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BERTIL HÄGGMAN

**MOSCOW  
AND  
LOW-INTENSITY  
CONFLICT**

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AND TERROR

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## Introduction

International terrorism has formed an important part of Soviet strategy and tactics since the end of the 1960s. One of the purposes of this publication is to draw attention to the fact that low-intensity conflict has been a part of Moscow's policy throughout the 70 years since Lenin's coup d'état in 1917. Low-intensity conflict can be described as a political-military struggle to achieve political, social, economic or psychological objectives. It differs from conventional warfare in that there is no actual deployment of national armed forces, it is protracted, raging continuously over decades, and ranges from psychological and political warfare to terrorism, including assassination and kidnapping.

Naturally, the West must defend itself against the use of this type of warfare by Moscow and its surrogates in Havana, Managua, East Berlin and Prague, to mention but a few. As it is state-sponsored covert warfare, the main responsibility for protecting Western societies lies with our governments. The private sector can, however, play a significant role by informing Western public about the threat.

The fact that this booklet is published by the Ukrainian Central Information Service in London is important. Ukrainian resistance leaders abroad have been targets of Soviet intelligence for several decades after Lenin's seizure of power in Russia because they have been regarded as a particularly serious threat, perhaps the main threat, to the Soviet Russian regime. It is necessary today, when the heirs of Lenin and Stalin are using different methods in the low-intensity field, to remind the world of what happened in the decades before and after WW2. Although Moscow may no longer use assassination and kidnapping against "enemies of the state", we know, however, that the KGB (Committee of State Security) and the GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence) are planning to use, with the approval of the Central Committee of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), sabotage, assassination and subversion in the West in the event of conflict or general war. Intelligence agencies of Soviet satellite regimes still use the assassination of opponents in the West as a technique. A direct line can be drawn from the assassinations of Ukrainian resistance leaders in the 1920s, 1930s and 1950s to international terrorist warfare and the planning and preparation of Spetsnaz operations today.

A well-informed public in the Western democracies is an indispensable part of the response to communist low-intensity warfare. If the general public is aware of the methods used by Moscow it will be more receptive to an active response by Western nations.

High-quality intelligence, together with research, are important factors in the response. They form the basis for creating policies and programmes to resist the attacks.

Cooperation between the United States, Western Europe and other free nations around the world to develop countermeasures is another useful tool.

The large and wealthy democracies have an obligation to provide endangered countries with economic and military assistance. Pakistan, Honduras, Thailand and Costa Rica are examples of such countries. But it is also important to support freedom fighters all over the world, both those who are engaged in insurgent warfare against Moscow and surrogate regimes, and those who are involved in disseminating information about, and resisting, communist activities in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain.

Political and diplomatic pressure, together with economic sanctions, are valuable tools in opposing international terrorism.

It is important that information campaigns and foreign language broadcasts are used to expose the methods employed by Moscow and its client regimes to destabilise the West. Glasnost and perestroika have not changed this Soviet policy. Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Radio Marti are useful means of informing the peoples of the subjugated nations about the communist state-sponsorship of terrorism. Campaigns to inform the general public and make it more aware of the threat would be an active and effective countermeasure in the West. It is my hope that this publication will contribute to the general effort. Hopefully, it will make the reader, émigré or not, reflect on what freedom and democracy are up against, and what she or he can do to help counter the threat.

Helsingborg (Sweden) April 1989.

Bertil Häggman

## 1. Historical Antecedents — Terror in Russia

Although the Jacobin terror during the French Revolution is probably the most well-known historical tradition of revolutionary violence in modern history, the terror tactic was perfected in Russia. It was a new, ascetic, impersonal type of violence that was introduced in the Tsarist empire during the 19th century. A strategic concept of calculated revolutionary violence was then combined with the old ideal of direct action.

During the 1860s, the terrorist's bomb replaced the traditional dagger or pistol of the assassin. The terrorists of the 1860s, Dmitri Karakozov, Nikolai Ishutin, Ivan Khudiakov, and Sergei Nachayeff, were without doubt psychopaths. Their creed was "propaganda of the deed" which dramatised the cause. Actions and reactions would ultimately influence all the levels of society under attack. The use of terror against officials would, according to Nachayeff, cause such panic in governments that they would lash out indiscriminately against the terrorists. This would, in turn, make "oppression" so obvious that it would lead to revolutionary countermeasures. Nachayeff preached attack against the very masses he wanted to "liberate", but in such a way that the government appeared to be the enemy.

Nachayeff was the first to express the duty of the terrorist: "terrible, total, complete destruction. . . Aiming cold-bloodedly and untiringly towards this, [the terrorist] must be ready to destroy himself and destroy with his own hands everyone who stands in his way"<sup>1</sup>. The true role of the terrorist, as explained by the 19th century terrorists, was that of supreme executioner.

In the 1870s, a new generation of anarchist terrorists appeared in Russia. Narodnaya Volya (The Will of the People) was born in 1879. In its programme, it stated that it wanted to "liquidate the worst officials — to give constant proof that it is possible to fight the government, to strengthen the revolutionary spirit of the people and its faith in the success of the cause, and finally to form capable cadres in the struggle"<sup>2</sup>.

The strategy of Narodnaya Volya was first to assassinate a number of Tsarist officials, and finally the Tsar himself. When the Tsar was dead, the masses, so the terrorists believed, would rise. Finally, after seven attempts, Alexander II was blown up, but the people did not rise. In the end, almost the entire organisation was apprehended.

The first modern terrorists, active in the decade between 1877 and 1887, had the following characteristics: Russian terrorists were the product of the expectations of an educated class which had been torn away

from traditional religious values. The liberal reforms of Tsar Alexander II were insufficient, and the revolutionaries saw terrorism as the next step. The Russian terrorists were the first to make use of the new possibilities opened to them by newspapers and telegraph services. Women came to play an important role in the moral validation of terrorism. They would, according to Nachayeff, make either the best or the worst revolutionaries. Women had a capacity for dedication, compassion and a willingness to undertake the most difficult and suicidal assignments. One of the assassins of Alexander II was a pregnant woman and the regime was faced with a dilemma whether to execute her or not for her part in the assassination. Perhaps the most dangerous legacy was the creation of a precedent of counter-terrorism both within the Russian government and outside it. Moscow turned to counter-terrorism to defend the aristocratic order, a tradition that was inherited by the new Marxist-Leninist regime in 1917 and perfected into a state terrorist apparatus never before seen in history.

At various times, Karl Marx showed a willingness to accept the use of assassination and terrorism to achieve his goals. Lenin was proud of his elder terrorist brother, executed in 1887. In the 1880s and 1890s, Marxism became a rival of the terrorist tradition among the Russian revolutionaries — Nachayeff and others. Formally, Marxism rejects a strategic adaptation of terrorism, but in practice it has formed the ideology of some of the most terroristic regimes in world history.

There is a similarity between communist and Nazi terror, as pointed out by Herbert Romerstein: “These tactics were developed by both the communists and Nazis in Germany during the 1920s and the 1930s. Robberies, beatings, street killings, and the assassination of prominent moderate officials, including police officials, became common occurrences. The communist movement began its paramilitary violent activities in 1918 as the Red Soldiers’ Union. By 1921, the Nazis began organising their stormtroopers under the convenient pretext of fighting communist terror with their own terror. Each used the other as an excuse for violence”<sup>3</sup>. In the 1960s, the Soviet Russians began to realise that both black and red terrorism was effective in destabilising Western and Third World governments.

When Lenin’s brother was executed for terrorist acts in 1887, Lenin concluded that terrorism should not be used and remained in favour of the non-terrorist path for the following ten years. Yet later, in the first issue of the journal, *Iskra*, Lenin stated that terror should not be rejected on principle. When Lenin seized power in 1917, he actively pursued a policy of terrorism. The Cheka (Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution), predecessor of the GPU (State Political Administration) and the KGB, came into being on December 20, 1917. Initially, it had an offensive function — to establish communist rule throughout the whole Russian empire. In the period up to 1924,



which marked the establishment of communist rule in the empire, the terror squads of the Cheka formed an indispensable part of the system, and terrorism a decisive operational means.

It is, therefore, surprising that the Cheka is so seldom mentioned in the history of terrorism. It was **the largest terroristic enterprise if not in the whole of history, then at least in modern history.**

Lenin's successor, Joseph Stalin, was a terrorist not only in principle, but also in practice. He liquidated the Kulaks and organised the man-made famine in Ukraine. He wiped out the Mensheviks, purged the Bolsheviks, and killed the Leninists. Marshal Tukhachevsky was liquidated, along with other high-ranking intelligence officers, the leaders of the Polish Communist Party and prominent members of the German Communist Party, who had fled to the Soviet Union during WW2. Stalin employed terrorism against ethnic groups and made wide use of the assassination of "enemies of the state" outside the USSR.

From 1946 until Stalin's death, the Soviet Russian institution responsible for kidnapping and murder was **Spetsburo No. 1**. Its chief was Lt. General Pavel Anatolevich Sudoplatov. His deputy was Major General Eitingon. With 1953 came the beginning of a reorganisation. From that time on, Spetsburo No. 1 became known as the **Ninth Department (Otdel) of State Security**, headed, after 1953-54, by Colonel Studnikov. Until the beginning of the 1960s, it was known as **Department No. 13** of the Foreign Intelligence Directorate of Soviet State Security.

High ranking officials and other prominent figures around the world who were opponents of Russian policy were selected as targets for assassination by the head of State Security. This selection was then approved by the Central Committee of the CPSU. At lower levels, selections were approved by the chief of the Intelligence Directorate of State Security.

A murder or kidnapping operation began with the selection of a suitable agent. A dossier was compiled on the victim and a special weapon or poison was developed. Later, support for the agent had to be found in the target country. Often it would take a year or more to prepare the kidnapping or assassination. An important part of the plan was to make the death appear to be a mystery or something other than an assassination: a natural disappearance, for example, or suicide. If anything was to go wrong, a scapegoat was selected on whom the blame could be laid.

At a hearing of the US Senate (Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act etc.) on March 26, 1965, a defector and former officer of the NKVD testified about the activities of the Soviet Union in gathering information on certain people in the West, and their possible assassination:

*“Question: . . . First, isn't it true that the Soviet apparatus carefully keeps*

dossiers on everybody who is working against the Soviet Union or who is in a position to do any harm or endanger them or even to gather information relating to them, as you say? . . .

*Answer:* Dossiers exist on all anti-Soviet and anti-Communist elements around the world. There are file cards and full dossiers which might be used today or possibly tomorrow against these people. . .

*Question:* Now, is it also true that this Soviet apparatus sometimes will order the assassination of an individual who may not be working actively against the Soviet Union simply because his removal from the political scene will change a situation to the benefit of the Soviet Union?

*Answer:* That is correct.

*Question:* And these are perhaps the hardest kind of assassinations to pin on the Soviet Union?

*Answer:* Yes"<sup>4</sup>.

In 1936, the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) set up the **Administration of Special Tasks** (AST), which the Russians referred to as the department of "wet affairs" (mokriye dela). In 1941, the AST became the **Fourth (or Partisan) Directorate**, engaged in espionage, sabotage, assassination, and guerrilla operations behind the German lines. After WW2, General Sudoplatov's Spetsburo established networks throughout Germany, Austria and Switzerland, which offered personal protection, matériel, and other support for kidnappings and assassinations. Abductions were carried out by "combat groups" (boyeviye grupy). These groups were supervised by Russians and were comprised mainly of East Germans and Czechs.

At one time, the AST was known as **SMERSH**, or the **Ninth Division for Terror and Diversion**. The name is derived from its motto — *Smert Shpionam* (Death to Spies)<sup>5</sup>.

According to Ronald Seth, a British expert on the organisation, it planned "its operations with great patience and thoroughness. It maintains laboratories and experimental workshops where drugs are tried out and special weapons are invented, all with the object of making their killings appear to be the result of natural causes, or to facilitate the assassin's escape. . ."<sup>6</sup>. The post-Khrushchev leaders of Russia have spread the idea that SMERSH has itself been disbanded. In fact, it has merely been renamed CUKR, posing as the internal security department of the Army. Seth's statement is probably not true today. It was made in 1972. But if SMERSH or a similar organisation exists, its task is most likely to provide the KGB and the Soviet army with expert advice for death squads and Spetsnaz units preparing for action in a crisis or in the outbreak of war.

## 2. Death in Paris — General Symon Petlura

In May 1926, General Symon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian state from 1919-21, was shot on the corner of Rue Racine and Boulevard St. Michel in Paris. The assassin (Schwarzbart alias Walsberger), a criminal and an agent of Soviet Russian intelligence, was arrested by French police at the scene of the crime. In 1918, Marshal Pilsudski had assumed power in Poland. Two years later, General Petlura, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army, had undertaken a joint campaign with Pilsudski against the Lenin government in Moscow. Stalin was clearly afraid that Petlura, with Marshal Pilsudski's aid, would begin a new national uprising in Ukraine.

Moscow had a genuine reason to fear Symon Petlura. When the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed on November 20, 1917, he was the popular leader of the Ukrainian army. In April 1918, General Pavlo Skoropadskyi assumed power with the support of the Germans and replaced the Ukrainian National Republic with the Hetmanate. On November 18, he declared a federative union with Russia. The same day, the Ukrainian National Alliance, which opposed the policies of the Skoropadskyi government, formed the Directorate of the UNR, which was to lead an uprising against the Hetmanate. Petlura was elected to the Directorate and also as its supreme commander (Holovnyi Otaman). The troops of the Directorate marched on Kyiv and entered the Ukrainian capital on December 19. The Ukrainian National Republic was reestablished and the Directorate was transformed into the official government of the Republic. In 1919, Petlura assumed the office of President of Ukraine.

Meanwhile, Ukraine was being threatened from three sides: in the west by Poland, in the north by the Red Army and in the south by General Denikin, a Tsarist general who wanted to re-establish the imperial throne. Petlura decided to seek peace with Poland and, in September 1919, sent a delegation to Warsaw. More than half a year later, in April 1920, an alliance was signed between Ukraine and Poland. Joint Ukrainian and Polish armies launched an offensive against the Red Army and advanced as far as the Dnieper before being forced to retreat. The Soviet Russian army, under the leadership of Marshal Tukhachevsky, pushed the Ukrainian and Polish troops back to Poland and was halted only outside Warsaw. Poland then terminated the alliance with Ukraine and signed a peace treaty with Soviet Russia in Riga in 1921.

In Ukraine, the resistance to Moscow continued long after she was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. In 1928, the Russian govern-

ment still maintained 34 infantry divisions in Ukraine to guard against a possible national uprising. After the demise of Ukrainian independence, Petlura went into exile in Paris, where he was murdered. His assassination clearly showed the continuing fear in the Kremlin that he might once again lead a national revolution to free Ukraine. It also revealed that the Kremlin regarded leading Ukrainian activists as the most important targets abroad. The communist leaders realised that without Ukraine, which was the most important part of the empire after Russia, the USSR would be in deep political and economic trouble.

### **3. Bomb against Ukraine — Lt. Colonel Evhen Konovalts**

Lt. Colonel Evhen Konovalts was the founder and leader of Ukraine's liberation organisation — the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) — and later the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

In 1938, the GPU managed to infiltrate one of its agents, Valyukh, into a nationalist centre in Soviet Ukraine. Eventually, he was sent as an underground courier to Konovalts to several places in Western Europe. The last encounter took place on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam. Valyukh met Konovalts at 12 p.m. in the Café Atlanta, where he handed him a package, which was supposed to contain cyphers and reports from the anti-Soviet resistance in Ukraine. After a short talk, Valyukh left. Konovalts left the café soon afterwards, and headed towards the Grand Central Hotel, where he was staying. He stopped in front of the Lumière cinema, when a bomb inside the parcel exploded and killed him. Valyukh managed to get out of Rotterdam on the same Soviet Russian vessel in which he had arrived in Holland.

The Spanish Civil War was going badly for the communists. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japan posed a threat not only to democracy, but to Moscow as well. At the same time as the purges were liquidating Stalin's "internal" enemies, a wave of assassinations against external "enemies" of Stalin's regime was taking place abroad. In February 1938, Leon Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov, was murdered in Paris. The secretary of the 4th International, Rudolf Klevvert, was murdered by Stalin's assassins on June 13, 1938. The Ukrainian resistance was regarded as one of the main threats to Stalin's regime and Konovalts was a natural target.

Lt. Colonel Evhen Konovalts was born in 1891 in Western Ukraine. With the outbreak of WW1 in 1914, he fought as a lieutenant in the Austrian army against Russia. In April 1915, he was taken prisoner by the Russians and held in a prisoner-of-war camp near the present city of Volgograd. When Ukraine declared independence in January 1918, he escaped to Kyiv, and later commanded a corps of riflemen, the Sichovi Striltsi, which played an important role in the struggle for Ukrainian independence between 1918-20.

After Ukraine's defeat, Konovalets and his troops were interned in Poland. However, in the spring of 1920, he managed to escape. At a meeting in Prague in July 1920, Konovalets proposed the creation of the *Ukrainska Viyskova Orhanizatsiya* (UVO), which was to lead the resistance against the Soviet Russian regime throughout the whole of Ukraine. The UVO grew very quickly in the years 1921-23, mainly in Western Ukraine, then under Polish occupation. It carried out armed raids, acts of sabotage, agitation and propaganda in Western Ukraine. In June 1921, Konovalets returned to Ukraine to take part in the struggle himself. In the autumn, he left again and became the leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle after the assassination of Petlura. In November 1927, on the initiative of Konovalets, the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists was held in Prague. At a later congress in Vienna, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded. The UVO was merged with the OUN and Colonel Konovalets was elected as its leader. The emphasis was now placed on political activities. In April 1929, Konovalets toured the United States and Canada for four months. Later that year he moved to Geneva. In 1936, he left Switzerland for Rome after an unsuccessful attempt on his life. The Ukrainian underground had grown to such an extent under Konovalets' leadership that in 1938 he planned to return to Ukraine to coordinate its activities himself. Stalin feared his return to the extent that he decided to prevent it at all costs. The best possible means of achieving this was by assassination.

#### **4. Killer in Munich — Target Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet**

A little after 9 a.m. on October 12, 1957, Bohdan Stashynskyi, a 26-year old Ukrainian, left his Munich hotel. A few minutes later, he arrived in Karlsplatz in the centre of the city, where the office of a Ukrainian émigré newspaper, *Suchasna Ukraina*, was situated. A streetcar passed by shortly afterwards and Stashynskyi's main interest that morning, Dr. Lev Rebet, a leading Ukrainian émigré activist, stepped out. Stashynskyi quickly entered the office premises and walked up to the first floor. After a while, he heard Dr. Rebet coming up the stairs. From his pocket Stashynskyi took a rolled up newspaper. It contained a thin tube with a safety catch and a trigger. Inside the tube was a capsule which would explode when the trigger was pulled and emit a poisonous gas, which would spray over the victim. The assassin walked down the stairs and, confronting Rebet, pointed the rolled newspaper at him and pulled the trigger. The gas hit Rebet in the face and he stumbled against the wall.

Stashynskiy smashed another capsule containing the antidote against the wall and inhaled the gas. He then ran from the building.

Stashynskiy headed in the direction of Hofgarten, where he threw the weapon off a bridge into a small stream. He returned to Karlsplatz an hour later, having tried to lose any would-be pursuers. After checking out from his hotel, he took a train to Frankfurt and caught the next available flight to West Berlin. The following day he was in East Berlin reporting to his KGB head, "Sergey". All had gone well.

The post-mortem on Dr. Rebet revealed a high degree of inflammation and a softening of the coronary arteries. The doctor assumed it was heart failure. Stashynskiy had committed the perfect crime — there was no proof that Dr. Rebet had met a violent death.

Almost exactly two years after the assassination of Dr. Rebet, Stashynskiy was in Munich once again. His target this time was Stepan Bandera, head of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists). Stashynskiy described the morning of the assassination in these words:

"On October 15, a Thursday, I had breakfast at about 9 a.m. in the Hotel Salzburg and immediately afterwards took one of the anti-poison tablets which Sergey had given me. . . . I wandered in a leisurely way from the hotel to the Ludwigsbrücke, so that I could observe the OUN office at No. 67 Zeppelinstrasse, where Bandera worked"<sup>7</sup>.

Stashynskiy watched as Bandera drove away from his office in the direction of his home. He then took a tram to Kreittmayrstrasse, where Bandera lived, and at around 1 p.m. saw Bandera's car turn into the street and park. He released the safety catch of his pistol and began to follow Bandera. As Bandera tried to open a door on the ground floor of his building, Stashynskiy tried to make himself unnoticeable by pretending to tie his shoelaces.

"After a moment I stood up and went down the few steps from the ground floor to the front door of the building. I suddenly heard myself saying (in German): 'Isn't it working?', to which Bandera replied: 'Yes, it's alright'. . . . While we were exchanging those few words I had come quite close to Bandera. . . . I stepped past him, turned about, and took hold of the outside door knob with my left hand while with my right hand I fired both barrels of the gun in the direction of the entrance hall"<sup>8</sup>.

Stashynskiy crushed the capsule with the antidote and inhaled it. Once again he went to the Hofgarten and threw his weapon off the bridge into the stream. Returning to his hotel, he checked out and took a train to Frankfurt the same day. He spent the night at a hotel and then took a flight to West Berlin. In Munich, neighbours found Bandera at 1.05 p.m. and although he was rushed to hospital, he died on the way. Violent death was suspected (as Bandera always carried a gun for protection) and so a post-mortem was carried out. Small glass splinters were found in Bandera's face and a large quantity of cyanide was detected

in his stomach. The conclusion was “suspected cyanide poisoning”. Newspapers spoke of “a mysterious death in Munich”.

Stepan Bandera was born in Western Ukraine on January 1, 1909, the son of a Greek-Catholic priest. When he was in the fourth form of the local grammar school, Bandera joined a secret youth group, and after leaving school in 1927, he intended to go to Czechoslovakia to study at the Ukrainian College of Technology and Economics. Yet Western Ukraine, at that time, was under Polish rule and the authorities refused to let him leave the country. Bandera returned to his father’s village and took an active part in the educational and cultural work of the village. In 1928, he went to Lviv and began to study agriculture, the only faculty open to Ukrainians at the Technical College. The same year, he became a member of the UVO and met a number of leading personalities of the Ukrainian liberation movement — among them Yaroslav Stetsko, who was later to become Prime Minister of Ukraine and leader of the External Units of the OUN, and Roman Shukhevych, the man who was later to lead the UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

In 1933, Bandera was appointed leader of the OUN in Ukraine. It was during his leadership that the OUN was at its strongest. In the 1930s, the Polish government carried out a harsh “pacification” programme against the Ukrainian peasants. The OUN retaliated with armed raids. In consequence, the Polish police arrested hundreds of Ukrainians. During the ensuing investigation, the OUN headquarters in Western Ukraine were discovered. Bandera was arrested in 1934, and in 1936 sentenced to death in Warsaw as the person responsible for the activities of the OUN. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Later, he received a new life sentence in Lviv in the autumn of 1936. He was put in solitary confinement in the toughest security prison in Poland.

In 1938, the new OUN leader, Konovalets, was murdered in Rotterdam. One year later, on March 15, Carpathian Ukraine proclaimed her independence. In 1939, Russia occupied Volhynia, Galicia and Polissia, while the regions of Lemkivshchyna, Kholm and Pidlyasha came under German rule. Ukrainians were released from Polish prisons, which strengthened the ranks of the OUN. When Bandera was released, he managed to reach Lviv, but was asked to move to safety in Cracow on the recommendation of the OUN leadership abroad. From there he went to Italy to meet the successor of Colonel Konovalets, Colonel Andriy Melnyk. Differences of opinion now arose between the followers of Melnyk and Bandera, and in 1941, at the Second Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, Bandera was elected as the new leader of the OUN.

The organisation now began to build a network all over Western and Eastern Ukraine. On the outbreak of the German-Russian war, the OUN had 20,000 members who had received both ideological and military training. The OUN was planning to establish an independent state

in the event of war, and a Ukrainian National Committee was set up in Cracow in 1941. On June 30, 1941, a Ukrainian government was formed in Lviv. When the OUN units reached Lviv, they found the terrible carnage left behind by the NKVD.

The independent Ukrainian state was short-lived. It did not fit into Hitler's plans. Stepan Bandera was placed under house arrest by the Germans, but when he refused to renounce the declaration of independence he was arrested. He was initially sent to a prison in Berlin, but was later transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where Yaroslav Stetsko was also imprisoned after his arrest in Lviv. On September 15, 1941, the Nazis arrested 2,000 Ukrainians who had taken part in the establishment of the independent Ukrainian state. Bandera's two brothers were taken to Auschwitz and shot, and his brother-in-law was tortured to death in a prison in Lviv. Hitler's governor in occupied Ukraine, Erich Koch, began the mass deportation of Ukrainians to Germany.

The Nazi policy towards Ukraine and the Ukrainians resulted in the formation, at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943, of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which soon numbered some 200,000 men and women under arms. In 1943, a secret conference of peoples subjugated by Germany and Russia was held in Ukraine as a result of which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was founded. In 1944, another independent Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), was formed. That year, Bandera, Stetsko and others were released. The Nazis, who were in a hopeless military situation, tried to convince the OUN to join forces with them. But Bandera refused and managed to make his way to the West, where he waited for the end of the war. After the Nazis left Ukraine, the UPA continued the armed struggle for the liberation of Ukraine against the Red Army until 1952. Under the leadership of Stepan Bandera exiled Ukrainians united to form the External Units of the OUN (Z.Ch.OUN) to support the UPA in Ukraine.

The CPSU used all the means at its disposal to depict Stepan Bandera as Public Enemy Number One of the communist state. For years the NKVD had tried to eliminate him. In October 1959, Moscow succeeded. Stepan Bandera, murdered by Bohdan Stashynskiy, was dead and no longer a threat to the Kremlin.

Bohdan Stashynskiy, was born in Western Ukraine on November 4, 1931. His father was a small farmer. In school he proved to be an apt scholar and learnt three languages: Polish, Russian and German. In 1945, Stashynskiy went to secondary school on completion of which he began studies at the Teacher Training College. Late in the summer of 1950, during a trip to his village, he was caught travelling on a train without a ticket by the transport police. Soon afterwards, he was summoned by an officer of the MGB (Ministry of State Security), Konstan-



tin Sitnikovskiyi. Sitnikovskiyi was very friendly and talked to Stashynskiyi about his personal affairs. Some time afterwards, Stashynskiyi was again called to Sitnikovskiyi, who now began a detailed discussion of the Ukrainian resistance movement and pointed out how “senseless” the struggle of the OUN really was. Later, Stashynskiyi realised that the MGB was fully aware of his family’s connections with the OUN. When Sitnikovskiyi accused Stashynskiyi’s relatives of supporting the OUN, Stashynskiyi was asked to work for the MGB. Feeling that he was under pressure, he consented, mainly to protect his family from reprisals.

Stashynskiyi was given the code name “Oleh”. His first assignment was to report everything that occurred in his village. In January 1951, he received orders to join an OUN group. After a while, he broke off his studies and was transferred to Kyiv. He now began a two-year training course in ideology, conspiracy and weapon handling. In early 1954, he received orders to go back to his village and seek reconciliation with his family, in which he was successful. Later that year, Stashynskiyi was sent to Poland under the false name of Bronislav Katshor to begin preparations for his work in Germany. He was given a completely new identity. His future pseudonym in reports to the KGB was to be “Taras”. In everyday life, however, he was to become Josef Lehmann, the son of German parents living in Poland.

After travelling around Poland to acquaint himself with his new life, he crossed into East Germany and, in Frankfurt-on-Oder, was received by his new case-officer, “Sergey”, and taken to the Soviet compound at Karlshorst in East Berlin. To familiarise himself with German manners and to learn German he travelled extensively around East Germany visiting Dresden and Bautzen, places important for the establishment of the Lehmann identity. In April 1955, after a short vacation in Ukraine, he began working as “Josef Lehmann” at the Soviet-controlled firm Wismuth-AG in Zwickau. Four months later, he gave up his “job” and was given another vacation in Ukraine, including a holiday on the Black Sea coast. In September 1955, he returned to East Berlin, where he took up residence and worked as an interpreter at the Office of German Internal and Foreign Trade (DIA). In 1956, he began his real intelligence work.

Stashynskiyi’s first assignment awaited him in January. He travelled, for the first time, to Munich, West Germany, to meet a Ukrainian exile, Ivan Bisaga. Bisaga had come to Germany as a “refugee”. In reality he was a Soviet informer under the code name of “Nadiychyn”. Stashynskiyi’s assignment was to work as a courier delivering money to the Ukrainian agent and to provide Bisaga with “moral and ideological support”. His other task was to gather information on Ukrainian émigrés in Munich. Eventually, Stashynskiyi asked Bisaga if he was prepared to assist in the abduction of Dr. Lev Rebet. Bisaga refused and stated that he believed he was being watched by the West German Police. In October 1956, he

was brought in for questioning on the suspicion of intelligence work for the Soviets. Stashynskyi later acquired a passport for him and Bisaga was able to leave West Germany.

Stashynskyi carried out other assignments also against Ukrainians. In the spring of 1957, he received orders to “clear Dr. Lev Rebet out of the way”. “Sergey” described Dr. Rebet as an influential émigré Ukrainian leader and Stashynskyi-Lehmann was first to study him carefully. For the Rebet assignment Stashynskyi was given a new identity — Siegfried Dräger. As Dräger he travelled to Munich three times in the spring and summer of 1957. After returning from summer leave in Ukraine, Stashynskyi was taken to a secret compound outside East Berlin, where he received instructions on how to use the weapon with which he was to carry out his assignment — the poison gas pistol. On October 7, 1957, he met “Sergey” and received the final instructions for the assassination of Dr. Lev Rebet. On the ninth of October he flew to Munich.

Between the murders of Dr. Rebet and Bandera, Stashynskyi carried out other assignments for the KGB. In May 1958, he took part in the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the death of Colonel Evhen Konovalets. He had orders to take as many pictures of the participants as possible. The man who gave the longest speech in Rotterdam was a man Stashynskyi was later to assassinate — Stepan Bandera. When, at the beginning of 1959, he received orders to that effect, he was once again given a new identity — Hans Budeit, who, according to the papers he received, lived in Dortmund, West Germany. He visited Dortmund in order to acquaint himself with the surroundings and then travelled to Munich to find out more details about Bandera’s flat and gather information about his daily routine. In April 1959, Stashynskyi was instructed to go to Moscow. On his arrival in Moscow, he was given a room at Hotel Ukraina, where he was visited by a high-ranking KGB official, who told him that the weapon he had used against Dr. Rebet had since been improved. It was now double-barrelled. After returning to East Berlin, he flew to Munich in May to carry out the assassination, but failed. He returned to Munich to carry out additional research, this time on Yaroslav Stetsko as well, who also lived in Munich. In the summer, Stashynskyi was once again on leave in Ukraine, and it was not until October 1959 that he received orders to make another attempt on the life of Stepan Bandera. This time he succeeded.

Shortly after his return to East Berlin, Stashynskyi watched a news reel of Bandera’s funeral. He saw Bandera’s wife and children crying, which affected him to such a degree that he began to lose faith in communism. He went to “Sergey” to talk to him about his feelings, but “Sergey” told him that he need not worry and that Bandera’s children would later thank him for what he had done. That was the moment, Stashynskyi later claimed, that he decided never to carry out such an assignment again. In November 1959, he went to Moscow and was awarded

the Order of the Red Banner by decree of the Supreme Soviet for the two murders he had committed, although officially his award honoured him for “carrying out an extremely important government assignment”. He was received by the KGB chief, Alexander Nikolayevich Shelepin. Stashynskyi described the meeting with Shelepin as follows:

“Shelepin then handed the decoration over to me in a case and congratulated me. The citation, which should also have been handed over to me, remained in my file because of its secret contents. This ceremony was carried out standing. We then sat down at the conference table and Shelepin asked me to describe the course of events in the attack on Bandera. . . After that, Shelepin spoke of the further plans which they had for me”<sup>9</sup>.

By now, Stashynskyi had an East German fiancée, Inge Pohl. On raising the matter of his engagement with Shelepin, it was agreed that, as an exception, he would be allowed to marry Inge, but only on the condition she agreed to work with him in the KGB and conform to the ideological views of the Soviet state. That Christmas, Stashynskyi told Inge that he was not a German and that he worked for the KGB. He did not mention the assassinations. Inge, however, was opposed to the Soviet system, and they discussed instead if they should escape to the West. In April 1960, they were married, and in March 1961 their son Peter was born, but died soon afterwards. In August, during a meeting in East Berlin, they decided to defect to the West. On August 12, 1961, they crossed the border to West Berlin by train and Stashynskyi registered himself as a refugee. In September, he was handed over to the West German authorities. He confessed to the two murders and was arrested and brought to trial before the Federal Court in Karlsruhe. On October 19, 1962, Stashynskyi was sentenced to eight years of hard labour for the murder of Bandera and Rebet and his intelligence activities in West Germany.

Anatol Golizin, another KGB defector, stated that the Stashynskyi case caused a sensation in the KGB. Seventeen officers involved with him were demoted or dismissed. It did not affect Shelepin, however. He was later promoted several times. In November 1964, at the age of 46, he became a full member of the Presidium of the CPSU.

In considering the sentence to be passed on Stashynskyi, the court took into consideration Stashynskyi’s change of heart. But, what is more important, the court considered the Soviet Russian government the “indirect perpetrator” of the crime.

Mr. Charles J. Kersten, a former US Congressman and the attorney of Mrs. Bandera during the Karlsruhe trial, explained Stashynskyi’s and the Soviet government’s guilt thus:

“The reason why the Soviet government had decided upon the murder of Stefan Bandera was because he was a leader of a world-embracing resistance movement against the Russian Communist occupation of the Ukraine. Bandera was the symbol of the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine,

a non-Russian nation of 42 million people, with their own traditions, culture, language and civilisation.

Russian Communist methods in crushing the Ukrainians' struggle for freedom are so merciless that they are without parallel in the history of tyranny. In the year 1932-3 the Russian communists removed all stocks of food and seed corn from the Ukraine, thereby organising a famine which cost five million people their lives. . . It is the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union which has been found guilty of murder in this case [Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera]. It is true that this court cannot impose the sentence which the real criminal should receive, but it can pronounce an historical judgment in declaring the Soviet government guilty of the murder"<sup>10</sup>.

## 5. Kidnapping as a Weapon — Dr. Walter Linse

On the morning of July 8, 1952, Dr. Walter Linse left his apartment at 12a Gerichtsstrasse in the West Berlin suburb of Lichterfelde a few minutes after 7 a.m., as he did every day, and proceeded to walk to his nearby office. That day he was to leave his home for the last time. A young man approached him as though to ask for a light. Instead, he struck Dr. Linse in the face with a sandbag, while another young man held him from behind. They threw him into a car, which was parked nearby, and drove off at high speed. Dr. Linse's feet were still protruding from one of the rear doors of the car. A van driver saw the abduction and attempted to give chase. To halt the pursuing vehicle, the kidnappers threw a number of tetrahedral nails onto the road. They fired two shots, but missed the driver of the van. According to witnesses, the kidnap car must have been travelling at a speed of 90 to 100 km per hour. After crossing the Teltow Canal, the car drove into the Soviet sector. The barrier had been raised to receive the speeding car.

Dr. Walter Linse was the acting president of the Free German Jurists, whose aim was to expose crimes committed by communist regimes. The activities of the organisation had become so effective that SMERSH, with the approval of the Central Committee of the CPSU, decided that something had to be done to put a stop to its work. The abduction was planned to coincide with the World Congress of Free Jurists, scheduled for July 1952, in order to disrupt and threaten the work and resolve of the Congress. The kidnapping was planned well in advance. Surveillance on the personal habits of Dr. Linse had been going on for some time to establish when he usually left home, the route he took to work, the stops he made on the way, the location and size of police posts and traffic conditions. The fact that Linse was a pipe smoker was used in the plan to abduct him. One of the kidnappers asked him for a light and

while he was fumbling for a match an accomplice grabbed Linse's hands and held them behind his back.

To obtain West Berlin license plates, the Soviet authorities in East Berlin stopped a West Berlin taxi driver and questioned him on some pretext. In the meantime, the license plates were taken off his taxi and transferred to the kidnap vehicle. The four kidnapers were Germans, all with criminal records: Harry Liedtke, 22, Herbert Nowak, 27, Erwin Knipsel, 50, and Josef Dehnert, 22. One of the kidnapers, Nowak, was serving a prison sentence for murder. During the ensuing investigation, the West Berlin police arrested 13 accomplices of the four criminals. The organisation was financed by the sale of large quantities of cigarettes, coffee and silk stockings on the black market.

Dr. Linse was interrogated by Soviet Russian State Security officers in Karlshorst, East Berlin, and then tried secretly for activity against the Soviet Union and sentenced to 25 years in prison in the USSR. Peter Deriabin, a Russian defector, later testified that the kidnapping of Dr. Linse was reported to Joseph Stalin and six other top Soviet officials: Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin, Beria, Mikoyan and Khrushchev. The US High Commissioner in Berlin, John J. McCloy, protested against the kidnapping to the Soviet authorities in East Berlin, but the Soviet reply was that they knew nothing about Dr. Walter Linse. In 1955, a group of repatriated German prisoners of war told reporters that they had seen Linse in a Soviet slave labour camp in Vorkuta.

Two of the abductors were later arrested in West Berlin and sentenced to long prison terms on kidnapping charges.

In 1960, eight years after the crime, the Soviet Red Cross announced that Dr. Linse had died in prison on December 15, 1953. It was an admission that he had been a Soviet prisoner — something the Soviets had denied the whole time. The place and cause of his death, however, were never established.

## **6. The Witnesses — Nikolai Khokhlov and Peter Deriabin**

One of the reasons why we have such a clear picture of Soviet Russian low-intensity warfare is the information supplied to the West by defectors. One of the key witnesses has of course been Bohdan Stashynskyi, but two other defectors (together with a large number of others) have also played an important role.

Nikolai Khokhlov was a SMERSH agent who defected to the West in 1954. During WW2, he worked in the Minsk area, in Eastern Poland and in Lithuania in anti-German guerrilla warfare. In 1945, he was sent to Rumania to prepare guerrilla activities, prior to the arrival of the

Red Army which was moving West. Later, he served in the Austrian and German sections of Russian intelligence. When interrogated by the Americans after his defection, he claimed that, in 1942, the commander of SMERSH, Lt. Colonel Pavel Sudoplatov, had ordered him to murder the German ambassador in Istanbul, Franz von Papen. He had refused. In 1953, Khokhlov received orders to go to West Germany to assassinate a leading Russian exile. The orders were signed by both Malenkov and Khrushchev. With two assistants, he received special training for the assignment in Moscow, which was completed around Christmas 1953. After returning to East Berlin, they left for West Germany, where they received the final orders. In February 1954, they were given the go-ahead. Meanwhile, under the influence of his wife, who was a Christian, Khokhlov had undergone a change of heart and decided that he could not kill in the service of SMERSH. Instead of carrying out the assassination, he defected to the American security forces in West Germany. The weapon Khokhlov was to have used was similar to that used by Stashynskiy. It was an electronically-operated pistol shaped like a cigarette case, which made no sound except for a very slight "pop". The projectiles were not bullets, but poisoned pellets that killed instantly.

Before Khokhlov defected, the West had no definite proof that SMERSH existed. Now, Khokhlov provided not only detailed information concerning SMERSH, but also a list of members of several espionage networks which could be broken up. The efforts to get Khokhlov's wife and son out of the Soviet Union were unsuccessful. In June 1954, she and her son were arrested and all efforts to secure a release have failed. Khokhlov went to the United States, but returned to Europe in 1956. In 1957, Soviet Russian agents attempted to assassinate him by slipping radioactive thalium into his coffee cup. He only drank a sip and doctors were able to save him. After serving in South Vietnam, he returned to the United States, where he now works as a professor in California. Khokhlov is on the KGB Wanted List.

Another important witness, who defected in the same year as Khokhlov, was Peter Deriabin. He was born in Siberia in 1921 and worked as a history teacher after completing his education. During WW2, he fought as an officer. He was a graduate of the Higher Counter-Intelligence School and the University of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, and served as a major in the highly secret Kremlin Bodyguard<sup>11</sup>. While in charge of Soviet Russian counter-intelligence in Vienna, he slipped over to the US military headquarters and asked for asylum. He now lives in the United States and has become a US citizen. His book, *The Secret World*, which he wrote with Frank Gibney, is still considered to be one of the most authoritative accounts of Soviet Russian intelligence operations. In 1972, he wrote *Watchdogs of Terror — Russian Bodyguards from the Tsars to the Commissars* (Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y.).

In his book, *The Secret World*, Deriabin tries to explain the difference between the role of foreign intelligence and state security in the West and in the Soviet Union. Deriabin calls the KGB “an active aggressive political arm of the regime” and describes its purpose as “not only to acquire information to prevent others from acquiring information, but to manufacture information, destroy sources of foreign information, terrorize, assassinate and proselytize, as occasion demands. . . [in effect] to subvert the political and social life of a foreign country”<sup>12</sup>.

## 7. Terror out of Moscow

Since the mid-1960s, Soviet foreign policy has concentrated on strategic rather than direct confrontation with the industrialised West. The Soviet Union has become increasingly involved in the developing countries and has shown a growing interest in terrorism. The Soviets use the term “national liberation struggle” as a synonym for terrorist activities in the developing countries. According to US estimates, Moscow is presently spending US \$200 million a year to support “national liberation movements”. The main vehicle in this world-wide Soviet effort is the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

To a large extent, the initiator of this policy of support for revolutionary terrorist movements was Yuri Andropov — head of State Security from May 1967-May 1982. The PLO served as a channel for the spread of KGB terrorist techniques and subversive efforts around the world. The Soviets began the operation by supplying weapons and ammunition, and offering military training mainly to Syria and the PLO. In 1968 and 1969, the first trainees went to military schools in the Soviet Union. These trainees later became skilled instructors all over the world. In the Middle East, Syria became the political base, and in Central America — Cuba. In Africa and Asia, there have accrued a number of other client states: Angola, Ethiopia, Vietnam and North Korea. There is ample evidence of a PLO connection. The UN representative of the PLO, Zehdi Labib Terzi, confirmed this in a television interview:

*Terzi:* “. . .the Soviet Union, and all the rest of the socialist countries, just like the rest of the world, almost, they give us the full support — diplomatic, moral, educational, and also they open their military academies to some of our freedom fighters.

*Question:* Can you guess how many of your people have gone through military training in the Soviet Union?

*Terzi:* Well, I really don’t know the numbers, but I know the availability is there. . .

*Question:* And the military equipment, is that support given directly to the PLO, or. . . ?

*Terzi:* Oh, yes. Oh, yes”<sup>13</sup>.

In addition to the PLO, there are three other regimes in the Middle East that act as intermediaries for Moscow: Iran, Syrian and Libya.

**Iran**, in 1981, established the Islamic Revolutionary Council with the goal of spreading Shiite revolutionary violence around the world. The council controls such groups as Al Dawa (The Call), Amal Islami (Hope) and Hezbollah (Party of God). Around 2,000 terrorists from 20 Islamic nations have received training in the Iranian city of Qum.

**Libya** has twenty camps, where around 7,000 African and Arab volunteers have been trained<sup>14</sup>. Libyan diplomats help with forged passports and weapons and ammunition are smuggled to terrorists around the globe.

**Syria** has established an extensive infrastructure for the recruitment and training of terrorists who operate mainly against the United States, Turkey, Israel and Arab countries in the Middle East. Syrian embassies around the world provide diplomatic assistance to, among others, Abu Nidal and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Syrian diplomats provide passports, while the Syrian army provides military training and weapons. Weapons make their way from the USSR to the terrorists via Syria.

The Syrian-supported PFLP has strong links with the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, East Germany and Yugoslavia, and also has contacts with extremist organisations in Chile, Ireland, Japan, Turkey, Greece, Spain and Sri Lanka.

A future target for Soviet-sponsored terrorism could be the Philippines, where the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) receives support from Libya. North Korea and Vietnam are already supporting the New People's Army (NPA) in the Philippines. Cuban and Nicaraguan efforts may be directed towards helping Mexican-American or Chicano movements in the United States, such as the Raza Unida Party and the Crusade for Justice. The Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) are also in the spotlight for such support. Growing attacks against NATO installations in Europe are possible. Amphibious terrorist operations are also possible in the future. The IRA has in the past engaged in sea-mining operations and the ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) in Spain — in underwater demolition. Attacks against government officials may increase and the Soviet nuclear, bacteriological and chemical capacity looms on the horizon.



## **Evidence of Support from Eastern Bloc Countries**

### **USSR**

The USSR provides direct support to terrorists through the maintenance of training facilities. The International Department (ID) of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the KGB are the agencies responsible for the aid. The Lenin Institute in Moscow, also known as the Institute for Social Studies, is responsible for terrorist training. It trains members of communist parties in foreign countries in the techniques of terrorism and guerrilla warfare. This includes training in unarmed combat, social psychology and the subversive use of the information and communications media. Other institutions which exist in Moscow, such as the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, offer similar training to non-communist students, mainly from the Third World. After training at one of these centres in Moscow, the students are taken to specialised training centres in a number of cities, such as Simferopol, Baku, Tashkent or Odessa, or to satellite countries<sup>15</sup>.

In his book on Spetsnaz<sup>16</sup> Viktor Suvorov writes about the Soviet training facilities: "Apart from military and financial support, the Soviet Union also provides the terrorists with aid in the form of training. Training centres have been set up in the Soviet Union for training terrorists from a number of different countries. Similar centres have been set up in the countries of Eastern Europe, in Cuba and elsewhere. I know the centre of Odessa very well. . . . When I was in Odessa most of the people under training were intended for work in black Africa. Not all of them came from Africa, quite a lot of them from Cuba, but that was where the majority were destined"<sup>17</sup>. The recruitment of terrorists and terrorist leaders by Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU) is a very complicated process. When the terrorist begins his work for Spetsnaz great care is taken not to arouse his suspicion to the fact that he is being used. Suvorov states: "Even in the cases where it is not a question of individual terrorists but of experienced leaders of terrorist organizations, the GRU takes extraordinary steps to ensure that not only all outsiders but even the terrorist leader himself should not realize the extent of his subordination to Spetsnaz and consequently to the GRU"<sup>18</sup>.

### **Czechoslovakia**

The first sign that the regime in Prague was supporting terrorists came in 1973, when PLO terrorists seized a train with Soviet Jewish

émigrés in Vienna. The terrorists had come from Czechoslovakia and had crossed the border fully armed without being stopped by the Czech border guards. It is highly unlikely that they would have been able to cross without the full cooperation of the Prague authorities<sup>19</sup>.

A study prepared for the Library of Congress outlines Czechoslovakian support for Italian terrorism in the late 1940s and 1950s. During that time, Czechoslovakia served as a training ground for Italian communists involved in political violence. Some of the communist leaders became leaders of the Red Brigades and other terrorist organisations. Passports recovered from Italian terrorists showed Czechoslovakian visas<sup>20</sup>, and the Italian press confirmed that the Red Brigades had been trained in Czechoslovakia<sup>21</sup>. Germans, Palestinians, Japanese, South Americans and Africans also attended the Czechoslovakian training camps. Instruction included sabotage and assassination techniques, the use of explosives with electronic or time fuses, methods of disguise and the use of forged identity documents.

### **East Germany**

Reports about the overthrow of the Shah of Iran were heard at a large conference in support of “international liberation movements” at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig in July 1979. East Germany has also supported the Baader-Meinhof gang, and in 1977 the West German press reported that the regime in East Berlin had sent funds to terrorist groups in West Germany to sabotage nuclear power plants<sup>22</sup>.

According to one source<sup>23</sup>, the main training centres for the Palestinian political organisation, Al Fatah, are located in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. East German instructors predominate.

### **North Korea**

It is estimated that, between 1968 and 1975, North Korea provided training for around 2,500 terrorists and guerrillas. The training camps were under the authority of the North Korean Defence Ministry.

### **Narcotics and Terrorism — The Communist Link**

At the beginning of the 1980s, evidence came to light that countries such as Bulgaria, Cuba and Nicaragua had been involved in narcotics smuggling to help finance the activities of terrorist groups. In 1982, a federal grand jury in Florida indicted two members of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and other Cuban officials for conspiring to smuggle marijuana and methaqualone from Colombia, via Cuba, to the United States. In 1983, five of the defendants were convicted and two acquitted. None of the Cuban officials were apprehended<sup>24</sup>.

In 1984, a former Sandinista official, Antonio Farach, who served as a ministerial adviser in the Nicaraguan embassies in Venezuela and Honduras prior to his defection in 1982, stated that it was Raul Castro that introduced narcotics trafficking to Managua when he was there in September 1981<sup>25</sup>.

In the 1970s, Bulgaria supplied 25 per cent of the heroin entering the United States. In the 1980s, it has been reduced to 10 per cent because of competition from other sources. Bulgaria imported its opium from Turkey, various other Middle East countries and the PLO. In return, Bulgaria supplied terrorist groups in the Middle East with weapons and ammunition<sup>26</sup>.

### **Terrorist Groups in Western Europe — The Communist Link**

Before his defection to the United States in 1968, General Jan Sejna, the Secretary General of the Defence Committee of the Czechoslovakian Central Committee, testified that, in 1963, Prague provided the IRA with light weapons, machine-guns, hand grenades, explosives, field communications equipment and funds to the tune of US \$60,000. In 1968, "the Czechs. . . used their military intelligence channels to pass on to the IRA certain directives they had received from the Kremlin: the IRA must devote more effort to the political struggle, while at the same time continuing guerrilla activity; they should concentrate the political and military attack, not solely on the Protestant community, but on the British authorities in Northern Ireland; they should extend the battle to the mainland of Britain, to increase the impact on the British government and people"<sup>27</sup>. On the subject of the Red Brigades in Italy, Jan Sejna has stated that, prior to his defection, about a dozen Italian terrorists received training for unconventional warfare. Their training was directed by the KGB and the GRU in Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) and Doupov. Both the infamous Albert Franchechini and Giangiacomo Feltrinelli were trained in Czechoslovakia<sup>28</sup>.

In West Germany and France, the RAF (Red Army Faction) and the AD (Action Directe) announced an alliance in 1985. Both are linked to Syrian-based organisations and other terrorist organisations in Europe.

NATO installations in Western Europe have also been targeted in the 1980s. Between November 1984 and February 1985, up to thirty terrorist attacks were directed against US or NATO military, commercial or diplomatic targets in Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium and West Germany.

The fact that Soviet Russia provides funds, training and weapons to a terrorist group does not necessarily mean that the Soviets control the group, or that it is pro-Soviet. The Soviet Union and the surrogate regimes do not limit their support to groups that are pro-Soviet. Soviet support is also extended to groups that are non- or anti-communist. The

support is connected to the long-term strategic goals of Soviet political warfare and is not ideological. The Soviets place a high value on terrorism as an instrument of Moscow's policy and strategy. There is ample evidence to show that Soviet and Eastern bloc support is essential to a number of terrorist operations around the world — the USSR helps to “supply the infrastructure of terror: the money, the guns, the training, the background information, the communications, and the propaganda that will inspire individual terrorist groups”<sup>29</sup>.

## 8. The Cuban Client — Terror stalks Central America

Prior to the communist takeover in Cuba in 1959, Soviet Russia regarded Latin America as a region inevitably under US control. Fidel Castro, however, demonstrated that “objective conditions” for revolution existed in Latin American countries. By achieving power through armed revolution in 1959, Castro also showed that he was able to defend his regime against a force of US-backed exiles. There have since been differences between Moscow and Havana regarding revolutionary methods in Latin America, but the fact remains that, in the late 1980s, Cuba still remains firmly in the Soviet bloc, receiving some \$3 billion a year in aid, which is five times the present level of the total US aid to all Latin American countries<sup>30</sup>. Since 1975, Cuba has become increasingly important to Soviet Russia. Havana provides valuable proxy forces for Moscow around the world. Nicaragua and El Salvador suggest that there are revolutionary opportunities in Central America and in the Caribbean Basin. This chapter will concentrate mainly on the Cuban organisations responsible for spreading terrorism in Central America, but will also touch upon Cuba's role as a supporter and training base for terrorists in other countries.

The main base of terrorist support in Latin America is the Cuban intelligence service, **Dirección General de Inteligencia (DGI)**, which was founded in 1961. Its first director was Manuel Pineiro Losada. The build-up of the DGI was assisted by the KGB, whose main agent in Havana at the time was Aleksandr Alexeyev (he later became the Soviet ambassador in Havana, remaining in that post until 1967). Between 1962 and 1968, there were differences of opinion between Havana and Moscow on how to revolutionise Latin America and the Soviets pressed for more influence in the DGI. Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, supervised what has been called the “satellisation of Cuba” by which the take-over of the DGI was achieved by the KGB. In 1969, Losada was replaced as director of the DGI by Jose Mendes Cominches and the service was reorganised along the same lines as the KGB. In effect, KGB General Viktor Simenov became the “real” head of the DGI.

Manuel Pineiro was appointed head of Cuba's other main organisation for the support of terrorism, the **Direccion de Liberacion Nacional (DLN)**, also known as the Americas Department (DA). The importance of the DLN was not great compared to the DGI until the end of the 1970s, but since then it has grown in importance. The DLN was reorganised in 1974 into the Americas Department. Since then it has formed the Cuban communist party's main apparatus for supporting terrorist organisations in the Western hemisphere. Nicaraguan support is also channelled through the DA. The activities include operating secret guerrilla and terrorist training camps in Cuba, networks for covert movement of personnel and matériel between Cuba and the targets in Latin America. The department has an extensive propaganda apparatus and is organised into four regional sections — Central America, South America, the Caribbean and North America. There are also two study centres and a number of unidentified sections<sup>31</sup>. One writer<sup>32</sup> has described the DA as "one of the smallest, most dangerous and least known" of the major intelligence agencies of the world. According to the same writer, in 1983 the DA had between 200 and 300 members. The DLN/DA has maintained contacts with North Korea to help establish terrorist training facilities in Cuba and, in the late 1960s and 1970s, provided training for the IRA, for the terrorist FLQ (Front du Libération de Québec) in Canada and for the Weather Underground Movement in the United States. Moreover, the Cuban organisation has extended its activities across the Atlantic through its support for superterrorist "Carlos" in Paris and for the Italian, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, book publisher turned terrorist. Al Fatah terrorists have also trained at the military college in Havana<sup>33</sup>. Its most important role, however, is in Central America.

## Nicaragua

The Sandinistas and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the Somoza government in Managua in 1979. The FSLN, founded by Carlos Fonseca Amador, a former student of the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow, was the first Latin American group to be trained in Cuba. In April 1979, the general staff of the FSLN is reported to have acknowledged that 300 fighters had received training in Cuba<sup>34</sup>.

Miguel Bolanos Hunter, a defector from the Sandinistas' internal security and secret police organisation, the General Directorate of State Security (DGSE), has documented the close cooperation between the Sandinistas and Fidel Castro.

Eden Pastora Gomez, who has been fighting the Sandinistas since his break with them in 1981-82, has also testified to the importance of Cuban aid in building up the power of the FSLN. Cuban soldiers are responsible for training Sandinista soldiers in the use of Soviet weapons. The

PLO has provided “volunteers” for the Sandinista fighting forces. Bulgarian and East German experts, along with a number of Cuban and Soviet advisers, are involved in training the Sandinista state security organisation.

The Sandinista regime publicly expressed its gratitude to Cuba. In an interview in the Colombian weekly *Cromos*, the Minister of the Interior of the Sandinista regime, Tomas Borge, revealed his deep admiration for Fidel Castro:

“Fidel is a great human being. . . We hold him in a very special admiration. . . He has won the love of all his people and ours as well. It moves me to think of him”.

## **Guatemala**

Cuba has supported a guerrilla and terrorist group in Guatemala called Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). In 1968, it was FAR that assassinated the US ambassador to Guatemala, John G. Mein. In 1975, a new Cuban-backed terrorist group emerged — the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) — which soon became a serious threat to the government.

The EGP has expressed solidarity with the FSLN in Nicaragua. This spirit of cooperation has been promoted by the Cuban regime. A Cuban official, meeting with the leaders of the EGP, FAR and another group, Guatemalan Party of Labour (PGT), emphasised that what was needed was cooperation and a united front, and promised that if this could be achieved, Cuba was willing to provide greater financial and material assistance. A large number of the 2,000 guerrillas active in Guatemala have been trained in Cuba. Paulino Castillo, a defector from one of the Guatemalan terrorist groups, has testified that he was trained in Cuba in 1980. In the same year, four groups — the EGP, FAR, Armed People’s Organisation (ORPA) and PGT signed a unity agreement. Pineiro Losada, the head of the Americas Department, was present<sup>35</sup>.

## **El Salvador**

In El Salvador, Cuba is providing training for the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL) and the Popular Revolutionary Bloc. A defector from the FPL, Julian Ignacio Otero, has testified that many of the FPL leaders have been trained in Cuba, Nicaragua and the USSR. One of the smaller groups, Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), is also supported by Havana. Its chief strategist, Eduardo Sancho Castaneda, has been one of the main contacts with Cuba. In 1980, the five main insurgent groups in El Salvador — the FPL, the People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP), FARN, the Revolutionary Party of Central American

Workers (PRTC) and the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES) — formed the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

## Honduras

In March 1985, Honduran terrorist groups created the National Unity Directorate of the Revolutionary Movement of Honduras (DNU-MRH). Defectors from this group claim that 250 Hondurans were selected for guerrilla training in Nicaragua and Cuba in 1983.

## Costa Rica

In 1982, Costa Rican security forces arrested a terrorist group composed of Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, a Chilean, a Costa Rican and an Argentinian. A large number of weapons were also seized. The Basque terrorist group ETA has been active in Costa Rica, having links both with the FMLN and the Sandinistas<sup>36</sup>.

## 9. The Spetsnaz Threat

During the late 1960s, Western intelligence services noted that Department 13 operations were moving away from assassination to preparations for sabotage in the belief that widespread sabotage could paralyse Western nations by halting transit systems, shutting off the electricity, disrupting the water supplies and blocking traffic arteries in the big cities. When Department 13 became Department V during the extensive reorganisation in 1968-69, the new department began stationing officers in many areas of the industrialised world to prepare for sabotage. Their task was to select targets for sabotage and recruit saboteurs and assassins locally.

In an interview in the French magazine, *Paris Match*, on August 14, 1971, the Czechoslovakian defector, General Jan Sejna, stated that, under Soviet direction, Warsaw Pact countries had established networks of saboteurs in Western Europe and North America that were to destroy vital installations in the event of war. Secret Warsaw Pact meetings had, for instance, discussed the possibility of sabotaging London's underground system in the event of "serious political difficulties". According to the plan, communist agents would incite demonstrations and then accuse the British government of attempting to prevent public protest by halting the underground. A month after the Sejna interview, a Soviet KGB defector, Oleg Adolfovich Lyalin, told a surprised public in England much the same thing — that the Soviets were planning to infiltrate

agents for the purpose of sabotage. In a written reply to a question in Parliament, the British Attorney-General stated:

“Lyalin occupied an official post of importance in the KGB division whose mission ‘included the organisation of sabotage within the United Kingdom’. . . After Mr. Lyalin sought asylum, there were substantial grounds for anxiety over his personal safety, enhanced by the fact that the duties of his department of the KGB also included the elimination of individuals judged to be enemies of the USSR”<sup>37</sup>.

KGB and GRU peacetime preparations include support for Spetsnaz troops or “Special Designation Troops” (Spetsialnoye Naznacheniye or Spetsnaz for short). These trained agents are of any age, occupation or social class and have joined either out of ideological conviction or because they have been blackmailed through some personal indiscretion. They do not know each other and have often been recruited individually for particular tasks. Their tasks include: providing safe houses, custody of special equipment, documents, maps and civilian clothing. People who work inside installations targeted for sabotage can help attackers gain admission and the “peace movements”, in times of increasing tension, could help with demonstrations to divert attention from those preparing the ground for the Spetsnaz. A Danish source<sup>38</sup> claims that an estimated 5,000 people in Denmark could be involved in Spetsnaz support work. Working on this premise, then, there are probably around 25,000 people involved in Spetsnaz operations throughout the whole of Scandinavia. As a matter of fact, two Scandinavian countries, Sweden and Finland, both non-aligned and neutral along with Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, are countries which have been subject to Spetsnaz operations. As regards Finland Suvorov writes: “The campaign of terrorism against Finland is closely linked with the name of the Finnish Communist Otto Kuusinen”. From 1921, “Kuusinen’s career was closely linked with Soviet military intelligence officers. . . In 1939, after the Red Army invaded Finland, he proclaimed himself ‘prime minister and minister of foreign affairs’ of the ‘Finnish Democratic Republic’. . . But the Finnish people put up such resistance that the Kuusinen government’s bid to turn Finland into a ‘people’s republic’ was a failure”<sup>39</sup>. Kuusinen, who had fled to Moscow in 1921, later rose in the Soviet political hierarchy to become a member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee. (Spetsnaz activities in Sweden in the 1980s are treated at the end of this chapter).

Preparatory activities for Soviet special operations could involve industrial unrest and interference with public utilities — natural targets include power lines, transformer stations, automatic telephone exchanges, radio and television relay stations, pipelines and pumping stations. Many Spetsnaz troops could also move into position in Western Europe and North America before any signs of rising tension. Others could arrive by sea during mobilisation. A Spetsnaz network can be activated at any



given moment. As a result, selective assassination and sabotage would begin. Radio beacons, power lines, fuel supplies, electrical switchboards and telephone lines could be sabotaged by individuals or small groups with very little effort.

It is through the defection of a Soviet army officer, who writes under the pseudonym of Viktor Suvorov, that we now know quite a lot about Spetsnaz. Recent reliable sources claim that Soviet Russia has 16 brigades and three regiments of Spetsnaz troops. The Soviet navy possesses four Special Forces Brigades (one for each fleet) and 20 independent units. On mobilisation they would number between 25,000-30,000. The KGB has its own network of agents responsible for assassinating VIPs in the West. Very little is known about this professional brigade of assassins. Their training takes place in a number of centres all over the Soviet Union — one, for example, is in Odessa. Once a year, the best Spetsnaz units come together at the main training centre in the region of Kirovograd to undergo an intensive period of training and competition. Their equipment is light: a Kalashnikov rifle, 300 rounds of ammunition, a P6 silenced pistol, six hand-grenades or a light grenade-launcher, food and medical supplies. It can also include a SA-7 Strela 2 surface-to-air missile. The units have been known to use light motor-cycles and specially designed cross country vehicles during exercises.

The professional core of Spetsnaz troops wear civilian clothes, but they are far from civilians. Like the men and women in the KGB hit squads, they are killers whose primary objective is to track down Western military and political leaders and assassinate them in their home countries<sup>40</sup>.

There is reason to believe that Spetsnaz units are not only training in the USSR, but also on foreign territory. According to Swedish reports, six Soviet submarines were operating in the Stockholm archipelago in October 1982. Of these, two were believed to be mini-submarines. Marks on the sea bed indicated that one was tracked and had a single propeller, while the other had a reinforced keel and two propellers. Such mini-submarines are used by the Soviet Naval Spetsnaz and Swedish reports have also indicated that frogmen have been seen on the east coast of Sweden. There is ample evidence that Soviet Spetsnaz units are training along the Swedish coast, which has led to a greater awareness of the Spetsnaz threat in Sweden. Swedish intelligence believes that Soviet and East European truck drivers are Spetsnaz officers.

The two other post-WW2 Spetsnaz operations with which we are familiar have been in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. During the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, special forces units were deployed before airborne troops were landed or regiments crossed borders. These troops worked with clandestine "Fifth Column" agents in the country and Soviet military advisers. They took over the government, paralysed resistance and seized chokepoints<sup>41</sup>.

At the start of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, on December 26, 1979, troops of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) under General Viktor Semenovitch Paputin were used. Their mission was to destroy or render incapable central government and vital installations. During the 1980s, Spetsnaz were mainly used in Afghanistan for "tactical" missions to cut off, for instance, supplies of arms reaching the freedom fighters. They have also been used for night patrolling<sup>42</sup>.

## 10. Conclusion and Future Trends

We have seen how the Soviet Russian policy of low-intensity warfare has changed from the October Revolution to the era of glasnost and perestroika. In a global strategic situation where military conflicts involving countries in the large alliances are almost impossible "warfare on the cheap" is a tempting alternative. In addition, Soviet Russia is a fragile multinational empire. Recent developments in Kazakhstan (1986), Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania (1987-?), Azerbaijan (1988-?) and Georgia (1988-?) testify to this fact. The roots of this problem stretch back to Russian colonial expansion under the tsars. But we are waiting for one explosion in particular — Ukraine. An independent Ukraine would be one of the largest nations in Europe (the size of France and a population of 50 million). For this reason, repression in Ukraine is harsher and more brutal than anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Mr. Gorbachev has admitted this himself: "You can only imagine what would happen if there were disorders in the Ukraine. Fifty-one million people live here. The whole fabric of the Soviet Union would be amiss"<sup>43</sup>.

Ukrainian leaders in the West were brutally murdered in the past. A Ukraine swept by nationalist turmoil could result in new attacks abroad depending on how the threat to Russian domination in the Union is perceived.

Moscow and its client states can be expected to continue low-intensity warfare regardless of glasnost and perestroika:

- techniques will be more effective and used on a wider scale; they will be more sophisticated and will have a higher destructive potential;
- the USSR is the only state — so far — supporting international terrorists that has access to nuclear and bacteriological weapons;
- Soviet Russian client states like North Korea have used the technique of trying to eliminate whole governments, as in the operation against the South Korean cabinet in Burma in 1983. A terrorist organisation — the IRA — made a similar attempt in Brighton;

- the build-up of Spetsnaz special purpose forces will continue and will focus on the Northern flank in Europe with Sweden as one of the main targets for a rapid takeover.

Sweden, Finland and Afghanistan, all neutral, non-aligned and the latter two bordering on the Soviet Union, have already been targets of Soviet special purpose forces. In the words of Viktor Suvorov: “Norway is exceptionally important. . . for the Soviet military leaders”. The Soviet high command need good and safe roads to the bases in southern Norway. “Those roads lie in Sweden. . . Sweden has become one of the most important strategic points in the world. If war breaks out the path of the aggressor will lie across Sweden. . . The experience of the war against Finland teaches that in Scandinavia frontal attacks with tanks do not produce brilliant results. It requires the use of special tactics and special troops: *Spetsnaz*”<sup>44</sup>.

In a future scenario Suvorov envisages the murder of prominent senior government officials in Sweden, as well as arson and the sabotage of key buildings and installations.

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## Notes

- 1) David C. Rapoport: *Assassination & Terrorism*, Toronto, 1971, p. 49.
- 2) *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 3) Herbert Romerstein: *Soviet Support for International Terrorism*, Washington D.C., 1981, p. 7.
- 4) *Murder International Inc. — Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy*, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington D.C. 1965 (US Government Printing Office), p. 24.
- 5) Ronald Seth: *Encyclopedia of Espionage*, London, New English Library, 1972, p. 582.
- 6) *Ibid.*, p. 582.
- 7) Karl Anders: *Murder to Order*, Ampersand Ltd, London, 1965, p. 44. Much of the material for this chapter was taken from Mr. Anders' book.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p. 45-46.
- 9) *Ibid.*, p. 52-53.
- 10) *Ibid.*, p. 109-110.
- 11) The formal name under Stalin was The Main Guards Directorate (GUO). In the book *Watchdogs of Terror — Russian Bodyguards from the Tsars to the Commissars*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1972, in Appendix I pp. 355-403, (The Main Guards Directorate or Stalin's Okhrana) is a detailed description of the GUO and its functions.
- 12) Peter Deriabin and Frank Gibney: *The Secret World*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.J. 1959, p. 183.
- 13) CBS and PBS, "The Russian Connection", 1979.
- 14) Ray S. Cline — Yonah Alexander: *Terrorism as State-Sponsored Covert Warfare*, HERO Books, Fairfax, Virginia, 1986, p. 17.
- 15) Samuel T. Francis: *The Soviet Strategy of Terror*, The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., 1985, p. 31.
- 16) Viktor Suvorov: *Spetsnaz — The Story of the Soviet SAS*, London, 1989, p. 123.
- 17) *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- 18) *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 19) Romerstein, p. 31.
- 20) Dr. Vittorfranco S. Pisano: *Contemporary Italian Terrorism: Analysis and Countermeasures*, The Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 1979.
- 21) *Il Settimanale*, Rome, May 3, 1978, and others.
- 22) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 28, 1977.
- 23) *The Economist Foreign Report*, No. 1528, March 28, 1978, p. 2.
- 24) Francis, p. 45-46 and *Miami Herald*, February 18 and 26, 1983.
- 25) *Washington Post*, August 3, 1984, p. A14 and July 20, 1984, p. A24.
- 26) Nathan M. Adams: "Drugs for Guns: The Bulgarian Connection", *Reader's Digest*, November 1983.
- 27) Jan Sejna: *We Will Bury You*, London, 1982, pp. 147, 148-149.
- 28) Michael Ledeen: "Intelligence, Training, and Support Components" in Raa-

- nan-Pfaltzgraff, Jr.-Schultz, -Halperin-Lukes: *Hydra of Carnage — The International Linkages of Terrorism and Other Low-Intensity Operations — The Witnesses Speak*, Lexington, Mass., USA, 1986, p. 155-167.
- 29) Francis, p. 50.
  - 30) Mark Falcoff: "Cuba: First Among Equals" in *The Red Orchestra — Instruments of Soviet Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean* (ed. Dennis L. Bark), Stanford, California, 1986, p. 71.
  - 31) For a detailed and well documented study on the DA see Rex A. Hudson: *Castro's Americas Department — Coordinating Cuba's Support for Marxist-Leninist Violence in the Americas*, The Cuban American National Foundation, Washington D.C. 1988. For more on the Cuban narcotics connection see Rachel Ehrenfeld: *Narco-Terrorism and the Cuban Connection* by the same publisher.
  - 32) Jay Mallin: "Cuban Intelligence Elite Pushes Subversion in the Americas," *Washington Times*, August 25, 1983, p. 7A.
  - 33) For more on Feltrinelli see Stefan T. Possony, "Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: The Millionaire Dinamitero" in *Terrorism: An International Journal*, II, Nos. 3 and 4, 1979, pp. 213-30. On "Carlos" see Christopher Dobson-Ronald Payne: *The Carlos Complex; A Study in Terror*, New York, 1977. On Fatah in Cuba see Orlando Castro Hidalgo: *Spy for Fidel*, Miami, 1971.
  - 34) Francis, p. 5.
  - 35) US Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, "Cuba's Renewed Support for Violence in Latin America", *Special Report No. 90* (December 14, 1981), pp. 5-6.
  - 36) Departments of State and Defense, United States, *Nicaragua's Military Build-Up*, pp. 29-35.
  - 37) John Barron: *KGB — The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*, London, 1974, p. 321.
  - 38) Michael Hickey: *The Spetsnaz Threat: Can Britain be Defended?*, London, 1986, p. 19 and note 16.
  - 39) Suvurov., p. 29-30.
  - 40) For more on Spetsnaz see Viktor Suvorov article in the *International Defense Review*, 1983. His books are also of interest, particularly *Soviet Military Intelligence* (1984). Suvorov's book on the Spetsnaz (1987) was published as a paperback in 1989 under the title *Spetsnaz — The story of the Soviet SAS* (London). It was also published in Swedish in 1989.
  - 41) Conference on Spetsnaz Soviet Special Purpose Forces, December 11, 1986, The Hale Foundation, Washington D.C., 1987, p. 4, 17.
  - 42) Ibid. Particularly statements by Mr. David Isby, national security analyst and author of the book *Russia's War in Afghanistan* p. 17-19 and summary "Soviet Special Operation Forces and the War in Afghanistan: Combat Lessons and Implications for South Asian Security".
  - 43) *The Washington Post*, 23 February, 1989.
  - 44) Viktor Suvorov, p. 241-242.

Source: Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United

Date	Name	Event and place	Comments
1926	Ado Birk	Kidnapped, Moscow	Estonian Minister. Kidnapped in broad daylight by OGPU
25 May, 1926	Gen. Symon Pethura	Assassinated in Paris	Leader of Ukrainian Nationalist Movement
26 Jan., 1930	Gen. Alexander Kutepov	Kidnapped in Paris	President, White Russian Federation of War Veterans.
27 July, 1931	George Semmelmann	Murdered by a Serbian Communist, allegedly a medical student, Andrei Piklovich	Piklovich was tried, found not guilty, pro-Piklovich demonstrations in Moscow.
22 May, 1932	Hans Wissengir	Shot in Hamburg	Courier link to United States on Hamburg-American Line vessels. (See Valtin (Krebs) "Out of the Night" (1941, which attributes killing to Georg Mink and Hugo Marx).
1934	Valentin Markin	Killed in New York City	Chief, OGPU, in United States, Protégé of Molotov.
1936	Jean Cremet	Macao	Agent of French sections, Soviet Military Intelligence.
7 Nov., 1936	Trotsky archives	Burglary in Paris	Headquarters of International Institute of Social History (Boris Nicolsevsky).
21 Jan., 1937	Dimitri Navachine (Navashine)	Murdered in Paris	Killed on eve of trial in Moscow of Gregorii Piatakov. Navachine had publicly announced his intention to make exposé in Paris regarding the trial.
3 June, 1937	Juliet Stuart Poyntz	Disappeared in New York City	Had been associated with George Mink, (See Budenz: <i>This Is My Story</i> (1947), and Ben Gitlow: <i>I Confess</i> (1940)).
5 Sept., 1937	Ignace Reiss (also known as Hans Eberhardt).	Murdered in Lausanne, Switzerland	Reiss defection letter to CC CPSU dated 17 July 1937. He was GRU. Killing carried out from Paris by Surveillance execution team, Roland Abbia, alias François Rossi, Rena Steiner, Etienne Martignat, Gertrude Schildbach.
22 Sept., 1937	Gen. Eugeniy Miller	Kidnapped in Paris	President, White Russian Federation of War Veterans. Kidnapping was consequent to penetration by General Skobline who became friend and protégé of Miller. Skobline disappeared from France on 23 Sept., 1957.
December 1937	Adolph Arnold and Rut Maria Reubens (also known as Robinson).	Arrested for espionage. Moscow: Adolph Reubens disappeared.	
1937	Henry Moulin	Killed in Spain	French Communist.
1937	Andrew Nin	Found dead in street in Madrid	Leader of the Workers Party of Marxist Union (POUM). Spain.
1937	Kurt Landau	Kidnapped and killed in Spain	Austrian refugee.

Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, 26 March 1965.

1937	José Robles	Disappeared in Valencia, September 1937	Ex-professor, Spanish literature, Johns Hopkins University.
1937	Marc Rein	Spain; disappeared without trace	Son of Menshevik exile, Raphael Ambramovich.
1937	Walter Schwartz	Arrested in August 1937	Trotskyist, POUM leader.
1937	Camillo Berneri	Found dead in Barcelona, 6 Nov., 1937	Anarchist.
1937	Hamilton Gold		British citizen, / T technician. Sent to Spain. Forcibly repatriated to USSR from Barcelona, end 1937. (See Margaret Buber: <i>Under Two Dictators</i> (London, 1949).
1937	Walter Held and wife	Arrested, USSR	Trotskyites arrested in transit, USSR from Sweden.
1937	Bob Smillie	Died Valencia jail; allegedly appendicitis	British citizen.
1937	Erwin Wolf	Kidnapped and disappeared in Spain	Ex-secretary of Trotsky.
1937	Hans Freund	ditto	
16 Feb., 1938	Lev Sedov (also known as Martin)	"Natural" death following stomach operation in Paris.	Trotsky's son.
March 1938	Lt. Col. Evhen Konovalts	Killed by explosion of parcel bomb, Rotterdam	Konovalts was leader of Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. Killing attributed to financial supporter and confidant, one Valyukh, who disappeared after K's death.
1 July, 1938	Jay Lovestone papers	Burglary in New York	
13 July, 1938	Rudolf Klement (also known as Walter)	Disappeared in Paris (probably murdered and identical with a corpse found in Seine, 16 July).	Secretary of International Bureau of 4th International.
August 1938	Russell Blackwell	Disappeared, Barcelona	US citizen.
24 May, 1940	Robert Sheldon Harte	Abducted, murdered	Trotsky bodyguard abducted in first abortive <i>coup</i> against Trotsky's villa, by David A. Sequeiros. Killing attributed to Louis and Leopoldo Arenal.
June 1940	Willi Muenzenberg	Apparent suicide in France	
1948	Chief Inspector Maref	Disappeared in Vienna	Police official.
22 Aug., 1949	Dr. Karl Sondermann	Attempted abduction in Vienna (British sector).	
October 1949	Paul Markgraf	Disappeared in Berlin (East Zone)	Head of police in East Sector, Berlin.
September 1947	Georgi Tregubov	Kidnapped from West Berlin	Tregubov, <i>émigré</i> , lured to East Berlin by Soviet agent. Elizabeth Randal.
Summer 1950	Mrs. G. S. Okolovich	Attempted kidnapping, Munich	
June 1951	G. S. Okolovich	Planned kidnapping	Failed because Okolovich was warned and informed police authorities.
1953	Bohumil Lauschman	Kidnapped, Salzburg	Kidnapped by Czechoslovak IS with Soviet sanction and facilitation.

## The Author

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*Terrorism — Warfare of our Time* (1978);

*The Communist Holocaust* (1981);

*Moscow and the Terrorist International* (1985);

*Political Warfare. The Missing Link in the Defence of the West* (1986 — in English);

*Freedom Fighters* (1987) and

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