days, the terrorists released their hostages in return for safe passage to Cuba, \$2.5 million, and a promise by the Colombian government to form a commission of 10 prominent lawyers to speed the processing of military trials for the imprisoned guerrillas. This case was exceptional, however, in that the terrorists seized the embassy during a diplomatic reception and held 80 hostages, including diplomats from 18 countries, thus putting enormous pressure on the Colombian government to yield. Even so, the government held to a hard line with regard to the release of any prisoners.

THE TARGETS OF TERRORISM

Consistent with the definition given earlier in this Note, more than 90 percent of all terrorist attacks were directed against civilian targets, individuals who in any other mode of conflict would be regarded as noncombatants. Generally, only about 6 percent of the incidents recorded in the Rand chronology were directed against military or police officials. In 1981, the proportion of attacks on military targets increased to 8 percent, owing largely to increased terrorist attacks on American military personnel in Germany.

Diplomats are the most common target in incidents of international terrorism, and increasingly so. In 1980, terrorists directed 38 percent of their attacks against diplomats and diplomatic facilities. In 1981, diplomats were the targets in 29 percent of all incidents. The total for the two years represents a 60 percent increase in attacks on diplomatic targets over the total of the previous two years. Terrorist

attacks against the diplomatic community also spread geographically. Such attacks occurred in 15 countries in 1968-1969; in 1980-1981, they occurred in 35 countries.

Increased terrorist attacks directed against the diplomatic community are strongly connected with wars between nations and with civil wars within nations. Iranian and Iraqi diplomats have frequently been targeted by terrorists since the outbreak of war between the two countries. Growing conflict in Central America has resulted in an increasing number of attacks on diplomats from Central American countries, as well as on diplomats of other nations assigned to the region. Terrorists have defined diplomats as "legitimate" targets.

Religious figures and institutions have also become increasingly popular terrorist targets. Leftist gunmen have occupied churches in El Salvador and Guatemala. In 1979, the archbishop of El Salvador was assassinated; the assassin is suspected to have been a right-wing gunman. Nuns have been kidnapped and murdered in Argentina and El Salvador, priests and missionaries murdered in Guatemala. Moslem extremists seized the Moslem shrine at Mecca. Palestinians attacked synagogues in Paris and Vienna. Unidentified gunmen fired on the head of the Greek Catholic Church for the Middle East and the Western Hemisphere in Beirut on February 19, 1981. And on May 13, 1981, a right-wing Turkish extremist attempted to assassinate the Pope.

Businessmen are also frequent targets of terrorists, who see them as symbols of economic systems they oppose or of foreign domination. Terrorists kidnap executives or threaten corporations to finance further terrorist operations. In the past ten years, such actions have produced between \$125 million and \$250 million in ransom payments.

Terrorist attacks are concentrated in a handful of countries, and they are also targeted against a handful of countries. As indicated earlier, the United States tops the list. Nearly one-quarter of all of the incidents recorded in 1980 and 1981 were directed against U.S. citizens or facilities. Terrorist attacks on Americans increased sharply in 1981 over 1980 as more attacks were directed against American officials in Central America and American military officials in Europe.

Israel ranks second on the list of most frequently targeted nations, followed by the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Turkey, Iran, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Nicaragua. Together, these ten nations account for two-thirds of all terrorist targets.

NUCLEAR-RELATED TERRORIST ACTIVITY

A number of terrorist attacks have been directed against personnel and facilities involved in supporting Pakistan's and Iraq's nuclear development programs. The campaign against Iraq's nuclear program opened in 1979 with a successful sabotage operation in France. On the night of April 6, saboteurs entered a warehouse near Toulon where key components of the reactor were stored prior to shipment to Iraq, and set off five explosions which destroyed the core. Credit for the action was claimed by a group calling itself a "French ecologist group," but the news media speculated that Israeli agents were involved, or even that France had staged the attack itself to avoid delivering a reactor to Iraq that potentially could be used to produce material for nuclear weapons. The action reportedly set delivery back by 18 months. On June 14, 1980, an Egyptian nuclear scientist working in France on the Iraqi project was murdered. A French woman, the only witness to the killing, was struck by a car and killed a month later. On August 8, terrorists bombed the home of a bookseller in France. The Committee to Safeguard the Islamic Revolution claimed credit for the attack, which was apparently in error. The bookseller had the same name as a researcher who had participated in the Iraqi reactor project. The committee claimed that the bombing was a protest, saying that the victim "received the Legion of Honor by making atomic weapons, and we have given him what he deserves for his work against our revolution. We are concerned about all collaborators in the renegade regime of Iraq."

During the same period, several French scientists participating in the construction of reactors for export received telephone threats. One manager was told, "If you continue to make atomic weapons, that will lead to trouble for you and your qualified personnel." The Committee to Safeguard the Islamic Revolution also claimed credit for a bombing in Italy on August 8, 1980. The target there was SNIA-Techint, a company that had furnished Iraq with nuclear technology.

In February 1981, Cora Engineering, a Swiss firm that had supplied Pakistan with parts for an enrichment facility, reported that the home of one of its executives had been bombed. The firm received further telephone threats in March. In May 1981, terrorists bombed a West German company that had sold nuclear equipment to Pakistan. A caller claimed that the attack was carried out by a group trying to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to South Asia. He further warned that the director of the firm would be killed if the company continued to export nuclear technology to Pakistan.

In June 1981, Israeli jets bombed Iraq's nuclear facility, completely destroying its reactor. The Israeli government claimed that the Iraqi reactor could have been used to produce nuclear weapons.

These attacks may presage a new domain of covert or low-level warfare aimed at preventing specific nations from acquiring a nuclear weapon capability. In the future, we may also see operations undertaken to secretly acquire nuclear material--operations similar to the 1968 hijacking of a cargo ship in the Mediterranean that was carrying uranium ore, reportedly carried out by Israeli commandos.

Terrorist attacks against American military officials in Germany and Italy have been motivated, at least in part, by growing antinuclear sentiments in Europe. The terrorists apparently hope to exploit opposition to the neutron bomb and the projected deployment of new theater nuclear weapons. In view of the local, sometimes violent opposition to nuclear power facilities in Spain, France, and Germany, civilian nuclear energy facilities as well as nuclear weapons facilities may be potential targets of international terrorists.

In all this there is a broader trend. Terrorists have steadily expanded their range of targets, and those targets do not necessarily have any connection to the terrorists' objectives. In 1980 and 1981, terrorists attacked business firms and corporate executives, journalists, factories, diplomats and embassies, pipelines, refineries and reactors, airlines and ships, mailboxes and medical buildings, tourist offices and tourists, exiles and expatriates, churches, synagogues, temples, prelates and priests, nuns and the Pope, hotels and telephone booths, movie theaters and restaurants, school children and

small infants. The man who attempted to assassinate President Reagan in 1981 is not properly considered a terrorist, but it is only degrees of madness that separate the gunman who kills a missionary because he expresses sympathy with the cause of the peasants, who kills an ambassador because of the policy pursued by his government, who shoots a diplomat because of a massacre that occurred decades before his birth, who kills a politician because the leader of his government is attempting to mediate a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict, who shoots the Pope, allegedly in order to strike at Soviet and U.S. imperialism, from the man who shoots a president to impress a movie actress.

THE TERRORISTS

International terrorism is the label for worldwide conflict waged by numerous groups on behalf of numerous causes. Although they have been under considerable pressure from authorities, many of the terrorist groups that appeared in Europe and the Middle East in the late 1960s and early 1970s have survived: the IRA, the Basque ETA, the Red Army Faction, the Red Brigades, the various Palestinian groups. And new groups have also appeared.

Armenian Terrorists

Among the most active groups in 1980 and 1981 were the Armenians, principally the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG). Between 1975 and the end of 1981, Armenian terrorists assassinated 17 Turkish diplomats or members of their families in revenge for the systematic massacre of more than 1 million Armenians by Turkish authorities in 1915. The terrorists have demanded that Turkey officially admit its guilt for the massacre and make reparations to the survivors. Ultimately, the terrorists hope to reestablish an independent Armenia. During 1980 and 1981, Armenian terrorists carried out 73 attacks in 15 countries, most of them directed against Turkish diplomats or diplomatic facilities. On February 6, 1980, members of the JCAG shot and wounded the Turkish ambassador to Switzerland. On April 17, the same group shot and wounded the Turkish ambassador to the

Vatican. On July 31, ASALA shot and killed a Turkish diplomat and his daughter in Greece. The same group shot and wounded a Turkish diplomat in Paris on September 26. On December 17, the JCAG assassinated the Turkish consul general in Sydney. Armenian terrorists assassinated a Turkish diplomat in Paris on February 5, 1981, wounded a Turkish diplomat in Copenhagen on April 2, killed a Turkish diplomat in Geneva on June 9, and seized the Turkish consular offices in Paris on September 24.

Swiss authorities arrested two Armenian terrorists in October 1980 and another in June 1981. This provoked a series of bombings directed against Swiss targets worldwide. When French authorities refused to release the Armenians arrested after the siege of the Turkish consular offices in September 1981, the Armenian terrorists increased their attacks on French targets.

Armenian terrorist activity provoked some backlash in 1981. Several Armenian businesses and churches were bombed in the United States and France. A group calling itself the Turkish Islamic Revolutionary Army claimed credit for some of the attacks.

Palestinian Terrorists

Palestinian terrorists continued their attacks against Israel and Israeli targets abroad, although tight security in Israel frustrated most of the major attacks there. Small bombings and grenade attacks, often deadly, comprised most of the terrorist activity inside Israel and the occupied territories. During 1980 and 1981, 16 persons died and 136 were wounded in 19 bombings, grenade attacks, and ambushes. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) claimed credit for several of the operations.

Israeli forces thwarted a number of attempts by Palestinian guerrillas to cross the Israeli frontier from Lebanon. However, on April 7, 1980, Palestinian guerrillas slipped across the border into a kibbutz near the frontier, where they seized nine infants in a children's dormitory. Using the children as hostages, they sought the release of Palestinians imprisoned in Israel. Israeli troops stormed the building, killing the five Palestinians. One child died, and four were wounded. The attack coincided with the departure of Egyptian President Sadat for talks in Washington on Palestinian self-rule.

Outside Israel, Palestinians attacked Israeli and Jewish targets in Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland. It appears that the tight security that surrounds Israeli embassies, officials abroad, and El Al airliners has diverted the Palestinian attacks to El Al offices, synagogues, and local Jews. Authorities foiled a plot to blow up an El Al airliner departing from Switzerland and prevented a terrorist attack on passengers aboard an El Al flight to Brussels from Tel Aviv. Terrorists attacked synagogues in Paris on October 3, 1980, in Vienna on April 29, 1981, and in Antwerp on October 20, 1981. Ten people died and 137 were injured in the three attacks. At first, the Paris bombing was attributed to right-wing extremists, but subsequent investigation pointed to the Palestinians.

Not all Palestinian actions were directed against Israel or Jews. A bomb blast at a hotel in Kenya killed 15 persons and injured 85. Authorities attributed the attack to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which sought revenge for Kenya's assistance to Israel when Israeli commandos rescued hostages held by Palestinian and German hijackers at Entebbe Airport in 1976.

Al-Assifa, a Syrian-backed faction of Al Fatah that opposes any moderation in the Palestinian attitude toward Israel, assassinated an Austrian official who had been instrumental in arranging a secret meeting between Israel and the PLO. The PLO representative in Brussels was then assassinated on June 1, 1980. The PLO accused Israel of the attack, but the representative was also unpopular with extreme Palestinian elements because he favored compromise. Al-Assifa did claim credit for the assassination of another moderate PLO leader in Rome on October 6, and it threatened to kill Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, a friend of Yasir Arafat and a key figure in mediations between Israel and the PLO. Authorities attributed bombing and rocket attacks on French and Saudi Arabian targets in Beirut to Al-Assifa. The same group was also suspected of being responsible for the attempted assassination of Abu Daoud in Poland on August 1, 1981. Daoud was a key Al Fatah leader and the organizer of the 1972 attack at the Munich Olympics. Other sources, however, attributed the attack to other anti-Arafat elements still within Al Fatah.

On September 4, 1981, the French ambassador was killed in Beirut. France had incurred the wrath of the Palestinian hardliners as a result of President Mitterand's friendly attitude toward Israel and his continued friendship with Arafat. A Saudi Arabian diplomat in Beirut was wounded on November 7, 1981, in a kidnapping attempt similar to that on the French ambassador. Again, Al-Assifa was suspected.

On November 17, 1981, the PLO itself claimed responsibility for the assassination of a West Bank Arab mayor who had indicated a willingness to cooperate with Israeli plans for limited self-rule.

Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners

A mysterious new group appeared in 1980 to claim credit for a series of bloody bombings in Lebanon. The group called itself the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners. On August 28, 1980, it claimed credit for its first major action, the attempted assassination of the American ambassador in Beirut. But its principal targets were Palestinians and Syrians. On September 17, 1981, a huge bomb, estimated to weigh 300 kilograms, blew up outside a Palestinian guerrilla command center in Sidon. Twenty-nine persons were killed, and 108 others, mainly women and children who lived in nearby apartments, were wounded. On the same day, a second bomb exploded in Chekka at a cement factory owned by a pro-Palestinian former president of Lebanon. The explosion killed four persons and wounded eight. A third bomb was set off in a Beirut suburb on September 18, killing two persons and wounding two. Authorities speculated that the bomb may have blown up prematurely en route to another location. A fourth bomb exploded at a movie theater frequented by off-duty Syrian soldiers. That explosion killed four persons and wounded 36. A fifth bomb exploded on September 29 near a military checkpoint in South Lebanon, killing 15 persons and injuring at least 40 others. The Front did not claim responsibility for the fifth bombing.

On October 1, the Front claimed credit for a bombing in the Palestinian quarter of Beirut, near the PLO headquarters, which killed 83 persons and injured another 300. Police also found two booby-trapped cars in the area and defused the charges. A caller warned that the

attacks would continue and that operations would not be confined to Lebanon. The PLO asserted that the Front was fictitious, an invention of Israel. An anonymous caller, claiming to represent the Front, stated that the group was headquartered in West Germany and was not connected with any of the many Lebanese factions.

Shiite Extremists

The disappearance of the spiritual leader of Lebanon's 800,000 Shiite Moslems provoked a series of hijackings and other attacks in the Middle East. Middle East Airline planes were hijacked by Shiite extremists on January 18 and January 23, 1980. Police thwarted the hijacking of an Air France plane on January 31. A bomb was found aboard a Middle East Airlines plane that landed in Tripoli on August 14, 1981, and a Libyan Airlines jet was hijacked in Switzerland on December 7. The hijackers surrendered to Lebanese authorities in Beirut three days later. Many Shiites believe that their leader was kidnapped by the Libyans in 1978 and may still be alive. Colonel Qaddafi claims that the Imam completed his visit to Libya and left the country.

Iranian Extremists and Mercenaries

Iran's internal turmoil spilled over into the international arena in a series of attacks on Iranian expatriates. On July 18, 1980, in Paris, several armed men attempted to assassinate former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar, an opponent of the Ayatollah Khomeini. The gunmen were Palestinians believed to have been commissioned by the Iranian government. Another former Iranian official was assassinated in Washington on July 23 by Black Muslims in the employ of Iranian agents, and on July 31, an anti-Khomeini activist was shot in Los Angeles.

Anti-Khomeini elements briefly took over the Iranian embassy in Paris on July 4, 1980; tried to burn down the Iranian consulate in Baku on July 5; bombed a meeting of a pro-Khomeini group in Berkeley, California, on August 20; tried to bomb another meeting in San Jose, California, on October 4; seized the Iranian Interests section of the Algerian embassy in Washington on August 7, 1981; bombed the House of Iran in Paris on August 22; seized Iran's embassy in Stockholm on August 24; shot up and ransacked the Iranian consulate in Istanbul on October

6; and attacked the Iranian consulate in Paris on November 23. There were also bombings of the Iranian embassies in Kuwait and Lebanon for which no group claimed credit.

Irish Republican Army

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Irish National Liberation Army carried out a series of terrorist attacks against British targets in England and Western Europe. On February 16, 1980, the IRA claimed credit for the assassination of a British colonel in Germany and the wounding of two other British soldiers. On December 3, it claimed responsibility for an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Britain's senior commissioner to the European Community in Brussels.

A bomb heavily damaged the British consulate in Salonica, Greece, on May 28, 1981. Credit was claimed by the Greek Armed Group for Support to the Northern Irish Struggle. On November 2, divers in France defused a bomb aboard a British Royal Navy vessel. Credit was claimed by the Bobby Sands Group (named for one of the IRA prisoners in a British jail who died as a result of a hunger strike). The Irish National Liberation Army claimed credit for the bombing of the British consulate in Hamburg, Germany, on November 25, 1981.

Red Army Faction and Red Brigades

Left-wing terrorists reemerged in Germany in 1981, after several years of inactivity. In an effort to exploit growing antinuclear, antimilitary, and anti-American sentiments, the Red Army Faction (RAF) carried out a series of bombings at U.S. military facilities. The most serious incident occurred on August 31, 1981, when a bomb exploded at U.S. Air Force Headquarters in Ramstein, Germany, wounding 20 people. On September 15, the RAF fired antitank rocket grenades at the car of the U.S. Army Commander in Europe.

Citing the German attacks in their communique, Italy's Red Brigades kidnapped an American brigadier general in Verona. Although an extremely active group in Italy, the Red Brigades had not attacked foreign targets prior to this incident. The kidnapping was thus a departure from their normal *modus operandi*. The general was rescued by Italian commandos after 42 days in captivity.

Croatian Terrorists

Croatian nationalists continued their long campaign against Yugoslav diplomatic targets in Europe and the United States. On March 17, 1980, the Croatian Freedom Fighters bombed a Yugoslav bank office in New York. An anonymous caller warned that further bombs would be set off unless major television networks broadcast the contents of a letter left in a bus terminal locker. The networks summarized the letter in their news broadcasts. The letter stated that "there will be coordinated actions by Croats at home and in emigration until Yugoslavia is destroyed and a free and independent Croatian State is established." The same group claimed credit for two bombings in California on May 26, 1980, and at the home of the Yugoslav charge d'affaires in Washington on June 4. Police also attributed a powerful bomb set off at the Statue of Liberty in New York and another bombing at a New York courthouse to the Croatsians, although several groups claimed credit for the actions.

The Commando of Croatian Revolutionaries in Europe claimed credit for the February 22, 1981, bombing of Radio Free Europe in Germany. The Croatian Revolutionary Cell, Zvonko Busic Department claimed credit for the bombing of a publishing house near Stuttgart. After a Croatian was murdered in Munich on October 1981, two bombs were detonated in Yugoslav restaurants. Another Croatian activist was murdered in Paris a week later. Several Croatian activists have been killed in France by Yugoslav agents, according to the Croatsians.

Taiwanese Separatists

Taiwanese separatists carried out a series of bombings in 1980. On January 14, police defused a bomb found in the mailbox of the Taiwanese consulate in New York. On January 22, a bomb exploded on a baggage conveyer at the China Airlines facility at Los Angeles International Airport. A representative of the Taiwan-based airline said that the Taiwanese consulate had received threats from a group calling itself the Taiwan Independence Movement. Private residences were bombed on February 16 and 17; then on July 30, a Nationalist Chinese visitor was killed by a bomb at a private home in Southern California. No further attacks were reported in 1981.

Puerto Rican Separatists

Puerto Rican separatists continued their long terrorist campaign on the U.S. mainland. On March 16, 1980, armed members of the *Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional* (FALN) invaded the campaign offices of President Carter in Chicago and George Bush in New York, tied up campaign workers, and sprayed slogans on the walls. The FALN had already made threats against delegates to the Democratic National Convention in New York. The arrest of 11 FALN members in Illinois cracked that organization, but on December 21, 1980, the previously unheard-of Puerto Rican Armed Resistance claimed credit for two bombs that exploded in New York. In May 1981, the same group claimed credit for a series of bombings at the Pan American World Airways terminal at Kennedy Airport in New York, the U.S. mission to the United Nations, and the Honduran consulate. On May 19, 96 bomb threats were made within a 24-hour period, causing numerous evacuations and searches. No bombs were found.

Central American Terrorists

Conflict in Central America was reflected in increased terrorist violence directed primarily against the diplomatic community. On January 22, 1980, armed leftists seized the Panamanian embassy, and they did so again on February 13. They seized the Spanish embassy on February 5, the Costa Rican embassy on July 11, and the offices of the OAS on September 17. Salvadoran authorities claim to have thwarted the takeover of the Italian embassy on July 22. Terrorists of the left or right bombed the El Salvador-United States Cultural Center on April 2, the American embassy on May 12 and November 21, the Nicaraguan embassy on July 18, and the Israeli embassy on December 9, 1980. Rockets were fired at the American embassy on September 16, 1980; the Nicaraguan embassy was machine-gunned on October 25, 1980, and again on January 30, 1981; and terrorists machine-gunned and fired rockets at the American embassy on March 17, March 25, April 1, April 3, and April 6, 1981. The Guatemalan embassy was attacked on May 29, and left-wing gunmen attempted to assassinate Guatemala's ambassador on April 2, 1980. Salvadoran soldiers are believed to have been responsible for the murder

of three American nuns and an American lay missionary volunteer on December 2, 1980, and right-wing gunmen were charged with the murder of two American labor lawyers on January 3, 1981.

Terrorists of various ideological camps attacked American, Spanish, Salvadoran, Japanese, Nicaraguan, Argentinian, Uruguayan, Australian, British, French, and Mexican targets in Guatemala; American and Nicaraguan targets in Honduras; Cuban targets in Nicaragua; and American, Honduran, and Nicaraguan targets in Costa Rica.

Peruvian Maoists

Maoists supporting Mao Zedong's widow, who was on trial in China, bombed China's embassy in Lima, Peru, on December 15, 1980. Terrorists bombed the Chinese embassy in Lima on July 10, 1981; the Peruvian-American Cultural Institute in Tarma on July 30; the American embassy, the ambassador's residence, and the local offices of four American firms in Lima on August 31; the Chilean embassy on September 23; the Peruvian-American Cultural Institute in Lima and two American firms on December 12; and the offices of the Italian firm FIAT on December 30. Most of the attacks were attributed to *Sendero Luminoso* (Lighted Path), a Maoist group responsible for numerous previous attacks on domestic targets.

Colombian Leftists

Colombia continued to suffer high levels of terrorist activity. Most of the international terrorist acts were carried out by leftist guerrillas of M-19. On April 15, 1980, M-19 members failed in an effort to kidnap the Uruguayan charge d'affaires. On January 19, 1981, the group claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of an American linguist, who was subsequently murdered. On April 29, the American ambassador was warned to leave the country or else be killed. The threat may have come from M-19 in retaliation for the ambassador's support of the Ecuadoran government's decision to return 48 captured M-19 guerrillas to Colombia. On September 19, M-19 warned the Belgian ambassador to get out of the country.

On December 15, 1980, seven members of M-19 hijacked a Colombian airliner and flew it to Cuba. On April 21, 1981, Colombian police foiled another M-19 hijacking of an Ecuadoran airliner. The group's most spectacular operation was the takeover of the Dominican embassy on February 27, 1980.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Colombia's other principal terrorist group, kidnapped an American businessman on August 17, 1980. He was released 71 days later, after a ransom payment of \$163,000 was delivered. Guerrilla groups in Colombia also carried out several other kidnappings and attempted kidnappings of foreign executives.

Libyan Assassination Teams

In 1980, the government of Libya launched an openly avowed campaign of terrorism directed against its own citizens living abroad who opposed Qaddafi's revolution. In February, the editor of an anti-Qaddafi newspaper was shot in Beirut. On March 21, police in Rome found the body of a Libyan businessman who had opposed Qaddafi's nationalization program. Another Libyan journalist was shot and killed in London on April 11. On April 19, a Libyan businessman was shot in Rome. Two days after his death, a spokesman for the Libyan embassy in Rome told reporters that Libyan revolutionary committees had decided "to eliminate all traitors" who did not return to Libya by June 10. Five more Libyan exiles were murdered during the next two months in London, Bonn, Athens, Rome, and Milan. The attacks then ceased until October 14, when a Libyan student was shot in Boulder, Colorado. The assailant, who was later apprehended and convicted, turned out to be a former U.S. Army Special Forces sergeant in the employ of the Libyan government. On December 1, police in London found the body of another Libyan student who had been stabbed. On June 22, 1981, an attempt was made to poison the family of a Libyan expatriate in England, and on July 17, another Libyan student was murdered in Ogden, Utah.

Following the Gulf of Sidra incident on August 19 in which American jet fighters shot down two Libyan jets, Libya apparently directed an assassination campaign against American officials. On October 24, the

American ambassador to Italy was hastily flown out of Milan after Italian authorities discovered a Libyan plot to assassinate him. On November 3, U.S. intelligence agencies reported that Libya had planned terrorist attacks against the American embassies in London, Paris, Rome, and Vienna. On November 22, the American news media reported that intelligence authorities had learned that Libyan assassination squads had been sent to kill President Reagan, Vice President Bush, and other high-ranking American officials. While certainly not without precedent, the Libyan government's campaign of terrorism against foreign foes and its own citizens abroad was particularly wide-ranging and blatantly executed.

State-Backed Assassinations

A growing number of nations were accused of commissioning assassination teams to silence foreign opponents, former leaders, or domestic foes living abroad in 1980 and 1981. The list included Libya (accused of killing expatriate foes of Colonel Qaddafi), Nicaragua (accused of commissioning Argentine and Paraguayan elements to assassinate former dictator Anastasio Somoza), Syria (accused of killing Syria's former premier in Paris and attempting to assassinate the head of the rebellious Moslem Brotherhood who was living in Germany), Iraq (accused of killing domestic political opponents and Kurdish separatists living abroad), Yugoslavia (accused of killing emigre Croatian nationalists), Romania (accused of killing dissident exiles), South Africa (accused of killing African nationalists in Zimbabwe), Iran (accused of killing foes of the Ayatollah Khomeini living abroad), Israel (accused of killing Palestinian leaders abroad), and Spain (its police accused of operating a parallel police force in France to kill leaders of the violent Basque separatist movement). Libya openly avowed its operation against "traitors living abroad." In most of the other cases, it is impossible to determine whether the operations had sponsors within a government or were carried out without government initiative.

SUMMARY

In summary, terrorism increased sharply during 1980 and 1981, both in the number of terrorist incidents and in the spread of terrorism throughout the world. The incidents were carried out by numerous and disparate groups, some of which first appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and others of which were only recently formed. The primary tactics of terrorism continue to be bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, barricade and hostage situations, and hijackings. Bombings alone comprised approximately half of all the terrorist incidents in 1980 and 1981. More than 90 percent of all terrorist attacks were directed against civilian targets, with only about 6 percent of the recorded incidents directed against military or police officials. Diplomats continue to be the most common target in incidents of international terrorism. A less common but nevertheless critical class of targets, nuclear facilities and nuclear material, is discussed in the next section.

III. NUCLEAR INCIDENTS ABROAD: 1980-1981¹

INTRODUCTION

For the past six years, as part of its continuing research effort to analyze the potential threat to U.S. nuclear facilities, Rand has maintained a chronology of nuclear-related incidents abroad. The types of incidents in the database thus far include bombings; diversion or unauthorized use of nuclear material; theft; sabotage; arson; extortion; assaults on nuclear installations or personnel; intrusion or trespass; illegal trade in nuclear material and bombs; threats; malevolent use of radioactive material; unauthorized disclosure of information; and standoff attacks.

The premise underlying this data collection is that hostile actions against nuclear facilities or involving nuclear material in other countries may provide some clues about the motivations that might stimulate similar actions in the United States, as well as about the capabilities, preferred means of attack, and possible targets of potential adversaries.

Of course, as stated in a recent report, "We cannot extrapolate directly from foreign, particularly European, experience to the domestic scene, because of differences in the respective political contexts." For example, "The more violent history of the antinuclear campaign in Western Europe, in terms of both demonstrations and incidents of bombing and sabotage, reflects the higher levels of overall political terrorism in Germany, Spain, France, and Italy."² Nonetheless, given instantaneous global communications and the role played by imitation in the development of terrorist and criminal tactics, the record of nuclear-related incidents abroad by a range of adversaries--political terrorists, antinuclear extremists, economically motivated criminals,

¹ Several major incidents that occurred in the first half of 1982 are also described in this section. A complete chronology for this period will be furnished in a forthcoming report.

² Gail Bass, et al., *The Appeal of Nuclear Crimes to the Spectrum of Potential Adversaries*, The Rand Corporation, R-2803-SL, February 1982, p. 29.

and hostile employees--may prove instructive about both the current worldwide climate for nuclear crime and the specific forms such crime might take in the United States.

Rand's information concerning nuclear crimes abroad is gathered from American newspapers and magazines, several West European newspapers, and reports of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). It is probable that some nuclear-related incidents are never reported in the press and therefore escape our notice. It is also possible that, given our sources, the chronology's coverage of Western Europe is more complete than that for other foreign countries.

LEVEL OF ACTIVITY

The period 1980-1981 saw the addition of 47 incidents to Rand's chronology of nuclear-related incidents. The 26 incidents in 1980 approximately equal the 27 reported for 1979. The 21 incidents listed for 1981 represent a moderate decline. Despite this decline, approximately twice as many incidents occurred in each of 1979, 1980, and 1981 as occurred in 1977 (12) and 1978 (11); and the increases over the annual counts for 1966 through 1976 are even larger. Table 1 shows the distribution of types of incidents recorded for the period 1966-1981. Appendix B presents a chronology of incidents entered into the database for 1980-1981. The incidents discussed below are referenced by their numbers in the chronology, which gives fuller descriptions.

While it is possible that the observed increases in incidents in the last few years are partly a reflection of more systematic data collection, it is doubtful that this factor alone accounts for the apparent trend. However, since we are dealing with a relatively small total number of cases and the inclusion or exclusion of even a few incidents could change the numbers significantly, numerical analysis of trends in level of activity may be misleading.

It is more useful to examine the locations, motivations, and types of recent nuclear-related hostile actions. In 1980-1981, Spain and France were centers of activity. Attacks on individuals involved in nuclear programs were more common than in the past, as were actions aimed at halting nuclear proliferation. There were also several

Table 1

NUCLEAR INCIDENTS ABROAD: 1966-1982

Tactic	Year														Total
	1966	1968	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982			
Bombings					5	2	4	5	10	13	15		54		
Diversion, unauthorized use ^a	1				1				1	1			4		
Theft	1			1					1	1			4		
Sabotage, arson							2	3	4	2			11		
Extortion, threats									1				1		
Insiders													0		
Assaults			1				2	2	2	1	5	1	14		
Intrusion, trespass									2	1			3		
Illegal trade								1					1		
Miscellaneous thefts					1		3		1				5		
Malevolent use ^a				3					2	1			6		
Unauthorized disclosure									2	1			3		
Disruption of transport ^a									1	3	1		5		
Occupation of facilities													0		
Standoff attacks												1	1		
Other							1			2			3		
Total	1	1	1	4	7	2	12	11	27	26	21	2	115		
No. of fatalities	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	2	1	10		

^aOf nuclear materials.

incidents designed to interfere with the transport of nuclear materials. These observations are described in greater detail below.

SPAIN: ETA'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST LEMONIZ

During 1980-1981, the Basque separatist terrorist group ETA (*Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna*, or Basque Homeland and Liberty) continued its violent campaign against the two reactors under construction at Lemoniz, which it sees as an exploitation of the Basque region. ETA attacks account for nearly one-third of the nuclear incidents in the Rand database for this two-year period--15 out of a total of 47 incidents.

As in previous years, ETA committed numerous bombings of company offices, generating stations, transformers, and other facilities of Iberduero, the Spanish utility company constructing the Lemoniz reactors. It also blew up a large number of electrical batteries destined for Lemoniz at the factory which produced them (entry 2 in Appendix B). ETA commandos gained entry to the factory by night by first forcing their way into the manager's home, then holding his family at gunpoint while he drove them to the warehouse and let them in.

In February 1981, ETA kidnapped and killed the chief engineer at Lemoniz when Iberduero refused to comply with their demands to halt the reactor's construction (29). The following month, ETA sent death threats to 33 Iberduero technicians working at Lemoniz (33).

In the wake of the violence and threats, engineers and white collar workers stayed away from Lemoniz, although conventional construction jobs (painting, laying floors) continued. On March 22, 1982, Iberduero and the Basque government reached an agreement under which the Basque government would operate the plant, with Iberduero retaining ownership. Some of the approximately 90 technical and white collar workers participating in the walkout returned to work immediately following this agreement; the remainder were expected to return by the first week in May.

On May 5, however, two ETA gunmen shot and killed the technical director of Lemoniz and wounded his 16-year-old son in an assault outside their home (49). An official of Spain's nuclear regulatory agency reported at a recent meeting in the United States that after this

second murder, work at Lemoniz once more essentially ground to a halt. Iberduero officials had until then been citing the summer of 1983 as the target date for startup, 7 years beyond the startup date planned when Lemoniz received its construction license. The ultimate fate of Lemoniz is now uncertain. ETA's terrorist campaign, the most systematic and violent in the nuclear realm, seems for the present to be succeeding.

ANTINUCLEAR VIOLENCE ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE

ETA's campaign against Lemoniz is one component of a more general militant struggle to achieve independence for the Basque region. The other violence against nuclear facilities in Western Europe during 1980-1981, however, appeared to be specifically antinuclear in origin, judging from the names of the groups claiming credit for the incidents. But because the perpetrators are rarely apprehended and a particular "group" is often heard from only once, it is difficult to discern how many people are actually involved, whether the same people are simply using different group names on different occasions, or whether the same individuals are also involved in nonnuclear terrorism.

During the past two years, France experienced a number of violent attacks by antinuclear extremists. In May 1980, two separate bombings caused serious damage to the pylons supporting cables carrying electric current from the nuclear plant at Fessenheim to Mery-sur-Seine in northeastern France (6,7). In late June 1980, early morning bombings of five factories and offices in the nuclear sector were claimed by the Communist Anti-Nuclear Front (11). Various adversaries of the Golfech nuclear power station in southwest France (or adversaries using various names) bombed a nearby hydroelectric plant (claimed by *Super-Mouvement Anti-Nucleaire*, or "Superman," in July 1980) (15); bombed a construction yard, destroying 13 bulldozers involved in building the plant (communique signed simply *Les Antinucleaires*, May 1981) (38); fired some shots through a window of the home of an Electricite de France (EDF) official working at Golfech in August 1981 (44); threw Molotov cocktails onto the plant site during an antinuclear demonstration, badly damaging buildings used by EDF and its subcontractors in October 1981 (45); and destroyed a power transformer in the city of Agen, leaving half the area's residents without power (claimed by Golfech Antinuclear Army, in November 1981) (46).

In northwestern France, opponents of what is planned to be the largest nuclear power station in Europe, at Plogoff in Brittany, found some novel ways of expressing their position. In July 1980, three Breton deputies and several magistrates who had earlier expressed their support for the project received pellets of feebly radioactive material in the mail (12). In November 1980, five technicians carrying out preliminary studies on the Plogoff site were taken prisoner by 30 local people (24). The captives were made to show their identity papers, the film was removed from their camera, and their car was searched. They were held for three hours and then allowed to leave the area. The president of the local antinuclear committee said the residents of the area intended to treat other "undesirable visitors" in a similar fashion.

The first high-level standoff attack against a nuclear facility occurred on the night of January 18, 1982, when five antitank rockets were fired at the breeder reactor under construction at Creys-Malville, France (48). Four of the five rockets hit the concrete outer shell of the reactor building, but there was little damage and none of the 20 workers on the site at the time were injured. In a telephone call to a French news agency, an anonymous spokesman claimed credit on behalf of a "Pacifist and Ecologist Committee" and stated that the group had taken every precaution to assure that no one would be hurt. Police found the rocket launcher 400 yards from the plant on the opposite bank of the Rhone River. It and the rockets were described as Soviet RPG-7s, built in the 1960s and easily available in European illegal arms markets. Ecological and conservation groups in France denounced the attack but reiterated their opposition to France's nuclear power program.

In West Germany, the three incidents recorded for 1980-1981 seem to represent a reduction in the level of antinuclear violence (according to West German police, eight German nuclear reactors were sabotaged with homemade bombs and explosives between 1977 and 1979). A December 1980 explosion in a Cologne office building, which caused \$500,000 damage but no injuries, was believed to have been directed at the Society for Nuclear Reactor Security, a government research group (26). In March 1981, explosives experts successfully defused a homemade bomb found by a

worker in a briefcase at the West Berlin turbine plant of Kraftwerk Union, builders of nuclear power stations (34). The bomb was discovered following a massive weekend antinuclear demonstration. A third bomb attack, in May 1981, was aimed at a company exporting nuclear equipment to South Asia (39) (see *Incidents Related to Nuclear Proliferation*, below).

Both in France and in England during this two-year period, there were several actions directed at the transport of nuclear materials. In February 1980, antinuclear militants of the Movement of Resistance to Nuclearization stopped a train carrying irradiated fuel to the retreatment center at La Hague, sawed through the brake conduit, and painted antinuclear slogans on the cars (3). In July 1980, 20 English antinuclear protesters forced a train carrying radioactive waste to halt by erecting a 10-foot-high scaffolding across the tracks, along with antinuclear barriers (13). The fuel was headed for the docks at Sharpness, where it was to be loaded on a ship for burial 500 miles out in the Atlantic.

Antinuclear activists attempted to obstruct the transport of spent nuclear fuel on the seas as well as on land. In February 1980, riot police and naval authorities in the French port of Cherbourg clashed with antinuclear demonstrators pursuing a British ship carrying spent nuclear fuel from Japan (4). The cargo ship *Pacific Swan* was chased by the *Rainbow Warrior*, a vessel manned by members of the environmentalist organization Greenpeace, but gunboats of the French navy protected it and guided it into port, where the atomic waste was unloaded without incident.

Since antinuclear groups in the United States in the last few years have also emphasized issues surrounding nuclear waste disposal and transit of nuclear fuels, and since transportation facilities are likely to be less well-guarded than stationary facilities, nuclear transport must be regarded as a potentially appealing target for domestic antinuclear extremists.

INCIDENTS RELATED TO NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Ten of the incidents recorded in Rand's chronology for 1980-1981 were somehow related to nuclear proliferation--the transfer of nuclear information, technology, or material across national boundaries, with at least the potential for use in developing nuclear weapons. One case involved the conviction of a South African university research scientist for revealing atomic secrets to the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and a Swiss-based international student group (8). The remaining nine cases involved attempts to halt nuclear development in Pakistan and Iraq, the most dramatic of which was Israel's destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June 1981.

Incidents in Switzerland and Germany were apparently perpetrated by opponents of Pakistan's nuclear program. In February 1981, Cora Engineering, a Swiss firm that has supplied Pakistan with parts believed to be for an enrichment facility, reported a bomb attack at the home of one of its executives (31). No one was hurt and the persons responsible were not identified, but the firm assumed the attack related to its business with Pakistan. The following month, the firm reported that an anonymous caller had threatened to repeat the bombing of its personnel (35). In response, the company halted deliveries to Pakistan.

In May 1981, a West German company producing nuclear-related equipment suffered a bombing that caused \$50,000 damage (39). An anonymous caller claimed credit for the attack and said he represented a group trying to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to South Asia. He also threatened the company's director with death if the company continued exporting to Pakistan.

The campaign against Iraq's nuclear program was active on several fronts. On August 7, 1980, bomb attacks in both Rome and France were claimed by the Committee for the Defense of the Islamic Revolution, a presumably pro-Iranian group. The bomb in Rome devastated the facilities of SNIA-Techint, a company that had furnished nuclear technology to Iraq (18). The Paris bomb was mistakenly placed at the home of a man with the same name as a researcher who had worked on the Osirak reactor, sold to Iraq by France (19). The committee claimed the bombing was "what he deserved for his work against our revolution. We

are concerned about all collaborators in the renegade regime of Iraq." Several telephone threats were also received by French scientists and companies participating in the construction of the Iraqi reactor.

On June 14, 1980, an Egyptian nuclear scientist, Yahia El Meshad, was found murdered in his Paris hotel room (10). El Meshad, who had been trained in the Soviet Union, was on loan to the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission for five years and was considered to be the key technical liaison for installation and operation of the Osirak research reactor. It was widely assumed that he was murdered because of his role in the Iraqi nuclear program.

About a month later, a young woman who was the only witness to El Meshad's murder was killed by a hit-and-run driver in Paris (14). There was press speculation that the "accident" might have been related to the El Meshad murder case. Neither of the crimes has been solved.

In September 1980, Iranian fighter-bombers attacked the Iraqi nuclear research center near Baghdad, marking the first time a nuclear installation had become a wartime target (22). While bombs fell on the auxiliary installation, the training center, and the living quarters of the staff of the compound, there were no casualties and the reactor was not damaged.

On June 7, 1981, however, the Osirak reactor was destroyed by Israel in a surprise bombing raid. The Israelis claimed that the reactor was soon to become operational and despite its ostensible purpose as a research reactor, it would be used to produce atomic bombs that would threaten Israel's survival.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1980 and 1981, numerous incidents were directed against nuclear facilities by antinuclear extremists, political terrorists, and foreign governments. A number of features of these attacks seem noteworthy.

There were a significant number of personal assaults on individuals involved directly or indirectly in nuclear programs. Two officials at Lemoniz and an Egyptian nuclear scientist working for Iraq were murdered; bombings and threats were made against executives of nuclear engineering firms in Switzerland and Germany; shots were fired at the home of an *Electricite de France* official; and radioactive pellets were

mailed to three Breton deputies who supported the nuclear station at Plogoff.

Antinuclear extremists seem increasingly willing to use personal violence and intimidation as a tactic. It sometimes works. Cora Engineering, a Swiss firm, ceased selling nuclear equipment to Pakistan after its executives became targets of bombings and threats. ETA's violent campaign against the Lemoniz reactors, which has recently included an increasing number of attacks on individuals, has caused endless delays and added massive costs to the project and may finally succeed in halting it permanently. The recent murders have crippled the construction effort by causing the technical staff to cease work.

It is more difficult to provide effective security for all the individuals involved in a nuclear effort than to physically secure an actual nuclear plant site. Thus, adversaries may find people to be attractive targets. Similarly, it is easier and less dangerous to bomb peripheral facilities, such as electrical power components, than to penetrate and bomb a reactor site. Such was the advice of a "Do-It-Yourself Manual" for resistance actions published by radical antinuclear elements in Germany in 1979, and there have been many such bombings in France, Germany, and Spain. It is virtually impossible to safeguard extended electrical lines from such attacks.

While nuclear construction and nuclear exports are matters of government policymaking, adversaries of such activities seem increasingly to be directing their opposition toward private companies who conduct the nuclear business. It may appear to be easier to inflict sufficient losses that the objectionable nuclear trade will seem unprofitable to corporate decisionmakers than to change the course of government policy.

Finally, one aspect of the current scene that does not emerge directly from the incidents described above deserves mention. The term "antinuclear," both in the United States and abroad, has come to connote resistance to nuclear weapons as well as to nuclear power plants. In the past two years, opposition to nuclear weapons, particularly the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles, has become a salient political issue in Western Europe. During this period, there were also several highly publicized terrorist attacks on American targets in Europe,

notably the bombing of American Air Force Headquarters at Ramstein, Germany, by the Red Army Faction, in October 1981; the rocket attack on the car of General Frederick Kroesen, commander of the American Army in Europe, also by the Red Army Faction, in September 1981; and the kidnapping of General James Dozier by the Red Brigades in Italy, in December 1981.

If the movement against nuclear weapons continues to grow in Western Europe, it would not be surprising to see some radical antinuclear or terrorist group attempt to dramatize the campaign with an action involving facilities or personnel connected with U.S. nuclear weapons.

Appendix A

SELECTED TERRORIST INCIDENTS: 1980-1981

1. January 2, 1980

Turkey. A Turkish terrorist organization calling itself the Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit claimed responsibility for the slaying of an Israeli head of an El Al airlines office in an Istanbul suburb. The slaying was "designed to retaliate against the Israeli massacre of Palestinians." The organization claimed that the victim was an agent of the Israeli state security organization.

2. January 29, 1980

France. A bomb blast wrecked the ground floor of the Syrian embassy in Paris, killing one employee and wounding eight people. The explosion occurred shortly before the Syrian Foreign Minister arrived from Damascus for an official visit. Three groups claimed responsibility for the incident: the Lebanese Front, the Jewish Brigades, and the Afghan Collective.

3. January 31, 1980

Guatemala. About 30 people, including several women, entered the Spanish Embassy and held 15 people hostage. The hostages included the Spanish ambassador, several other Spanish diplomats, some Spanish embassy employees, and a few visiting Guatemalans. The group was armed with machetes, one or two revolvers, and several Molotov cocktails. The intruders were for the most part landless peasants, having arrived several days before from their province of Quiche to ask the military government to stop its army from "terrorizing" them. During discussions between the ambassador and the peasants, policemen surrounded the building and launched an assault in spite of the ambassador's plea to Guatemalan officials to call off their forces and settle the affair peacefully. The cornered peasants threw a Molotov cocktail and set the building ablaze. Thirty-nine people died. The ambassador and one of the peasants escaped by jumping from a window. Later the surviving peasant was kidnapped from his hospital room by a group of unknown armed men. The ambassador denounced the actions of the police as brutal and senseless and in violation of one of the most elementary rules of international law. Outraged by the assault, on February 1, 1980, Spain broke diplomatic relations with Guatemala.

4. February 5, 1980

El Salvador. Leftist militants took over the Spanish embassy in San Salvador, holding the ambassador and eleven other people hostage. The February 28 Popular League said it was demanding an investigation by the Red Cross and the Organization of American States (OAS) of alleged

human rights violations, as well as a break in relations between Spain and El Salvador's "repressive" regime. They also called for the release of other leftists imprisoned in Salvadoran jails. The takeover sparked threats of reprisals from right-wing groups who said they would burn the Spanish embassy in a replay of an attack by police on the Spanish mission in Guatemala City the previous week. The siege ended on February 18, when the government allegedly acceded to the demands for the release of prisoners.

5. February 7, 1980

Switzerland. Gunmen firing from a sidewalk shot and wounded Turkish ambassador Dogan Turkmen as he rode in a car in the Swiss capital of Bern. An Armenian group called the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide claimed responsibility.

6. February 16, 1980

Federal Republic of Germany. A British colonel was fatally shot outside his home in Bielefeld. The Provisional Irish Republican Army claimed responsibility for the murder and for other terrorist acts in Western Europe during the past few years. Authorities have long believed that a cell of the IRA has been operating out of Amsterdam, but this was the first admission by the terrorists.

7. February 27, 1980

Colombia. Heavily armed M-19 guerrillas shot their way into the Dominican Republic embassy during a reception for that country's Independence Day and took 80 hostages, including 18 ambassadors from various countries. The guerrillas threatened to kill all the hostages if the police, who quickly surrounded the embassy, attempted to assault the building. Within hours, the guerrillas released a detailed list of demands: ransom of \$50 million, publication of a guerrilla manifesto by all the countries the hostages represented, release of over 300 political prisoners (200 of whom are suspected M-19 terrorists taken in 1979 during an army crackdown on terrorism), and safe passage from the country.

Negotiations between two government officials and a young woman guerrilla, accompanied by the Mexican ambassador, Ricardo Galan, took place in an open-doored van parked in front of the embassy. Neither side showed great urgency; the guerrillas used the media exposure to speak against government political repression and to draw attention to torture and mistreatment in Colombian jails, while the government wanted to delay the moment when it would have to meet or reject point-blank the terrorists' demands.

After 61 days, on April 27, the hostages were released unharmed. The government had refused to pay ransom but had consented to the raising of \$2.5 million by the private sector, which the guerrillas accepted. The Colombian government also agreed to form a panel of 10 prominent lawyers to speed the processing of military trials for the imprisoned guerrillas.

In addition, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of the OAS was brought in and gave assurances that its officers would monitor the trials. Cuba offered asylum to the terrorists, and safe conduct passes were issued by the Colombian government.

8. March 10, 1980

Italy. Armenians claimed credit for two bombs planted at Turkish Airlines in Rome, which killed two and injured 12. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Armenian Secret Army. The second bomb was calculated to kill or wound the curious who came to watch after the first bomb went off. A telephone call was later received warning against "Turkish fascism and Italian imperialism which ignore the Armenian cause."

9. March 17, 1980

United States. A bomb blast ripped through a Yugoslav bank office in a skyscraper in New York City. Glass rained from windows of the 30th-floor offices, but there were no reported injuries. Police said several persons, however, were treated for shock. An anonymous male caller later told the FBI that Croatian Freedom Fighters had placed the bomb; he directed agents to a Port Authority bus terminal locker where a letter was found. He said its contents should be made public early that evening or two more bombs would be set off. The major networks summarized the demands on their news programs. The letter stated, "There will be coordinated actions by Croats at home and in emigration until Yugoslavia is destroyed and a free and independent Croatian state is established."

10. April 7, 1980

Israel. Palestinian guerrillas slipped across the Lebanese border and seized nine infants in a children's dormitory in a kibbutz near the frontier. Israeli troops then stormed the dormitory, killing five Palestinian terrorists, who had taken the children hostage in a bid for the release of guerrillas from Israeli prisons. A small boy was killed and four other children were wounded. The terrorist attack coincided with the departure of President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt for talks in Washington on the granting of self-rule to Palestinians under Israeli occupation. The Arab Liberation Front, an Iraqi-backed Palestinian group, claimed credit for the raid.

11. April 11, 1980

United Kingdom. A Libyan journalist who was a bitter opponent of Colonel Qaddafi was shot and killed by two men as he was handing out copies of an Arab publication outside the Islamic Center in London. The gunmen were believed to be Libyans. Qaddafi had recently made a speech calling for the killing of opponents of his revolution who lived abroad. The gunmen were arrested and in September 1980 were sentenced to life imprisonment.

12. April 16, 1980

Turkey. Three gunmen identified as leftist terrorists shot and killed two American naval officers and their Turkish driver in Istanbul. One of the attackers was killed in a gun battle with police, following the shooting, and two others were captured. Three security agents and a passerby were wounded. Police said the gunmen were members of the underground Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Union, an extreme leftist organization that has claimed responsibility for the murders of other Americans. The two captured gunmen were tried and sentenced to death on October 13, 1980.

13. April 17, 1980

Italy. Armenian guerrillas shot and wounded the Turkish ambassador to the Vatican and his driver in a campaign to remind the world of what the guerrillas called the genocide of Armenians in Turkey in 1915. The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide telephoned Reuters news agency to claim responsibility. The caller said, "Our only aim is to strike against Turkish personalities and Turkish institutions all over the world."

14. April 19, 1980

Italy. A Libyan businessman was shot to death in Rome. Two days after his death, a spokesman for the Libyan embassy in Rome told reporters the Libyan revolutionary committees had decided "to eliminate all traitors" who did not return to Libya by June 10.

15. April 21, 1980

Switzerland. Israeli security agents foiled a plot to blow up an El Al jetliner when they found a bomb in the luggage of a German who was booked aboard a flight to Tel Aviv. A spokesman for Israel said in Tel Aviv that terrorists were believed to have placed the bomb in the German's luggage without his knowledge.

16. April 25, 1980

United Kingdom. Two Libyan gunmen entered the London offices of an Arab legal consultant, then shot him as employees looked on. The victim was known as a leading Qaddafi opponent.

17. April 25, 1980

France. Considerable damage occurred when a bomb went off in the Toulouse suburb offices of an American agricultural equipment company. The attack was claimed in a telephone call by a group calling itself Self-Defense Against All Authority, as a reprisal against the American intervention in Iran.

18. April 30, 1980

United Kingdom. Six armed Iranian Arabs took over the Iranian embassy in London and held 26 hostages for nearly six days. Three of the hostages were British; the others were Iranian diplomats and staff, and some foreign visitors. The gunmen were from Khuzistan, the oil-producing province of Iran on the southern Iraqi border. They claimed to be members of the Group of the Martyrs and were demanding some sort of autonomy for their province in addition to the release of 91 prisoners being held in Khuzistan. They wanted the prisoners flown to London and then safe passage guaranteed for all, including the hostages, out of the country. Iran sent an open letter to the gunmen refusing their demands and stating that the Khuzistan prisoners would be executed if any of the embassy staff came to harm.

On May 5, shots were heard and a dead hostage was dumped out the front door of the embassy. The gunmen informed police that they would kill an additional hostage every 30 minutes until their demands were met--those demands now being simply safe passage out of the country. Commandos of the antiterrorist unit of the army's Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment stormed the embassy, killing five terrorists and rescuing 19 hostages.

19. May 10, 1980

Italy. A Libyan businessman, a foe of Colonel Qaddafi, was shot to death in Rome.

20. May 11, 1980

France. The Algerian consulate in Aubervilliers, a suburb of Paris, was bombed. Credit was claimed by the Charles Martel Club in a handwritten tract left inside the consulate. The tract stated the organization was against the church, the Jews, and the starving of the Third World, and for the white race. The Charles Martel Club, an organization of the extreme right, first came to public attention in 1973 with the bombing of the Algerian consulate in Marseilles.

21. May 20, 1980

Italy. The Libyan-born owner of a lumber trading company in Rome was stabbed and choked to death in a hotel room. His killers left a note signed "Libyan Revolutionary Committees in Rome," warning "the enemies of the people will be reached wherever they are."

22. June 2, 1980

Israel. The three most nationalistic Palestinian mayors were targets of bombing attacks in a terrorist operation that spanned four cities and left 10 people wounded, nine of them Arabs. Israeli suspicion focused on Jewish extremists. As the bombs exploded, a hand grenade was thrown into a crowd in Hebron, injuring seven people near an Arab elementary school.

23. June 3, 1980

South Yemen. An Iraqi professor who was teaching at Aden University was murdered at his home. The Aden News Agency (ANA) reported that two Iraqis were seen leaving the scene in a car with diplomatic plates. ANA accused them of killing the professor and of taking refuge in the Iraqi embassy. Troops and tanks surrounded the embassy the next day and threatened to storm the building unless the suspects were handed over. On June 5, the embassy was stormed and five Iraqis were taken into custody.

24. June 4, 1980

United States. An explosion rocked the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. No one was injured. There was no immediate indication of who set off the blast; at least three terrorist groups called police to claim responsibility. The police and FBI were leaning heavily toward the possibility that Croatians were responsible after two letters were received claiming credit and calling for "the world to notice the demands and rights and situation of the Croatian people."

25. June 4, 1980

United States. A powerful bomb ripped through the Washington, D.C., home of Yugoslavia's charge d'affaires. No one was injured, although there was a great deal of damage. A group of Croatian nationalists (the Croatian Freedom Fighters) claimed "full responsibility" for the act, which they said, in a letter mailed to the *Washington Post*, was a sign of protest against the Yugoslav government and its treatment of the Croatian movement's supporters. Croatian terrorists have been involved since 1971 in a series of assassination attempts in various countries, from West Germany to Paraguay.

26. June 11, 1980

Italy. A Libyan was shot and killed in Milan's Central Railroad Station as a Libyan deadline for dissidents to return home expired. It was the ninth murder of a Libyan in Europe and the fifth in Italy in two months. Qaddafi reiterated that he could not guarantee the safety of Libyan opponents of his regime who remained abroad.

27. June 12, 1980

Guatemala. The president of a Nestle Company subsidiary in Guatemala was kidnapped by members of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), an armed leftist organization. Nestle's offices in Mexico said no negotiations should be held with a subversive organization for the release of company officials. However, on June 26, the Nestle Company and the FAR were negotiating. FAR demanded the publication in Guatemala and abroad of an FAR manifesto and the payment of a "war tax which will help promote the revolutionary struggle." In early September, the hostage was released, after three months of captivity. Guatemalan newspapers reported that the Swiss company paid \$4.7 million for his release. In addition to the ransom, Nestle agreed to distribute 1 million cans of powdered milk

among children in rural areas of Guatemala, and to publish the FAR manifesto in Bonn, Paris, and London.

28. June 14, 1980

France. An Egyptian was found murdered in his room at the Meridien Hotel in Paris. Authorities released his identity several days later. He was a nuclear scientist who worked for the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission. Egyptian-born, trained by the Soviet Union, he was on loan to Iraq for five years and was considered to be the key technical liaison with France for installation and operation of the Osirak research reactor in Iraq.

29. June 19, 1980

Iraq. Three terrorists took over the British embassy in Baghdad on the eve of Iraq's first parliamentary election in 22 years but were killed an hour later in a shootout with Iraqi security forces. Iraqi authorities received permission from the British ambassador to storm the building. The embassy staff members were not injured.

An anonymous caller claimed the attack on behalf of the Al Dawa party in Iraq. The newspaper quoted the caller as saying only that the attack was mounted to "liquidate a group of British experts sent to help the Iraqi regime suppress the uprising of the Iraqi masses in southern Iraq." Shiite Moslems are in the majority in southern Iraq, and all Al Dawa members are Shiites. The government of President Saddam Hussein outlawed Al Dawa earlier in the year, charging the party with attempts to overthrow the government through bombings, assassinations, and sabotage.

30. July 9, 1980

Lebanon. Gunmen firing from a speeding automobile shot and killed an Iraqi diplomat. Three other Iraqis were wounded as they walked near Lebanese University in Beirut. Two of the wounded were diplomats; the third was a student. No one took responsibility for the attack, but the shooting came a week after unidentified gunmen killed two Iranian students in a similar attack.

31. July 18, 1980

France. Several armed men attempted to assassinate former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar in Paris. Bakhtiar was a leading opponent of the Ayatollah Khomeini. He was unhurt, but two other persons were killed and four were wounded. Three gunmen were captured. They were identified as Palestinians; they carried Syrian and Lebanese passports.

32. July 21, 1980

France. In Paris, a gunman assassinated former Premier Salah Eddin Bitar of Syria. Bitar edited the political journal *Arab Renaissance*.

Arab sources speculated that Bitar was killed in an effort to cripple opposition among Syrian exiles to the government of President Hafez Assad. No one claimed responsibility for the killing.

33. July 23, 1980

United States. An Iranian who served as press attache at his country's embassy in Washington during the Shah's reign and who had been an outspoken critic of the Ayatollah Khomeini was shot and killed at his home in Bethesda, Maryland. Ali Akbar Tabatabai, president of the American branch of the Iran Freedom Foundation, was well known among diplomats and often appeared on radio and television to speak against the Ayatollah. Authorities described the slaying as a carefully plotted attempt to silence Khomeini's leading critic. David Belfield, a black Muslim, was identified by witnesses within 2 hours of the killing as the key suspect. Tyrone Frazier, a postal worker, was also detained and charged with being an accessory to murder. Frazier said his mail truck had been hijacked, but after hours of questioning, he admitted that he had rented the truck to Belfield for \$500. It was later discovered by investigators that Belfield flew to Iran within 3 days of the shooting. With diplomatic ties between Iran and the United States broken, there was little hope of extraditing him for prosecution. Later, a fourth suspect was named in the case, but he too had fled the country. A virtual arsenal of weapons was discovered during a search of his home, which was probably Belfield's source of weapons supply. During the investigation, authorities made a connection between this incident and a group of loosely organized black American Muslims who embraced the Islamic beliefs of Khomeini and were violently opposed to his critics.

34. July 29, 1980

France. Two gunmen from the Secret Liberation Army of Armenia shot up the Turkish consulate in Lyons, killing two people and seriously wounding two others. A telephone caller to French news organizations claimed the attack was carried out in revenge for a massacre of Armenians in Turkey 65 years ago.

35. July 31, 1980

United States. An assassination attempt took place in Los Angeles, outside the home of Shah-Rais, the leader of the anti-Khomeini movement and a friend of former embassy press attache Ali Tabatabai, who was assassinated July 22 by a team of three American black Muslims. A black gunman in a jogging suit fired five shots at an anti-Khomeini Iranian student waiting outside the home, striking him in the stomach.

36. July 31, 1980

Greece. The Armenian Secret Army claimed responsibility for the slaying of a Turkish diplomat and his daughter in Athens. Gunmen fired repeatedly into the back window of the car where the diplomat and his family were sitting. The wife and son of the diplomat were wounded.

37. August 7, 1980

Italy. In Rome, a bomb assault took place against SNIA-Techint, the company that had furnished Iraq with nuclear technology. The attack was claimed by the Committee for the Defense of the Islamic Revolution. On the same day, another bombing, in France, was claimed by the Committee.

38. August 28, 1980

Lebanon. U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean escaped unharmed after gunmen in a speeding automobile attacked his bulletproof limousine as he was leaving his residence in a convoy. The ensuing battle between the ambassador's bodyguards and the gunmen left the embassy car badly damaged on the passenger side. Two Lebanese suspected of being linked to the assassination attempt were taken into custody for questioning. The attack came just hours after Dean said the United States was working with Israel and the United Nations to end the violence among Christian militiamen and Palestinian guerrillas in southern Lebanon. Dean had also created an uproar in August when he condemned an Israeli raid on Palestinian guerrilla strongholds in the area. Responsibility for the attack was later claimed by the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners, a shadowy right-wing group.

39. September 11, 1980

United States. A busy area of Queens, New York, was the scene of an early evening ambush of a Cuban attache to the United Nations. Callers to newspapers later claimed the incident for Omega-7, an anti-Castro terrorist organization. They also warned that the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations would be next. The attache died instantly at the wheel of his car, apparently shot by a sniper from a nearby cemetery.

40. October 3, 1980

France. A massive bomb explosion at a Paris synagogue killed four passersby and wounded 12 others. An anonymous phone call to Agence France-Presse claimed responsibility for the neo-Nazi European Nationalist Fascists, a small group of the extreme right. In the previous month, several anti-Semitic attacks had already taken place, including the machine-gunning of several Jewish establishments. Public opinion and the press attributed the attacks to a rising wave of anti-Semitism from the extreme right within France. Police immediately made dozens of arrests among members of the named group and began intensive questioning. The group's leader, already awaiting trial on another charge, disclaimed the bombing. After interrogating many of the members and releasing them for lack of evidence, the police came upon the 29-year-old author of the phone call. Excited and pleased with himself, he admitted to the call, adding that he was an "agent" from a Jewish organization infiltrating the French neo-Nazi group. "I wanted to ridicule and discredit the European Nationalist Fascists."

Subsequent investigations, as reported in the French press, raised doubts that the bombing was the work of European right-wing extremists. In sifting through the debris of the blast, authorities determined the bomb was attached to a moped, the only unclaimed item. From the engine number, the moped was traced to an Arab, believed to be a Palestinian, who had entered the country on a false passport along with four other known Palestinians. With his false identification, he rented a car until October 4 (the day after the bombing). The car was later found abandoned. The five Palestinians, identified as members of a hard-line branch of the PLO, were later discovered to have left the country on board a flight to Beirut on October 4.

41. October 13, 1980

Turkey. Four armed Moslem extremists hijacked a Turkish Airlines Boeing 727 with 155 persons aboard. They demanded to be flown to Teheran, Iran, but the pilot refused, insisting that he had to refuel and could not fly to Iran because it had been designated as a war zone. Other demands were not reported, but during the hijacking the hijackers announced that "[the plane] is now under the control of the Sheria (the holy Islamic law)." They forced the women on board to cover their heads, Islamic style.

When the plane landed in Diyarbakir to refuel, it was surrounded by Turkish troops. The hijackers set a deadline and demanded that they be flown to Saudi Arabia or they would blow up the plane. The Turkish authorities refused to grant any demands, and the deadline passed without incident.

At dawn on October 14, Turkish commandos cut a hole in the back of the plane and entered the aircraft in a flurry of shooting. Later a military communique stated that all passengers were rescued and all four terrorists were captured. The four hijackers were wounded in the storming, as well as six passengers and one flight attendant.

42. October 29, 1980

Italy. An anonymous caller to Agence France-Presse claimed responsibility on behalf of the Maltese Liberation Front for a bomb attack on a Libyan gunboat anchored in the port of Genoa. The bomb was placed between the boat's hull and the dock, apparently by frogmen. The caller stated, "We will continue our action until Malta is free of imperialist companies from Libya."

43. November 15, 1980

Turkey. Two unidentified gunmen shot down an American Air Force sergeant as he was leaving home for his job at a nearby NATO base. He was accompanied by a senior airman who escaped. Both were in uniform. The attack was presumably the work of left-wing terrorists, the Turkish People's Liberation Army.

44. December 2, 1980

El Salvador. Three American Roman Catholic nuns and an American lay missionary volunteer were found shot to death and buried in a common grave along a dirt road. Three of the women had been raped before being shot. They had been working with the poor in the countryside. The execution-style killing was labeled a political crime by Napoleon Duarte, a civilian member of the governing junta; he stated that in his opinion the killing was carried out by members of the extreme right. Witnesses declared that several armed members of the civil guard had been present at the burial. There were discrepancies in the reports. The government denied any official involvement in the murders. Later, six members of the Salvadoran National Guard were taken into custody and charged with the murders. The case has been delayed as two consecutive judges have resigned.

45. December 7, 1980

Guatemala. Fifteen men dressed as policemen and armed with machine guns entered the apartment of an American factory manager and abducted him. The victim, a U.S. citizen, was the manager of Ginsa Tire Company, a subsidiary of Goodyear. The kidnappers reportedly contacted his relatives and demanded a \$10 million ransom.

On August 13, Guatemalan security forces burst into a suspected guerrilla hideout, apparently oblivious to the hostage's presence there. During the ensuing gunfight, he died, along with five guerrillas.

46. December 11, 1980

Cuba. Armed Cubans stormed the Vatican mission in Havana and took five hostages in a bid to leave Communist Cuba. After five hours, the attackers were captured in a gun battle with security guards in which a hostage was killed. The official Prensa Latina news agency described the 14 intruders as "antisocial delinquents" hoping to get out of Cuba.

47. December 17, 1980

Australia. Two gunmen on a motorcycle shot and killed the Turkish consul-general and his bodyguard in Sydney. The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide claimed responsibility for the assassinations in a phone call to a news agency. The woman caller added that the Justice Commandos have no connection with the so-called Secret Armenian Army. She said that her group's revolutionary movement began in 1975 with attacks against Turkish targets and would continue.

48. December 30, 1980

France. A leader of the Basque separatist organization ETA was assassinated in Biarritz, in the south of France. The 29-year-old Spaniard died instantly when a bomb attached to the accelerator of his car detonated. The assassination appeared to be the work of a Spanish

"parallel police" group operating in southern France, which ETA members use as a sanctuary between operations in the nearby Spanish Basque region. France has registered protests against such cross-border operations, while Spain maintains that the French authorities have not been cooperative in extraditing known ETA killers.

49. December 31, 1980

Kenya. The Norfolk Hotel was bombed on New Year's Eve, resulting in considerable damage and many casualties. Fifteen people were killed, including two Americans; 85 were injured; and half the hotel was destroyed. Kenyan officials suspect the bombing was an act of revenge against Kenya by the Palestinians for Kenya's assistance to the Israeli commando team that rescued hostages hijacked by Palestinians to Entebbe airport in neighboring Uganda in July 1976. The key suspect, who fled the country, was identified as a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the terrorist group that masterminded the Entebbe hijacking. Both the PFLP and the PLO denied any involvement in the hotel bombing.

50. January 3, 1981

El Salvador. Unidentified gunmen assassinated two American labor lawyers and a high-ranking Salvadoran agrarian reform official in San Salvador. The two Americans slain were with the U.S.-supported American Institute for Free Labor Development and were working under contract advising the Salvadorans on their land reform program. Since its inception in March 1980, the reform program has been under fire by both political extremes: the right, because it has taken land away from some of the country's wealthiest families, and the left, because it attempts to take much of the steam out of the reformers' Marxist promises. However, suspicion falls heaviest on the right-wing elements.

51. January 19, 1981

Colombia. The April 19 Movement (M-19), a leftist guerrilla group, took responsibility for the kidnapping of Chester Bitterman, an American linguist. A spokesman for the Movement said that they would release Bitterman when the Colombian government agreed to expel the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The Institute, known as Wycliffe Bible Company, is regarded by M-19 as a CIA front. Wycliffe is an interdenominational organization that trains workers planning to study indigenous languages in Latin America. In spite of continuing negotiations with the guerrillas, two deadlines passed. After 48 days in captivity, Chester Bitterman was murdered. He was shot through the heart after having been drugged with a heavy sedative. His body was wrapped in an M-19 flag.

52. January 23, 1981

United States. A pipe bomb exploded in the subbasement of the New York State Supreme Court Building in Manhattan, halting trial sessions and forcing over 2,000 employees, jurors, lawyers, and others into the

street. There were no injuries, although the explosion damaged water pipes and shattered glass. A caller, identifying himself as a member of the Croatian Freedom Fighters, telephoned UPI and warned that a bomb would go off "somewhere in the city." He claimed that his group was "protesting the American government's ignorance and approval of Yugoslavian persecution of Croatian dissidents."

53. January 27, 1981

Italy. The office of Swissair and the Swiss Tourist Office in Milan were bombed. Damage was heavy to the entrances of both offices, windows were broken in nearby buildings, and several cars parked outside the building were damaged. Two Italian women were injured. In an anonymous phone call to local media, a faction of the Armenian Liberation Army calling itself October 3 claimed responsibility for the bombing.

54. February 2, 1981

Switzerland. A Swiss firm, Cora Engineering, which has supplied Pakistan with parts believed to be for an enrichment facility, reported a bomb attack at the home of one of its executives. No one was hurt in the attack, and the perpetrators were not identified.

55. February 6, 1981

Lebanon. A Jordanian charge d'affaires was kidnapped in Beirut, rekindling a potentially explosive dispute between Jordan and Syria. The Jordanian official lived and worked on the western side of Lebanon, where security was under the control of Syrian troops of the Arab Deterrent Force. Three bodyguards were slain in the abduction of the diplomat, as well as a housemaid (probably mistaken for his wife). Credit for the attack was claimed by two pro-Syrian groups. The calls from the Eagles of the Revolution appeared to be phony. Credit was properly due an unknown youth militia. Leaflets were left at the scene by the "Pan-Arab Leftist Organization, vanguards of revolutionary violence--Lebanese region." One of the attackers, a civilian, was found dead in a car nearby. Jordanian leaders were convinced that Syrian agents were responsible for the kidnapping and were threatening reprisals if the charge d'affaires was not returned unharmed. The Syrian government denied any complicity in the incident. A caller who claimed to represent the terrorists threatened to kill the hostage if Jordan and Iraq did not surrender seven Syrian defectors within 48 hours.

However, it was a little-known Muslim youth militia that released the diplomat on April 14 after holding him captive for 67 days. The "National Confrontation Front" said it released him because of "pressure" from Damascus.

56. February 27, 1981

Lebanon. Two officials of the Iraqi embassy were murdered on their way to work. They were shot from a passing automobile by assailants,

reportedly armed with machine guns. The car was usually used by the ambassador.

57. March 2, 1981

Pakistan. Three armed hijackers seized a Pakistani International Boeing 720 on a flight between Karachi and Peshawar. They were believed to be members of Al Zulfikar, a group of pro-Bhutto extremists. Zia ul-Haq, presently in power in Pakistan, became president after toppling Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The hijackers held 141 people hostage, including three Americans, two U.S. residents, and 11 crew members. The hijackers demanded that Pakistan release at least 70 political prisoners and relatives of leftists or there would be serious consequences. They threatened to kill the passengers one by one and blow up the plane. The plane landed in Kabul, Afghanistan, where one diplomat was shot and his body dumped on the runway. He had been a former aide to Bhutto and was suspected of complicity in the 1977 coup that installed Zia as president. The leader of the hijackers, a Pakistani, said he was prepared to release the women and children if the government of Pakistan would apologize publicly for saying that he belonged to the outlawed Pakistan People's Party. Twenty-nine hostages--women, children, and sick men--were released on March 7 in Kabul.

The plane, with more than 100 hostages still on board, then flew to Damascus, Syria, on March 9 where the terrorists reopened negotiations with Syrian officials and Pakistan's ambassador to Syria. Pakistani officials had agreed to release only 20 political prisoners. On March 12, the Pakistani government agreed to release 55 prisoners; Libya agreed to receive the hijackers and the released prisoners. In addition, the hijackers also asked for \$50,000. Diplomats believed they wanted the money simply to cover their expenses and those of the former convicts once they arrived in Libya. The Pakistanis quickly agreed to that demand. The leader of the hijackers also asked that a few members of the hijackers' families be allowed to stay behind in Pakistan to sell any family houses or land, with a promise from the Islamabad government that they would be allowed to leave Pakistan freely once their holdings had been liquidated. Once again, the Pakistanis agreed.

The Pakistani prisoners were rounded up and put on a plane headed for Libya. En route, however, Libya inexplicably reversed its original acceptance of the hijackers. On March 15, after a 13-day siege, Syria agreed to give asylum to the hijackers with their political prisoners.

58. March 4, 1981

France. The Turkish labor attache was shot and killed in Paris by three terrorists. A religious official was wounded in the same incident and later died in the hospital. The Secret Armenian Army took credit for the incident.

59. March 5, 1981

Lebanon. The ambassador-elect to Syria, an Iranian from the Iranian embassy, was killed in Beirut. Two men in a vehicle overtook his car and shot him.

60. March 17, 1981

Federal Republic of Germany. In Syria's continuing battle against the Moslem Brotherhood, a Syrian killer squad attempted to assassinate the Brotherhood's leader.

61. March 27, 1981

Nicaragua. Five hijackers commandeered a Honduran jetliner with 87 passengers aboard shortly after takeoff. The New Orleans-bound plane was then directed to Nicaragua by the hijackers, where some 30 women and children were released. The leftists claimed to be members of the Cinchonero Popular Liberation Front, a Honduran leftist group. They threatened to destroy the plane and its occupants unless Honduras agreed to release 16 Salvadoran leftists from Honduran prisons. The prisoners held in Honduras had been arrested in January for alleged illegal arms trafficking--Honduran authorities suspected them of smuggling arms to Salvadoran leftists. Hours passed, with the loaded plane waiting in the hot sun while the Honduran and Nicaraguan governments bickered; each claimed the other was responsible for resolving the crisis. In a complicated deal, the Panamanian ambassador to Nicaragua boarded the plane and took over negotiations with the hijackers. The Honduran government agreed to release the prisoners if the plane's passengers and crew were released to the custody of the Panamanian government. The plane was flown to Panama on March 28, where the hijackers surrendered to authorities immediately after touchdown. The released prisoners arrived in Panama a day later, where they remained while applying for political asylum in Cuba.

62. March 28, 1981

Thailand. Five members of the Komando Jihad, or Holy War Command, a group of Muslim extremists dedicated to Iran-style Islamic revolution, brandished machine guns and dynamite as they hijacked a DC-9 belonging to Garuda Indonesian Airways, with 57 passengers, including three Americans, on a domestic flight over Indonesia. They diverted the plane to Bangkok after refueling in Malaysia. There they presented their demands for the release of 20 political prisoners held in Indonesia. Their other demands included the punishment of the Indonesian Vice President for allegedly taking kickbacks from a U.S. aircraft company and the expulsion of all "Jew officials and Israeli militarists" from Indonesia. As an afterthought, they demanded \$1.5 million as well. The Indonesian government agreed to all their demands but asked for time to assemble the prisoners and find a country to accept them all. The hijackers then upped their demands to 80 prisoners, and the Indonesians obligingly agreed. Simultaneously, Indonesian President Suharto requested permission of the Thai government to send in commandos and use force to overpower the hijackers. Thai officials gave permission.

At one time during the second day of the hijacking, a British passenger escaped from the plane by way of an emergency exit. Another passenger, an American, attempted to duplicate this escape but was shot in the back during the attempt. Early on the fourth day of the hijacking, on March 31, the commandos stormed the airliner from both ends and killed four of the five hijackers. The pilot and a member of the assault team were wounded, but all hostages were freed.

63. May 1, 1981

Austria. A Vienna city councilman was assassinated by a Palestinian gunman. The victim had also been head of the Austrian-Israeli Friendship Society, and some sources stated that he had been instrumental in arranging a secret meeting between Israel and the PLO. The Fatah Revolution Committee, or Al-Assifa, headed by Abu Nidal, which takes a hard-line stance with Israel, claimed responsibility for the killing in an Austrian news magazine interview.

64. May 13, 1981

Italy. Pope John Paul II was shot and seriously wounded as he drove through crowds gathered for his weekly public audience in St. Peter's Square in Vatican City. Police arrested an escaped Turkish terrorist who was identified as Mehmet Ali Agca. Two women standing by were injured, one seriously. The Pope recovered from his wounds after two operations. The assailant apparently hoped to strike at Soviet and U.S. imperialism, but the connection to the Pope was not made clear. He escaped from a Turkish prison shortly before the Pope arrived in Turkey in 1979; while in prison, Agca had made death threats against the Pope. He had been convicted of the assassination of a prominent Turkish editor in the wave of terrorism that subsequently led to a military takeover and had been sentenced to death.

In July 1981, after a three-day trial, Agca was sentenced to life imprisonment by an Italian court in Rome. The speedy trial did not serve to answer the questions of motive or of whether Agca had acted alone or had been part of a conspiracy in the assassination attempt.

65. May 28, 1981

France. A bomb exploded outside the Armenian Cultural Center in Paris, killing the caretaker of an adjacent building. The attack was claimed a few days later by the Turkish Islamic Revolutionary Army. The anti-Armenian attack was unprecedented in Paris, but officials noted that it may have been in retaliation for the recent Armenian terrorist attacks against Turkish diplomats.

66. June 1, 1981

Belgium. An unidentified gunman shot and killed the Brussels representative of the PLO outside his residence. The PLO accused the Israelis of the killing. The Israelis denied the allegation, stating,

"We know the various Palestinian movements kill each other." The victim was unpopular with extremist Palestinians because he favored limited compromise.

67. June 9, 1981

Switzerland. An Armenian terrorist shot and killed a secretary at the Turkish consulate in Geneva. The assailant was immediately apprehended and responded to questions in English that he was Armenian. The Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia claimed credit for the assassination in a phone call to authorities.

The arrest of this Armenian led to the formation of the group called the Ninth of June Organization, which was responsible for several subsequent bombings in Europe and Switzerland against Swiss targets.

68. July 1, 1981

Guatemala. A bomb hidden in a suitcase exploded, killing a baggage handler as he loaded it onto an Eastern Airlines flight bound for Miami from Guatemala City. The explosion was claimed by the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, which said it was intended to explode aboard the plane as a warning to the airline not to promote tourism to Guatemala. A midair explosion would have caused mass casualties.

69. July 17, 1981

United States. The death of a Libyan student in Ogden, Utah, was declared by the FBI to be politically motivated. Investigators claimed that positive indications had developed linking the killing to internal Libyan politics. A suspect was arrested in Chicago, Illinois, as he prepared to board a flight for London on his way to Tripoli. Authorities believe that the killing was connected to other assassinations of Libyan exiles.

70. July 22, 1981

Greece. The PFLP claimed responsibility for a gun and bomb attack on a Greek shipping and travel agency in which two people were killed and 70 injured. The PFLP said the agency was serving as a front organization for Israeli intelligence interests and was involved in the killing of one of the Palestinian group's members.

71. August 1, 1981

Poland. Abu Daoud, a Palestinian guerrilla leader reputed to have masterminded the 1972 Munich Olympics massacre of 11 Israeli athletes, was shot and seriously wounded. Daoud was gunned down in a coffee shop in Warsaw by a young gunman who fired five bullets. Two Polish women were also wounded in the shooting. Daoud is a senior member of Fatah and was a member of Black September until it was disbanded in 1974.

72. August 4, 1981

Belgium. An early morning shooting at a Brussels cafe resulted in the death of an accountant and the wounding of a porter. Both were employees of the Yugoslav embassy. The killer, reportedly a Yugoslav, escaped. Other anti-Yugoslav incidents in the area led officials to believe that an Albanian group was responsible.

73. August 7, 1981

Guatemala. Nuns found an American missionary who had lived and worked for 13 years among the Cakchiquel Indians in his rectory, shot twice in the head. Members of a right-wing death squad were assumed to be the murderers. It was later reported that the victim, Fr. Rother, had probably died resisting a kidnap attempt. Only one month earlier, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Rother was quoted as saying, "I have found that I am on a list of those to be killed." Many members of his village suspected of sympathizing with leftist guerrillas had been murdered previously.

74. August 29, 1981

Austria. Two people died and 30 people were wounded when two men described as Arabs attacked a synagogue in Vienna. The terrorists were outside the building waiting for an estimated 200 people to leave. Both terrorists were captured. Police reported that the terrorists claimed to be members of Al-Assifa, a breakaway group of Al Fatah, the largest branch of the PLO. The group, led by Abu Nidal, is reportedly waging a campaign to discredit the PLO. The previous month, several terrorists arrested at the airport attempting to smuggle weapons into the country were found to have links to Syria.

The PLO denied any involvement in the attack and said that Arabs respect the places of worship of all faiths and consider the Vienna attack "a deliberate misrepresentation of the noble struggle of the Palestinian people." Israel reacted angrily to the attack, rejecting the PLO denials and insisting that the attack was due largely to the fact that the Austrian government has maintained friendly ties with that organization. Austria is the only European country to formally recognize the PLO. Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky stated that he was convinced that the attackers had nothing to do with the PLO but were directed by unidentified forces trying to sabotage Palestinian interests.

75. August 31, 1981

Federal Republic of Germany. A terrorist bomb smuggled onto the guarded Ramstein Air Base exploded, damaging the U.S. Air Force's European headquarters and injuring 20 people, including 13 Americans, one a general, and two Germans. The bomb went off in a parking lot outside the Air Force headquarters building, which also serves as headquarters for the NATO air force for central Europe. The explosion took place in a parked car at 7:00 a.m. and caught people arriving for work.

The attack was the fourth in 1981 against American installations in West Germany and came amid growing hostility in Western Europe to defense policies, including President Reagan's decision to begin full production of neutron weapons. On September 2, a letter was received from the Red Army Faction claiming responsibility for the attack. The group declared that it had attacked the base as part of its "war against imperialist war."

76. September 4, 1981

Lebanon. The French Ambassador to Lebanon was shot and killed as he drove to his home in West Beirut. Three gunmen stopped his car a few yards from his residence in what seems to have been an attempted kidnapping. Unable to open the door, they shot several times through the windshield, killing the ambassador. Arab sources claimed that Syria was responsible for the assassination, possibly through the radical Palestinian group Al-Assifa, led by Abu Nidal.

77. September 11, 1981

United States. Miami's Mexican consulate was completely destroyed by a massive explosion during the night. The attack was claimed by Omega-7, an anti-Castro group, in a phone call to a Spanish radio station.

78. September 12, 1981

United States. An anti-Castro terrorist group claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Mexican consular building six blocks from the United Nations. There were no injuries from the early morning blast, but severe damage resulted. A man claiming to be a member of Omega-7 called a Spanish radio station 15 minutes after the explosion to claim responsibility for the blast.

79. September 15, 1981

Federal Republic of Germany. Terrorists hidden on a wooded hill fired Soviet-made RPG-7 rocket grenades at the armor-plated car of the commander of U.S. forces in Europe, General Kroesen, early in the morning as he, his wife, and two others were traveling from home to U.S. headquarters in Heidelberg. General Kroesen and his wife sustained only minor injuries. The armor plating probably saved their lives: The first grenade caved in the trunk and caused the back window to shatter; the second grenade hit behind the car and blew a foot-deep hole in the ground. The assailants escaped immediately after the attack. Police discovered the Soviet-made bazooka.

In a letter received by the press, the Red Army Faction claimed responsibility for the attempted assassination in what they called part of a guerrilla war aimed at the "American military machine." The three-page letter claimed credit for the Gudrun Ensslin Commando, stating that the general "is the one who orders devastation by conventional weapons and decides when and where neutron warheads will be fired... He will be one of the American military men to take command."

80. September 16, 1981

Federal Republic of Germany. The Red Army Faction is believed responsible for two time bombs set on a rail line supplying the U.S. Air Force Rhein Main Air Base. Two American soldiers found the bombs ticking away hidden in 13-pound fire extinguishers. Explosives experts defused the bombs.

81. September 17, 1981

Lebanon. A bomb charge estimated at 300 kilograms blew up outside the guerrilla regional command center of the Palestinian-Lebanese leftist alliance in Sidon, killing at least 29 people and wounding 108 others, mainly women and children from nearby apartments. A caller, claiming to be a spokesman for the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners, said, "Lebanon will never be the base or passageway of any aliens or usurpers." The source of the explosion was thought to be a truck packed with explosives parked outside the building.

Little is known about the Front, except that it has been responsible for other anti-PLO attacks and the aborted assassination attempt on U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean (see August 28, 1980). Previous callers have claimed that the Front seeks the departure from Lebanon of Palestinian guerrillas and Syrian troops.

82. September 17, 1981

Lebanon. A cement factory in Chekka, northern Lebanon, owned by pro-Palestinian former president of Lebanon, was the target of a powerful explosion which demolished the factory, killing four people and wounding eight others. The attack was almost simultaneous with a similar bombing in Sidon at PLO regional offices. The Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners claimed credit for the attack.

83. September 18, 1981

Lebanon. A booby-trapped car exploded in a Beirut suburb, killing two of its occupants and seriously wounding two others. Police said the device was concealed inside the car, but that there were indications that the bomb exploded en route to an unknown target. The Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners claimed responsibility for the bombing, the third by the group in a 24-hour period. A caller identifying himself as a member of the group stated, "Our objectives are very clear and we will continue our struggle until not a single alien or conspirator remains on Lebanese soil."

84. September 20, 1981

Lebanon. The fourth terrorist bomb in as many days exploded in a crowded movie theater in the Moslem section of West Beirut, killing at least four people and wounding 36 others. The Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners claimed responsibility for the attack in a

telephone call. The caller said that "this operation of ours is to prove to the PLO that we are not a fictitious group and all the threats in the world against us will remain fictitious," a statement which possibly referred to the PLO's assertion that the group was merely a fictitious front for Israeli operations. The political message of the bombing was somewhat unclear. There were reports that many of those in the audience were off-duty Syrian soldiers.

85. September 24, 1981

France. Four armed members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), Suicide Commandos of Yeghia Kechichian, armed with automatic weapons and grenades, seized the Turkish consular offices in Paris. After shooting their way past two French policemen at the door, the terrorists made their way upstairs into the consulate proper, where they held 51 people hostage, mostly Turkish immigrant workers. A Turkish guard was fatally wounded. The Turkish vice consul was also seriously wounded in the chest and was released by the gunmen. At the same time, one of the terrorists surrendered with a gunshot wound in the shoulder. He was later identified as the leader of the group. In Beirut, an ASALA spokesman said the attackers would kill their hostages if their demands were not met and would blow up the building if the French tried to intervene. They demanded that the Turkish government free Armenian political prisoners within 12 hours and fly them to Paris. The Turks refused to deal with the gunmen and said there were no political prisoners in Turkish jails, only extremists of the left and right.

Negotiations were carried out by an Armenian "newsman" in Armenian. After 15 hours, when the deadline had passed without incident, the remaining three terrorists, one of whom was slightly wounded, surrendered peacefully, requesting political asylum from the French government. None of the hostages were harmed.

Members of the Armenian community criticized the handling of the incident, claiming that the French Interior Minister had promised political asylum to the terrorists but then reneged and declared they would all be tried in French courts. Later, the Minister confirmed the charges, saying that the terrorists had been desperate and he had agreed in order to calm them. In any case, the Suicide Commandos felt that they had reached their objective. They had not really expected prisoners to be released but did receive the publicity they wanted for their cause.

86. September 29, 1981

Lebanon. A car parked near a restaurant in a South Lebanon village exploded, killing 15 people and injuring at least 40 others. The car exploded a short distance from a checkpoint where militia units were searching for explosive devices. Similar bombings in the past month have been claimed by the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners, a rightist group intent on ridding Lebanon of Palestinian and Syrian troops.

87. October 1, 1981

Lebanon. A huge car bomb exploded in the crowded Palestinian quarter of Beirut, killing 83 people and wounding another 300. The explosion took place on a street in an area housing some of the offices of the PLO. The attack was claimed by the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners, a group responsible for several such bombings in the previous month. The caller for the group warned that the attacks would go on "until no foreigners were left...and the operations will not be confined to Lebanon and will involve notable personalities in the world."

88. October 6, 1981

Italy. A bomb killed a senior official of the PLO in his Rome hotel room. Police said it was a highly professional assassination. A PLO spokesman blamed Israel for the attack. However, shortly after the explosion, which was believed to have been caused by a booby-trapped telephone, the assassination was claimed in the name of the General Command of Al-Assifa, the Syrian-supported group headed by Palestinian dissident Abu Nidal. Nidal broke with Arafat in the early 1970s and waged a war in which eight PLO representatives were killed. The caller from the group stated that the PLO official had been killed because he represented the "line of surrender" and was trying to "compromise about the principles of our revolution."

89. October 20, 1981

Belgium. A bomb exploded in a truck near a synagogue in the heart of the diamond center in Antwerp shortly before a scheduled Jewish ceremony. The tremendous blast killed four people and injured 95 others. The bomb had been planted in a delivery truck parked the night before. An anonymous caller told the Belgian news agency that the attack was carried out by the Group of Direct Action, Belgian Section, a French group that had never before perpetrated an action outside French borders. A caller claiming to be from Direct Action called the French press and disclaimed the incident entirely.

The next day, the attack was claimed by a caller speaking for Black September. The caller said that three more bomb attacks were planned for Belgium. He ended the call shouting several times, "Palestine will conquer."

The bombing occurred on a religious holiday, shortly before religious services were to begin. On the same feast day the previous year, a bomb attached to a parked motorbike exploded in Paris outside a synagogue on the Rue Copernic, killing four people (see October 3, 1980). Other similarities with the Paris synagogue attack appeared during subsequent investigations.

90. October 24, 1981

Italy. U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Rabb was hastily flown out of Milan

after Italian authorities discovered a Libyan plot to assassinate him. According to one source, Ambassador Rabb was Qaddafi's No. 1 target to avenge the shooting down of two Libyan jets by American fighters over the Gulf of Sidra off the Libyan coast on August 19.

91. October 26, 1981

France. An explosion in a booby-trapped car on the Champs-Elysees in Paris destroyed the parked car but injured no one. A series of similar attacks during the following week baffled police. Some of the attacks were claimed by the mysterious Liberation Army of Canaque, but the militant separatists of New Caledonia denied responsibility. A new group called September-France also claimed credit for many of the attacks. Authorities also suspect the extreme right and Action Directe.

92. November 5, 1981

France. A bomb exploded at Paris' Gare de Lyon train station, injuring one person. Later, the attack was claimed by the previously unknown Orly Organization, an Armenian group.

93. November 7, 1981

Lebanon. In an incident similar to the attempted kidnapping of the French Ambassador (September 4, 1981), three gunmen attempted to enter the car of the Saudi Arabian commercial attache. The diplomat's security guards riding with him fought off the potential kidnappers. The diplomat was wounded during the shootout. The Syrian-backed radical Palestinian group Al-Assifa is suspected of involvement in the incident.

94. November 12, 1981

France. A black-bearded youth wielding a pistol fired a half-dozen shots at the top-ranking U.S. diplomat in France in a botched assassination attempt outside the diplomat's apartment near the Eiffel Tower. The diplomat escaped injury by ducking behind his embassy sedan after seeing a man reach into his leather jacket, move swiftly toward the diplomat, and fire away in full view of several passersby. The gunman was described as "a Middle Eastern type." The assailant--apparently acting alone--fled the scene on foot. Responsibility for the attack was later claimed by the Lebanese Revolutionary Armed Faction.

95. November 12, 1981

Lebanon. The Orly Group, an Armenian organization, claimed credit for two anti-French bomb attacks in Beirut. The group is named for an event at Orly Airport in Paris, the arrest of an Armenian by the French police for carrying a false passport. The group demanded his immediate release and threatened that French diplomats would become targets.

96. November 17, 1981

Israel. The central office of the PLO in Beirut claimed responsibility for the shooting of the Arab mayor of Ramallah, a West Bank town, for his display of cooperation with Israeli authorities to set up moderate self-governing bodies in the area. Palestinian nationalists oppose the plan because it would keep the West Bank and Gaza Strip under Israeli occupation, at least for a five-year transition period.

97. December 7, 1981

Switzerland. In a bid to force Libya's Colonel Qaddafi to return a Shiite Moslem leader missing since an official visit to Libya in August 1978, three men hijacked a Libyan Airlines jet carrying 47 passengers on a flight from Zurich to Tripoli and forced the crew to fly to Beirut. After refueling, the terrorists took the plane and hostages on an arduous 3-day trip to Athens, Rome, Tehran, and two additional landings in Beirut. During landings in Beirut, it was reported that they picked up additional members of their Shiite sect until there were five armed militants aboard. On the last landing in Beirut, the terrorists gave themselves up and freed their hostages after five hours of negotiations.

This was the sixth hijacking by the Shiites to try to uncover the truth about their leader's disappearance. Qaddafi claims that the Imam Musa Sadr completed his visit in Tripoli and boarded a plane for Rome. Italian police reported that the Imam's luggage did arrive in the city, but there was no evidence that the Imam accompanied it. Many of the Imam's followers believe that he is dead, but there is hope in some quarters that he was kidnapped and may still be alive.

98. December 7, 1981

Venezuela. A group of 11 hooded, armed terrorists claiming to be Puerto Rican independence fighters and backers of El Salvador's leftist guerrillas hijacked three Venezuelan airliners with more than 260 people on board in a meticulously planned and executed operation. In a 30-hour ordeal which ended in Cuba, the planes traveled from Venezuela to Honduras, Guatemala, Colombia, and Panama for refueling and the release of some 130 of the passengers, mainly women and children, in exchange for maps of Central America, food, medical supplies, and fuel.

There was confusion as to the actual identity of the hijackers--one person referred to the group as members of the Ramon Emeterio Betances Puerto Rico Independence Commandos. Some released passengers stated that the hijackers wore armbands proclaiming "El Salvador will win!" and passed out leaflets with the signature of FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front), while ground controllers said that one had a Venezuelan accent. In Caracas, authorities said they believed the gunmen were linked to Venezuela's Red Flag guerrilla group or to Colombia's M-19. One priest said the terrorists on his plane identified themselves to him as a Salvadoran, a Puerto Rican, and a Venezuelan. The leaders of each plane's group were known simply as Commandantes 9, 10, and 11.

There was also confusion about what the terrorists were demanding. Each of the respective governments was secretive about its dealings with the terrorists. Bogota Radio, however, broadcast the group's communique, in which they requested the release of several Venezuelan political prisoners being held in Caracas, a ransom of \$10 million, and the publication of their communique in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela.

In a 1973 hijacking agreement signed with Venezuela, Cuba is obligated to return the three Venezuelan planes, the hijackers, and all others aboard. On arrival in Havana, the gunmen were taken into custody by Cuban police. Cuba has stated only that they are under arrest and will be tried in Cuba.

99. December 15, 1981

Lebanon. A suicide terrorist driving a car packed with explosives sped through machine-gun fire into the compound of the Iraqi embassy, causing two explosions which completely demolished the building, wounding over 100 persons and killing at least 61 others. The explosion damaged nearby buildings and cars, injuring many within the block. The Iraqi ambassador was among the dead; his body was found 10 days later. At first, the death toll was unknown because of the countless people buried beneath the rubble.

The disastrous attack was claimed by the Army for the Liberation of Kurdistan, an area of Iran under Iraqi control. Another call to AFP claimed responsibility for the attack under the name of the Iraqi Liberation Army General Command.

100. December 17, 1981

Italy. Red Brigades terrorists kidnapped Brigadier General James Lee Dozier from his home in Verona. Two armed assailants, who were disguised as plumbers when they entered his apartment, overpowered the general and carried him off in a trunk. Later, it was revealed that as many as eight terrorists were involved in the operation. The general's wife was bound and gagged with chains and plastic tape. She alerted neighbors several hours later by banging on the apartment walls. A telephone caller to ANSA announced: "We claim the kidnapping of the NATO hangman James Dozier. He is confined to a people's prison and will be subjected to the judgment of the proletariat."

The general was the first American kidnapped by the Red Brigades, although the group has kidnapped several Italian officials, including former Prime Minister Aldo Moro, who was killed in 1978. Dozier is deputy chief of staff of logistics and administration at Verona headquarters for allied land forces in southern Europe, and the senior U.S. Army officer.

On December 19, the Red Brigades' first communique was received. The six-page communique was a manifesto against NATO, the Geneva arms talks, and

multinational corporations. It called for a class war against imperialism, an action that would include "all the other revolutionary forces of Europe," mentioning ETA and the IRA. The striking feature of the communique was that it dealt largely with international matters, while in the past the group has concerned itself mainly with attacks on the Italian social system and governing class.

On December 27, in Milan, the second communique was received. It consisted of a photograph of the kidnapped general in front of the group's symbol, a five-pointed star, holding a placard with terrorist slogans. The six-page communique noted among other things that the trial of the general in the "people's court" had begun. Attached was a 188-page "Resolution of the Strategic Command of the Red Brigades, December 1981."

The third communique, received January 6, 1982, dedicated as before to Red Brigades ideology, also provided transcripts of the "trial" of the general. It was ascertained from this that nothing had been obtained from the general other than recounts of his career and a military assessment of past events. A fourth communique, received January 16, 1982, made little mention of Dozier and consisted mainly of ideological slogans. This was followed by the fifth communique, received January 25, which included a photo of the general wearing a beard.

The largest search in the history of antiterrorist police work in Italy took place during this time and uncovered more than a score of terrorists but no direct trace of the whereabouts of the general. There was pessimism in the community about the possibilities of finding the general alive because he was believed held by the hard-line faction of the Red Brigades at a time of ideological divisions within the group. However, with the aid of clues from raided Red Brigades hideouts and multiple terrorist arrests, police discovered the "people's prison" of General Dozier. In a highly efficient operation, an elite unit of Italian police raided an apartment in Padua in northern Italy on January 28, 1982, and rescued Dozier after 42 days of captivity. As the police broke in, one of the five terrorists present held a gun to Dozier's head but was struck down by a member of the antiterrorist squad before he could fire. Dozier was exhausted but unharmed.

Appendix B

NUCLEAR INCIDENTS ABROAD: 1980-1981

1. January 19, 1980

Spain. ETA was blamed for an early morning bombing of the company offices of Iberduero, the builders of the controversial nuclear power plant at Lemoniz. The explosion was caused by a 6-pound bomb attached to a barred window of the building.

2. February 3, 1980

Spain. A large number of electrical batteries destined for the Lemoniz nuclear plant were destroyed at dawn by an ETA commando team that attacked the SAPT Iberica factory in Vitoria, the capital of the Alava province in northern Spain. The damages amounted to 30 million pesetas, according to a company spokesman, not including delays to the nuclear power plant, which could add another 70 million pesetas. The materials, which were totally destroyed without damage to the remainder of the factory, were primarily alkaline nickel-cadmium batteries.

The attack began when three individuals appeared at about 10:00 p.m. at the home of the manager of the warehouse in Vitoria. The son of the manager opened the door; he was pushed inside the house by the assailants, one of whom said that they were from ETA. When the three had gained entrance, a fourth person appeared, hooded and armed. The commandos then asked the manager to drive them to the warehouse containing the batteries intended for Lemoniz. While the manager drove the first three individuals to the warehouse in his own car, the armed and hooded assailant remained in the house guarding the manager's wife and son.

Once at the warehouse, the assailants assured themselves of the existence of the Iberduero material, which was marked for shipment to its destination. At the same time, part of the team proceeded to disarm two guards, appropriating eight revolvers. Later they locked the guards in an isolated hut. They then took the electrical devices intended for Iberduero, carrying them to a dock located outside the plant. They used a fork lift and took considerable time in the operation. After placing the explosive material among the batteries, they tied up the manager, away from the explosive site, and fled in his car. Shortly afterwards, they collected the fourth member of the team, who had been advised of the end of the operation. The manager succeeded in freeing himself at 3:00 a.m. and called a high-ranking official of the firm to inform him of what had happened. The police were informed at 3:20 a.m. However, the device exploded and destroyed the batteries and crates destined for Lemoniz. No one was injured.

According to authorized spokesmen, the components that were destroyed were to be installed in the second phase of construction of the Lemoniz power plant. Their destruction had no effect on the initiation of the first unit of the power plant, planned for the second six months of 1981.

3. February 7, 1980

France. A train carrying irradiated fuel from the centrale of Chinon (Indre-et-Loire) and bound for the retreatment center of La Hague (Manche) was attacked during the night of February 7-8 by two antinuclear militants. Toward 3:00 a.m., two hooded men stopped the convoy by means of a red light, 11 kilometers before Bayeux (Calvados). After advising the two conductors to remain calm, the militants sawed through the brake conduit before painting antinuclear slogans on the cars. After this incident, the train slowly proceeded to Bayeux, where it was repaired before reaching La Hague 6 hours late. The Movement of Resistance to Nuclearization, unknown until then, claimed credit for this action. In a communique, it explained that it wished to "denounce the French electro-nuclear program of the retreatment plant at La Hague, a veritable world atomic garbage can, representing the most dangerous and the most polluting link."

4. February 1980

France. Riot police and naval authorities in the French port of Cherbourg clashed with antinuclear demonstrators pursuing a British ship carrying spent fuel from Japan. Naval officials said the *Pacific Swan* was chased into port by the *Rainbow Warrior*, a vessel manned by antinuclear militants from the environmentalist organization Greenpeace, but gunboats of the French navy protected the cargo ship and guided it into port, where the atomic waste was unloaded without incident. Initial reports said the clashes were violent, but there were no immediate reports of casualties.

5. April 25, 1980

France. A container of dynamite was discovered by chance in a water transport canal near Framatome's main pressure vessel plant at Chalon-sur-Saone. Authorities safely removed the container and investigated the area but found no other explosives.

The container was submerged in a manmade canal about 50 meters from the Framatome plant. The canal is used for transport of large reactor parts. A Framatome source said it was unlikely that any explosion would have damaged the plant itself, but the position of the explosives in a canal near the plant indicated attempted sabotage. The source said it was not yet known how long the container had been in the water or who might have put it there. It was discovered by a boatman retrieving something he had dropped into the canal.

6. May 26, 1980

France. An explosive charge seriously damaged one of the pylons

supporting two cables carrying 400,000 volts of electric current from the nuclear centrale of Fessenheim to Mery-sur-Seine in northeastern France. No one claimed responsibility.

7. May 31, 1980

France. In the late afternoon, an explosive charge seriously damaged one of the pylons supporting two cables carrying 400,000 volts of electric current from the nuclear centrale of Fessenheim to Mery-sur-Seine in northeastern France. This was the second attack on the same line in a matter of days. No one claimed responsibility.

8. June 3, 1980

South Africa. In Pretoria, a university research scientist was convicted on charges of trying to uncover South Africa's atomic secrets and make them available to the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and a Swiss-based international student group. The most serious charge against the scientist was that he sent the student group an Atomic Energy Board report detailing where it would be seismologically safe to explode nuclear devices. He also was accused of drawing a general layout of a nuclear power plant and trying to send it to the ANC through a cover address in London.

9. June 7, 1980

Canada. During an antinuclear demonstration at the Darlington Nuclear Generating Station in Ontario, eleven members of Greenpeace came ashore on the Lake Ontario side of the site in aluminum fishing boats and rubber dinghies. Later in the afternoon, blankets and rugs were thrown over the barbed wire at the top of the fence, and those protestors who chose to trespass climbed over onto the site. Police arrested more than 120 persons for trespassing on the Ontario Hydro property. Hydro had supplied garbage cans and portable toilets and had cut the grass for the demonstration, which involved about 800 people giving speeches, dancing, and singing.

10. June 14, 1980

France. An Egyptian, Yahia El Meshad, was found murdered in his room at the Meridien Hotel in Paris. Authorities released his identity several days later. El Meshad was a nuclear scientist who worked for the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission. Egyptian-born, trained by the Soviet Union, he was on loan to Iraq for 5 years and was considered to be the key technical liaison with France for installation and operation of the Osirak research reactor in Iraq. He was regarded as an expert in the operation of all types of reactors. Two days before his death, he had just completed a week-long visit at the French Commissariat a l'Energie Atomique, which included a 3-day training session in thermonuclear fusion and nuclear safety. His death had intimations of political intrigue because of his involvement with the French-Iraqi reactor deal. Saboteurs blew up the reactors' main components in April 1979, just prior to delivery, but fulfillment of the deal with Iraq was merely postponed to 1981.

11. June 27, 1980

France. The French capital was shaken at dawn by explosions in five different locations which caused considerable damage but no injuries. All bombings were directed against factories or premises related to the nuclear sector. Credit for the bombings was claimed in an anonymous telephone call to Agence France Presse by the Communist Anti-Nuclear Front, a previously unknown group. According to the caller, the actions were directed against "enterprises making material for the construction of nuclear centrales and against the nuclear capitalist society." "Long live proletarian sabotage," declared the caller.

Two persons were arrested in connection with the five Paris bombings a few days later. They confessed to placing one explosive but claimed no knowledge of the four other bombings. Police were also searching for two friends of the suspects, having found arms and ammunition at their residence.

12. July 2, 1980

France. Three Breton deputies and several magistrates who had earlier expressed their support of the nuclear project at Plogoff received pellets of feebly radioactive material in the mail described as "symbols of an economic development which we reject because it brings us only destruction."

13. July 9, 1980

United Kingdom. Police made seven arrests after 20 antinuclear protesters forced a train carrying radioactive waste to halt in the English countryside, between Gloucester and Sharpness. Three women and four men were detained after resisting arrest. After the arrests, police called in heavy machinery to clear the line.

The demonstrators had erected a scaffolding on a rail line near the village of Dursley, about 70 miles west of London. The train was carrying radioactive sludge and other waste to Sharpness docks along the River Severn, where it was to be loaded on a ship for burial 500 miles out in the Atlantic, two miles deep. The demonstrators put up the 10-foot-high scaffolding at dawn, along with antinuclear banners, and stood on it as the train approached and ground to a halt. They had given no advance warning, police said.

Although the barrier was on a straight stretch of track, a British Rail spokesman asserted, "Had this train been going through at a time when the light was not so good, it could have plowed straight through this obstruction, possibly injuring the demonstrators and the crew." The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority said that there was no danger to the public, since the radioactive material was encased in cement. It was "no more harmful than a trainload of cement," an authority spokesman said.

The protesters were from an organization called the Bath Anti-Nuclear Group. In 1979, the group staged a sit-in at Sharpness docks to prevent waste from being loaded on a ship for burial at sea.

14. July 12, 1980

France. A young woman, apparently drunk, got into a quarrel with a man driving a car down the Boulevard Saint-Germain in Paris. He slapped her; she fell to the ground and was hit and killed instantly by a passing car. She had been the only witness to the murder of an Egyptian physicist a month earlier (see June 14, 1980).

15. July 17, 1980

France. A previously unknown group called "Superman" (Super-Mouvement Anti-Nucleaire) claimed responsibility for an explosion at a hydroelectric plant on the Garonne River. The strong explosion damaged the site of the control levers of the floodgates of Pier No. 1. Barrels of oil in the next room caught fire and caused the most damage, but the plant was still functioning. In a communique to Agence France Presse, "Superman" declared that the attack was a protest against the operation of the nuclear centrale of Golfech, 7 kilometers from the dam. The EDF (Electricite de France) management pointed out, however, that the group was ill-informed: The original plan to use the water from the dam to cool the reactors had been abandoned in favor of an auto-cooling method.

16. August 1980

Australia. Australian federal police seized slightly over 2 tons of yellowcake (uranium oxide) which were believed to have been stolen from the Mary Kathleen Uranium Ltd. (MKU) mine in Queensland. The yellowcake was believed to have been stolen in small quantities over two or three years and stored at Mount Isa before being shipped to a metals trader in Sydney.

Police charged a man at the Mount Isa mining town with the theft. The general manager of MKU told newsmen his firm had been contacted by federal authorities about a week before and informed that a quantity of processed uranium had been shipped to a Sydney metals trader.

The manager said MKU had not missed any uranium oxide from the mine, which until last June was Australia's only yellowcake producer. The company's security precautions were up to international standards and had been approved by the federal government's Australian Safeguards Office, which is responsible for regulation of uranium mining and export. The manager said it would have been incredibly difficult to prevent small quantities of yellowcake from being removed over a long period. Security procedures are being reviewed.

17. August 6, 1980

Spain. The Basque terrorist group ETA claimed responsibility for a

massive explosion at Iberduero offices in San Sebastian. The building was partially destroyed.

18. August 7, 1980

Italy. In Rome, a devastating bomb assault took place against SNIA-Techint, the company that had furnished Iraq with nuclear technology. The attack was claimed by the Committee for the Defense of the Islamic Revolution (Comite de sauvegarde de la revolution islamique). On the same day, another bombing, in France, was also claimed by the Committee (see France, August 7, 1980). 8/9/80)

19. August 7, 1980

France. An attack against a bookseller's home was discovered to be in error when the Committee for Safeguarding the Islamic Revolution, (Comite de sauvegarde de la revolution islamique), heretofore unknown, claimed credit for the act. The bookseller's only crime was having the same name as a researcher who had participated in work on the Osirak nuclear research reactor sold by France to Iraq. The Committee claimed the victim had "received the Legion of Honor by making atomic weapons and we have given him what he deserved for his work against our revolution. We are concerned about all collaborators in the renegade regime of Iraq."

The bombing followed a meeting in which the French Prime Minister reassured Iraq's ambassador that France would deliver both the research reactors and the high-enriched uranium which Iraq insists on using as fuel. The French are developing a lower-enriched fuel, but Iraq will not take it.

The Committee was involved in other actions on that same day. A bombing in Italy was claimed by the same group (see Italy, August 7, 1980). Several telephone threats were received by some French scientists and by companies participating in construction of the reactors. One manager was told, "If you continue to make atomic weapons that will lead to trouble for you and your qualified personnel."

20. August 8, 1980

Spain. Three armed and hooded men burst into the offices of Iberduero, in the Basque region of Spain. They set fire to a pile of company documents and then fled. Iberduero has been under attack for its building of the controversial Lemoniz nuclear power station.

21. August 18, 1980

Spain. Bombs damaged a 35-meter pylon built to carry electric lines from the Asco nuclear power plant in Catalonia. The site of the uncompleted plant has been the target of a number of antinuclear demonstrations and was the rallying point for a recent antinuclear march. Police believe that radical antinuclear groups were responsible.

22. September 30, 1980

Iraq. Iranian fighter-bombers attacked the Iraqi nuclear research center near Baghdad. It marked the first time a nuclear installation had become a wartime target. The two reactors, part of a French-Iraqi project, were not damaged. Bombs fell on the auxiliary installation, the training center, and the living quarters of the staff of the compound, but there were no casualties. The French immediately evacuated 350 of their 400 engineers and technicians working on the project. There was never any danger from radiation because neither of the reactors had started operations yet and were not to go into service until sometime the following year.

23. October 1980

United Kingdom. The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority admitted that two fuel pins that were irradiated in the Dounreay fast reactor in 1973 and 1977, respectively, were unaccounted for. Authorities claimed that this was undoubtedly due to a clerical error, though there had been no public disclosure at the times that the pins had been missed. The amounts of plutonium were not considered significant, but the loss of the pins was presented as a dramatic revelation during the course of a BBC production.

24. October 23, 1980

France. Five technicians carrying out preliminary studies on the site of what is planned to be the biggest nuclear power station in Europe, at Plogoff in Brittany, were taken prisoner by 30 local people who had formed a committee to stop the project.

The technicians were made to show their identity papers, the film was removed from their camera, and their car was searched. After being held for 3 hours, they were allowed to leave the area.

The president of the local antinuclear committee said afterwards that the residents of the area intended to treat other "undesirable visitors" in a similar fashion. The government has yet to give final approval to the project, after a hotly contested planning inquiry.

25. December 1980

Spain. Basque terrorists blew up the control room of an Iberduero switching station near San Sebastian.

26. December 4, 1980

Federal Republic of Germany. An explosion in an office building in Cologne was believed directed at the offices of the Society for Nuclear Reactor Security. The government nuclear power research group has been plagued in the past with other forms of antinuclear protest. The bomb destroyed the front entrance to the building causing damage estimated at \$500,000, but there were no injuries.

27. January 1, 1981

Spain. Three bombs were placed at three electrical centers in the Basque country. Two caused serious damage, and the third was defused. The electrical installations belong to Iberduero, the company in charge of constructing the Lemoniz nuclear plant. Lemoniz has been the target of several bombings by members of ETA.

28. January 26, 1981

Soviet Union. Unknown terrorists gained access to the sleeping compartment of four Japanese nuclear experts traveling from Moscow to Leningrad aboard an overnight express. The four businessmen were knocked unconscious by a gas sprayed under their compartment door. The four were robbed of their passports and visas, together with their valuables. Soviet officials later reported the arrest of individuals responsible for the theft.

The four victims were specialists in industrial uses of nuclear power and were returning from a nuclear energy symposium as guests of the Soviet Government's Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. It was not known whether they carried any sensitive information with them or not, and they did not report any interference with their technical papers, but it was speculated that the incident may have overtones of industrial espionage. The assailants could have photographed their material without the victims' knowledge. One source stated that even if the four had been carrying sensitive information, they may not have wanted to reveal that technical data had been compromised.

29. January 29, 1981

Spain. In an escalation of its campaign against the building of the nuclear power plant at Lemoniz, the hard-line military wing of ETA kidnapped Jose Maria Ryan, the chief engineer of Iberduero, the Spanish utility company building the plant. They threatened to kill the engineer within one week unless the two-thirds-completed structure was dismantled. The construction of the nuclear power station, which is part of government plans to reduce Spain's dependence on imported oil, is valued at \$1.5 billion and has been a target of ETA and ecologist groups ever since work began at the site in 1975.

Iberduero took no action, saying only that it would accept whatever the Basque government decided on the future of the plant. The blindfolded body of Ryan, 39, the father of five, was discovered by police, shot in the back of the head and dumped in a ditch on February 6, three hours after ETA announced his execution. "The execution of Ryan is not an isolated action, but the opening of a new front."

The killing was widely condemned in the Basque region, and it was supposed that the group itself had misjudged the reaction the murder would evoke from even previous sympathizers. A general strike closed down most businesses, and nearly 100,000 people took part in a huge

antiterrorist protest. The Political Military branch of ETA issued a statement thoroughly condemning the actions of the Military branch. The incident did carry some measure of success however. Giving in to the terrorist pressure, Iberduero suspended construction of the controversial nuclear plant indefinitely, because of "the anguish of the workers of Lemoniz and their families."

30. January 29, 1981

Spain. Shortly after the kidnapping of its chief engineer at Lemoniz, Iberduero suffered a fatal bombing at its utility in Tudela. One man was killed in the blast and all electrical supplies were cut off to Tudela.

31. February 1981

Switzerland. A Swiss firm, Cora Engineering, which has supplied Pakistan with parts believed to be for an enrichment facility, reported a bomb attack at the home of one of its executives. No one was hurt in the attack, and the perpetrators were not identified.

32. February 8, 1981

France. A pylon supporting a 400,000-volt high-tension line linking the nuclear centrale of Bugey with the hydroelectric complex of Genissiat (Ain department) was destroyed by a powerful plastic bomb during the night. An anonymous caller to Agence France-Presse claimed credit for the bombing in the name of several ecological friends.

33. March 1981

Spain. The Basque terrorist organization ETA sent death threats to 33 Iberduero technicians working on the Lemoniz nuclear power plant. The guerrillas warned that the murder of Jose Maria Ryan, the plant's chief nuclear engineer, was "not an isolated act, but rather the opening of a new front which will affect all specialized personnel." The letter also stated that the "actions we plan to carry out from this moment are not related to the position you hold in the company. It is because of your participation in the illegal Lemoniz project." After a one-week strike to protest Ryan's death, the workers returned to the plant.

34. March 2, 1981

Federal Republic of Germany. A worker discovered a bomb in a briefcase bound with tape at the West Berlin turbine plant of Kraftwerk Union, builders of nuclear power stations. Explosives experts defused the homemade bomb. The bomb was discovered after a massive weekend anti-nuclear demonstration.

35. March 26, 1981

Switzerland. Cora Engineering, a company known to be the supplier for a possible Pakistani enrichment facility, reported new threats on its

executives. An anonymous caller threatened to repeat the bombing of Cora personnel (see February 1981), and in response the company halted deliveries to Pakistan. The identity of the caller was unknown.

36. April 28, 1981

Spain. ETA claimed credit for attacks against two Iberduero transformers in San Sebastian.

37. April 30, 1981

Spain. An Iberduero transformer in Berriz, Biscay, a Basque province, was destroyed in the night by a powerful bomb. The military branch of ETA has claimed credit for similar attacks.

38. May 10, 1981

France. An explosive attack against a construction yard destroyed 13 bulldozers during the night. The machines belonged to the contractor involved in the construction of the nuclear power station at Golfech. In a communique claiming responsibility for the attack, signed simply "Les antinucleaires," the militants declared, "Our friend Francois Mitterand, recently elected President of the Republic, has demonstrated his firmness with the establishment of the moratorium on nuclear power plants. Anxious to show him our support, we have stopped the machines which work on building these plants."

39. May 19, 1981

Federal Republic of Germany. A West German company producing nuclear-related equipment was hit by a bomb blast causing an estimated \$50,000 damage. An anonymous caller claimed responsibility for the attack and said he represented a group trying to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to South Asia. He also threatened the director with death if the company continued exporting to Pakistan.

40. June 7, 1981

Iraq. Because of reports from Israeli intelligence that the Iraqi reactors near Baghdad would soon be operational and capable of producing atomic weapons which could be used against Israel, the Israeli government decided to act "without further delay to insure the Israeli people's existence." Israeli fighter-bombers destroyed the Iraqi reactors in a surprise raid. Israel claimed that the attack was deliberately planned for the Christian sabbath to avoid casualties to foreign technicians. However, one Frenchman was killed.

There was strong worldwide condemnation of the attack. Iraq accused Israel of aiding Iran in the war that broke out in September 1980, claiming that Israel had participated in the earlier attack on the nuclear installation. Iraq, which said its nuclear technology had not been seriously damaged and would quickly be rebuilt, also asked for an immediate meeting of the U.N. Security Council, which, on June 19, voted to "strongly condemn" Israel.

The official government announcement said that Israel had learned "from sources whose reliability is beyond any doubt...that this reactor, despite its camouflage, is designed to produce atomic bombs." Iraq denied that the \$260 million project was for military purposes. France, which supplied the reactor, said it would be subject to inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency to prevent diversion of nuclear material for use in weapons.

Israel had consistently warned France about its involvement in the controversial deal with Iraq. France sold the reactor core to Iraq and assisted in the construction of the reactor, as well as in the training of the Iraqi technicians and scientists. During a press conference, Israeli Prime Minister Begin referred to France and Italy, saying, "Two European governments, in return for oil, have assisted the Iraqi tyrant in the construction of atomic weapons. We again call upon them to desist from this horrifying, inhumane deed. Under no circumstances will we allow an enemy to develop weapons of mass destruction against our people."

The bombing was the latest in a series of events designed to delay the Iraqi nuclear program. In April 1979, saboteurs destroyed the core of an Iraqi-bound reactor just before its delivery, and there was speculation that the saboteurs were Israeli agents. In August 1980, the senior nuclear scientist in charge of directing the nuclear program was murdered in his Paris hotel room. Israeli agents were again suspected, but Israel denied involvement in both incidents. Israeli authorities estimated that the reactor had been destroyed and would take another two to three years to rebuild.

Iraq's losses from the bombing were estimated at some \$300 million. In August, the French government announced its agreement to rebuild the destroyed Iraqi reactor, stating that it felt a contractual obligation to complete the reactor. Saudi Arabia announced its willingness to pay for the project.

41. July 25, 1981

Spain. Basque guerrillas blew up three transformers in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa provinces, causing an estimated \$700,000 damage. In a communique issued after the blasts, ETA warned Iberduero, the electric company building the controversial nuclear power plant at Lemoniz, that failure to accept its demand to demolish Lemoniz would oblige the group to resort to extremist action. This appeared to be a veiled threat to carry out more assassinations such as the ETA killing of Iberduero's chief nuclear engineer (see January 29, 1981).

42. July 30, 1981

Spain. ETA terrorists destroyed part of the Pasajes thermal power plant in Guipuzcoa province with a 40-pound bomb, resulting in a power cut to 17 major industrial plants in the area. Businessmen in the area warned that the ETA bombings against Iberduero were causing business paralysis in the region.

43. July 30, 1981

Spain. A bomb set by ETA terrorists destroyed two Iberduero transformers, causing a power blackout in a large area near Bilbao.

44. August 30, 1981

France. An unknown assailant fired some shots through a window at the home of an EDF official working at the site of the Golfech nuclear power station.

45. October 4, 1981

France. Antinuclear demonstrators turned violent and threw Molotov cocktails onto the site of the Golfech power station in southwest France, badly damaging some buildings used by EDF and its subcontractors, some dredging equipment, and a guard house. Damage was estimated to be as much as \$894,000.

46. November 14, 1981

France. The Golfech Antinuclear Army claimed responsibility for a blast that destroyed a power transformer in the city of Agen. Half the area's residents were left without power. An anonymous caller to AFP said the blast was a "warning... From here on we will strike at city centres." There was no explanation of the group's reasons for the attack.

47. November 21, 1981

France. A group of ecologists and a longshoremen's committee made an agreement to block the unloading of Japanese spent fuel which arrived at the port of Cherbourg. The longshoremen are not considered antinuclear but are said to have agreed to the block to remove the ecologists, including members of Greenpeace, from their occupation of the dock's loading cranes. The refusal to unload the spent fuel resulted in a decision to mobilize military forces to transport the 20 tons of spent fuel to La Hague. It was unloaded at the military port at Cherbourg and transported by truck.

48. January 18, 1982

France. A group calling itself the Ecologist-Pacifist Committee claimed responsibility for firing five Soviet-built rockets at the site of a controversial breeder reactor, the Super-Phenix at Creys-Malville in southeastern France. The rockets were fired at the plant from across the Rhone River, but damage was minimal. The reactor building itself was hit, but having been designed to withstand the impact of a jetliner crash, it was not damaged. The steam-generator building was also hit and suffered some damage. The steam generators for the reactor were not yet on the site, and there was no nuclear material in the reactor. No one was injured in the attack, even though some 20 night-shift workers were present.

Police retrieved several rocket launchers across the river but arrested no suspects. They reported that the launchers were Soviet-made and were accompanied by a carrying case with an inscription in the Cyrillic alphabet. They said that rockets and launchers of this type, RPG-7s dating from 1963, could be bought in almost any illegal arms market in Europe for about \$500 each.

In a phone call to AFP, the little-known group claimed responsibility for the unprecedented attack on the reactor to protest the new government's change of policy concerning France's nuclear program. The new Socialist government is continuing the program as planned to further France's independence from foreign oil. The Super-Phenix, once completed, will be the world's largest nuclear breeder reactor, but it has provoked harsh opposition since its conception because its new fast-breeder core produces plutonium which can be used to produce nuclear weapons. Construction was not hindered by the attack. The plant is scheduled to be completed in two years.

49. May 5, 1982.

Spain. Two ETA Basque separatists shot and killed Angel Pascual Mugica, the manager of the nuclear power plant at Lemoniz, and escaped in a hail of bullets from their victim's bodyguards. Mugica was driving out of his garage when the attackers blocked the street with a stolen car, riddling Pascual with pistol fire and wounding his 16-year-old son who sat beside him in the car.

The technical staff of Lemoniz had only recently returned to work after a 15-month walkout following the murder of another Lemoniz official in February 1981. After Pascual's murder, work on Lemoniz came to a halt once more, as Spanish and Basque government officials and representatives of Iberduero considered the future of the embattled reactor.

