

# Terrorists in Budapest

The Communist State Security Services and Europe

*Strike me dead, the track has vanished,  
Well, what now? We've lost the way,  
Demons have bewitched our horses,  
Led us in the wilds astray.*

Poem of A. Pushkin, as a motto of Dostoyevsky's Devils

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**Introduction**

On 16 February 1981 a Hungarian intelligence agent code-named “Késmárki” reported home from Rome that “*the Italian security organs, infiltrating into the terrorist organizations, are alleged to have got into a training camp in Libya where the training of terrorists was helped by East European experts*”. The evaluators put the file aside and handled the intelligence with the usual mantra of the communist phraseology, the Orwellian speech: “the imperialists create hysteria” against the socialist countries.

Of course, the communist secret services knew perfectly well that it was more than true, and the news was only the tip of the iceberg.

The secret connection between the communist countries and the terrorist groups was known also in the free world from the very beginning. No one could have been too surprised by further evidence that certain terrorist groups got covert support from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The relation of the communist countries’ leadership with the world of terrorism was rather two-faced and hypocritical. They contradicted themselves when they had to condemn terrorism as mere violence, since their own ideology, on which their worldview and world order were based, was not at all free from violent forms of attaining and retaining power. Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Obzina’s words in a Prague meeting held by the home affairs and state security delegations of the socialist countries between 3 and 5 April 1979 tellingly and, when put into perspective, to some extent humorously caught the moment of confronting the contradiction: “We, communists, have always condemned, are condemning and will condemn terror and terrorism as a tactic and tool for political struggle... but, to avoid any confusion and doubt, we acknowledge revolutionary violence, and even armed rebellion, as a means of protecting workers and the working class against the rule and white terror of the exploiting classes and counter-revolutionary forces, as V. I. Lenin explained it historically and theoretically in his own time”. This way somehow. But in their attitude towards the world of terrorism, putting the ancient principle and reflex of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” into practice was more important than any theoretical hiccups. While they also feared those who, in their own wild and unpredictable way, could have caused problems for their supporters at any time, terrorists made an excellent and well disguised tool for the strenuous struggle against imperialist targets...

In this insidious game, of course, the Soviets assigned the roles and tasks to their satellites, according to their endowments, enthusiasm and the position they occupied on the socialist palette. The Hungarian regime, which since the mid-sixties had represented in all respects a softer and more flexible version of communism than, for example, the GDR<sup>1</sup> or Bulgaria, got “logistical” rather than active tasks in supporting “terrorism”. As is also clear from the documents in this volume, the Carlos episode meant not merely a temporary but an almost 5-year-long chapter in the relationship between the Hungarian communist state security and international terrorism. Although the exclusionary intent is apparent, and finally effective, on the Hungarian side, the fact remains that the bloodthirsty Carlos and his team could dwell in Budapest at their pleasure, and from the mid-seventies to the late eighties not once they departed from here for their murderous raids, mainly on American and Israeli targets, not necessarily to the delight of the Hungarian organs but with their knowledge. Did it happen under Soviet pressure? Presumably yes. However, I venture to say that the Hungarian party leaders, who were necessarily acquainted with all this for they received the state security reports, a few years later, after the change of regime completely reversing their position

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<sup>1</sup>Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

became the most ardent friends of the transatlantic alliance, repairing their image as officials of democratic governments, members of diplomatic corps, and even senior clerks in the institutions of the European Union. The question arises if these people could have become reliable members of the community of European democracies. Everyone should decide for themselves according to taste and their insight into human nature.

Naturally, communist party leaders denied supporting terrorism even in their internal meetings. In the above mentioned Prague conference, for example, Bulgarian Deputy Minister of the Interior Lieutenant General Sopov commented on the political murders committed by the Bulgarian secret service: *“Threats were made in connection with the death of defectors and BBC staff members Georgi Markov and Vladimir Simonov<sup>2</sup>, as Bulgaria and our organs were accused by the West of having a hand in it...*

*Defector and active contributor to BBC and Radio Free Europe Georgi Markov’s death confused the hostile emigration. All comrades present, however, are familiar with the fact that the Western mass media used this death for launching a broadside against security organs of the PRB<sup>3</sup>.”*

I wonder why it was necessary to lie, almost as if for pleasure, in that circle, since among those present there everyone knew the truth, and presumably they had no objection. But the unwritten rules of the Orwellian world and the communist system, which was corrupt to the core, are often difficult to be interpreted rationally, even within their own logic. In 1993, when the famous British writer John Le Carré enquired in Moscow whether it was true that Kalugin gave instructions to murder Bulgarian opposition writer and émigré Markov in London with an umbrella, Kalugin answered: *“People ask me, ‘Did you have anything to do with Georgi Markov’s assassination?’ ‘Listen,’ I tell them, ‘we’re not children. I was the head man for all that stuff, for Christ’s sake! Nothing operational could be done unless it went across my desk, O.K.? Markov had already been sentenced to death in his absence by a Bulgarian court, but the Bulgarians were terrible. They couldn’t do a damn thing. We had to do it all for them: train the guy, make the umbrella, fix the poison.’ Listen, all we did was carry out the sentence. It was completely legal, O.K.?”<sup>4</sup>*

Although the Soviet Union has collapsed, the question arises whether the dismissed or retired officers of the secret services, who presumably brought with them not only cynicism but also their contacts, maintained the networks through which they moved terrorist groups and which might enable them even today to conduct mutually beneficial business in various branches of organized crime (illegal arms trade, chemical and biological weapons, illegal trade of dual-use items, etc.).

In the secret documents of the seventies and eighties (or rather in the few and fragmentary records that are available for the researcher...) the germ and prototype of the phenomenon that the contemporary literature of counter-terrorism calls the diversification of terrorism is already clearly visible. Terrorism today cannot be regarded as a centralized, uniformly managed movement. What we generally call Al-Qaeda is now a geographically and ethnically diverse network woven from ad hoc groups and cells, extremely difficult to be traced. The

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<sup>2</sup> Translator’s note: The text here most probably refers to Vladimir Kostov, a Bulgarian émigré who was attempted to be killed in the Paris metro, but survived.

<sup>3</sup> Translator’s note: People’s Republic of Bulgaria

<sup>4</sup> Translator’s note: “My New Friends in the New Russia: In Search of a Few Goos Crooks, Cops and Former Agents,” New York Times, February 19, 1995. [[http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:lq9JgutW\\_O0J:www.nytimes.com/books/99/03/21/specials/lecarre-newrussia.html+%E2%80%9CPeople+ask+me,+%E2%80%9CDid+you+have+anything+to+do+with+Georgi+Markov%27s+assassination%3F%E2%80%9D&cd=1&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu&source=www.google.hu](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:lq9JgutW_O0J:www.nytimes.com/books/99/03/21/specials/lecarre-newrussia.html+%E2%80%9CPeople+ask+me,+%E2%80%9CDid+you+have+anything+to+do+with+Georgi+Markov%27s+assassination%3F%E2%80%9D&cd=1&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu&source=www.google.hu)] Cited by Knight, Amy: Spies Without Cloaks: The KGB’s Successors. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996. p. 112. [<http://books.google.hu/books?id=4DVyeobaJtYC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>]

local groups operating in a franchise system call themselves Al-Qaeda, without actually being connected to the original Al-Qaeda. Diversification is reflected in the fact, for instance, that the assassins no longer come from slums, ghettos and training camps, but rather from middle class families and are educated at prominent European universities. For example David Headly, the “mole” who played key role in the Mumbai bombings, was a US citizen and informant of the anti-drug agency. The mapping is still more difficult, as today volunteers are mostly recruited through the internet. Well studied, well behaved young people living in a balanced family suddenly disappear from home, and only a leaflet remains after them, "Mom, don't worry, I'm in Somalia, I'm fine". It is not known who paid for the plane ticket, and what kind of devilish allure they obey when, leaving their previously safe lives for feverish ideas, they rush to an unknown land. Peculiar, but certainly essential and integral features of terrorism are proliferating and permanent movement: a group splits into two and vanishes, while a third comes to life from scratch as, it is quite obscure how and from whom, new organizations led by ever new leaders are formed and re-formed. The whole scene is whirling and swirling as if in a crazy puppet show. The same characters, like playing cards in a dangerous game of poker, go round in a circle confusedly, appearing now here and then there on the stage of world power plays. One thing is certain: if we really want to understand the history of terrorism, the question that cannot be avoided is how terrorists were utilized, through subtle and untraceable transmissions, by different countries and great powers on the chessboard of politics, providing escape and ammunition for movements that on their own might never have got further than the isolated misdeeds of their murderous-minded members.

The task of modern counter-terrorism became rather complicated due to the system of “franchise terrorism”, which, however, also reduces the potential for terrorism by multiplying and accentuating the internal contradictions of terrorist movements. Although the leader of Chechen terrorists, for example, agrees with the Al-Qaeda on a number of issues, they do not join forces because one of them wants to defeat Russia, while the other the United States. These internal divisions and contradictions were visible already in the early 80s.

This volume presents documents primarily concerning Carlos's visit to Budapest, and another collection of documents, revealing preview of the diversification of terrorism and its colourful diversity burdened with inner contradictions, is to be published in a next volume. The communist leaders' relationship to terrorism was insolubly ambivalent. In the communist world view, which was based on hypocrisy and lies, the world was divided, for propagandistic purposes at least, into good and evil, angels and devils, and thus almost every terrorist act was considered a "fascist" attack on socialism. According to their perception the communist countries were threatened by gigantic counter-revolutionary terrorism, which included everything and anything that fitted their enemy image. It would be useful to know who exactly were the people listed in the Prague meeting as captured and punished “right-wing” terrorists. I have a suspicion that most of them were merely critics or opponents of communism rather than terrorists. Although they verbally condemned, and also feared, ultra-leftist terrorism, at the same time they took a permissive attitude towards it due to the common enemy, and also because it was impossible to admit that something can be guilty and leftist at the same time. They sought to prove, for example, that the Red Brigades merely appeared to be a left-wing organization, and in reality it were not. The whole material of the Prague meeting is so voluminous that here we can publish only excerpts, which, however, clearly illustrate the pathetic and nightmarish struggle of the communist leaders between theory and reality.

Thomas Mann begins his Joseph trilogy with the following words: “Deep is the well of the past. Should we not call it bottomless?”<sup>5</sup> Researchers of the past, whether they be historians, psychologists or archaeologists, are confronted with this question, regardless of their subject matter. Those who want to reconstruct long-completed past events and those addicted to exploration and decoding can never feel that what they have is more than what they lack. Perpetrators and victims of the events kept their secret, but this is, and can be, no excuse for those who in the last months of the regime change removed important documents, depriving the Hungarian society of its legitimate and cathartic heritage: the relics of the state security past. The researcher’s work resembles that of the archaeologist. He is an archaeologist of the mind, digging now here, now there. The excavation area is given, and quite limited if we subtract the loss of document shredding and the considerable amount of state security documents that are withheld by the democratic services and, who knows why, are kept classified and enclosed to researchers even decades later. We know the age and site of the objects and we place them cleaned and thematically arranged in the “museum” of existential corruption, to serve as a basis for further analyses and interpretations in order to better understand our recent past.

With this purpose in mind, we launched the “Workbook” series.

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<sup>5</sup> Mann, Thomas: Joseph and his brothers. Everyman's Library, 2005. p. 3. Translated by John Edwin Woods.  
[[http://books.google.hu/books?ei=-H53TYyzL8qu8QO5uP2fDA&ct=result&id=BA5mAAAAMAAJ&dq=mann+joseph+and+his+brothers+past&q=past#search\\_anchor](http://books.google.hu/books?ei=-H53TYyzL8qu8QO5uP2fDA&ct=result&id=BA5mAAAAMAAJ&dq=mann+joseph+and+his+brothers+past&q=past#search_anchor)]

*Top Secret!*  
*Particularly important!*

**DUTIES OF STATE SECURITY ORGANS  
IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM**

**Excerpts from the Prague conference of home affairs and state security delegations from  
the communist countries**

**(3-5 April 1979)**



**CSSR Interior Minister  
Comrade Jaromir Obzina's  
Opening speech**

I welcome you, dear comrades, to Prague, the capital of the CSR.

Comrades,

The CSR Ministry of the Interior has the honour of organizing the first international conference of the brotherly socialist countries on such an important matter as the fight against terrorism. Major General Jan Hanuliak will clarify our position in this regard. Therefore let me just make three modest political-theoretical comments as a start:

- 1) We, communists, have always condemned, are condemning and will condemn terror and terrorism as a tactic and tool for political struggle, or as a means of resolving social problems of mankind. We categorically condemn terrorism as a social phenomenon, as we advocate:
  - a) primarily class struggle and
  - b) organized socialist state as a means of building and defending the socialist society and the socialist social and political order

But, to avoid any confusion and doubt, we acknowledge revolutionary violence, and even armed rebellion, as a means of protecting workers and the working class against the rule and white terror of the exploiting classes and counter-revolutionary forces, as V. I. Lenin explained it historically and theoretically in his own time. Lenin told that: “At all events, we are convinced that the experience of revolution and counter-revolution in Russia has proved the correctness of our Party’s more than twenty-year struggle against terrorism as tactics. We must not forget, however, that this struggle was closely connected with a ruthless struggle against opportunism, which was inclined to repudiate the use of all violence by the oppressed classes against their oppressors. We have always stood for the use of violence in the mass struggle and in connection with it. Secondly, we linked the struggle against terrorism with many years of propaganda”<sup>6</sup>. How fresh these words sound in our struggle against terrorism, as well as our struggle against right- and left-wing opportunism. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist attitude has remained the programme of class struggle to this day.

- 2) We know that in the civil society the terrorism has three essential features:
  - a) individual terror, as the manifestation of “professional crime”, as the social ulcer of exploitation, poverty, social uncertainty, personal and social crisis;
  - b) individual terrorism, or simply terrorism, as the deformed and false weapon and tool for the political fight of certain desperate extremist streams and similar political adventurers;
  - c) individual or group terrorism, as the fighting weapon of the most reactionary forces of the ruling bourgeoisie and right-wing exploiting classes, which is used by the ruling classes inside the country and in the international life against the democratic progressive and revolutionary forces.

Thus terrorism is always the means of inhuman, anti-popular, reactionary and counterrevolutionary struggle, as is also confirmed by recent experiences.

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<sup>6</sup> Translator's note: V. I. Lenin's Speech at the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland, November 4, 1916. Lenin Internet Archive. English translation: [<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/nov/04.htm>]

- 3) For us, the state security and police staff, the most relevant facts are the following:
- a) The attempts of the imperialist countries and their special services to use terrorism against the social countries and to export this sinful and reactionary form of activity in the socialist society.
  - b) For the purposes of terrorism, and especially political terrorism even common criminals are not despised. A strange phenomenon was observed: attempts at alliance between the underworld and the anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary forces, most often directly instructed by special forces of the imperialist countries or, in extreme cases, with their support. The connection between crime and political terror as a special form of anti-socialist struggle is evident. We must not forget this highly important factor.

Comrades,

The reasons which led to this international conference were practical experiences in fighting against the attempts of our inner and foreign enemies to use terror against the basis of the social order and the interests of the working people and our first successes in this struggle, which, although we find them positive, are not to be overestimated. The CSR Ministry of the Interior proposed that the brotherly socialist countries should discuss this issue in an international conference. We consider the question of struggle against terrorism important, because without this exchange of experience we will not be able to counteract with maximum efficiency the clandestine plans of international imperialism for hostile activity. Therefore we are very pleased that the plan of our conference met with full support. I am confident that our international conference on the struggle against terrorism will be fruitful and useful to us all. Allow me to wish you every success and to declare the conference open.

## KEY FEATURES OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AT PRESENT AND THE TASKS OF STATE SECURITY ORGANS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

Dear Comrades,

First of all, allow me to thank the leadership at the Interior Ministry of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and personally Comrade Obzina, on behalf of Comrade Yurii Vladimirovich Andropov, member of the CPSU<sup>7</sup> Political Committee, Chairman of the Committee for State Security of the Soviet Union and other members of the Committee for State Security for organizing the conference and for the invitation, and to convey our militant regards to all participants of the conference, representatives of the state security organs of the brotherly socialist countries.

Comrades,

You know well that the central committees of the communist and workers' parties of our brotherly countries attach enormous importance to political, economical, ideological and military cooperation in all fields.

The firm basis, lifeblood and organizing force of our close cooperation is, as Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the General Secretary of our Party's Central Committee pointed out in his speech at the XXVth Congress of the CPSU, the indissoluble militant alliance between the communist parties of socialist countries, and their unity of ideology, goals and will.

This cooperation has significant effects. In the domestic political sphere it enables our countries to solve successfully the tasks of building the socialism and communism, to achieve dynamic economic development, to perfect the socialist democracy, and to strengthen the political-ideological unity of the society on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In an international context, our cooperation facilitates ensuring the most favourable conditions for our development. As a joint achievement the détente of international tension can be mentioned.

The enormous collective support and aid provided by our countries for the heroic Vietnamese people in their brave struggle against the Chinese aggression are graphic examples of the brotherly countries' effective cooperation.

The immense creative activity of the peoples of the socialist countries has been always conducted amid struggles with forces using any means to disturb us creating the new life and strengthening the socialism. The enemies of socialism remain strong even today and do not want to give up their positions without fight. The imperialists have realised that they can no longer defeat us militarily, but they further strengthen the military-political block of the NATO and continue the armaments race, hoping that in this respect power relations will change in their favour.

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<sup>7</sup> Translator's note: Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The imperialists put great emphasis on subversive activities inside the socialist countries to undermine and weaken socialism. In this field they deploy all forms and means of combat: legal or illegal, economical or ideological; espionage, ideological diversion and terror.

In this situation, it is particularly important to interrupt the activities of the hostile special services against socialism. In this task entrusted to the state security organs by the central committees of our brotherly countries' communist and workers' parties, success depends greatly on skilful and effective coordination of our actions. Therefore our task, given us by the central committees, is to further strengthen our multilateral cooperation.

Comrades,

The purpose of this conference is also to discuss the problems concerning the elaboration of measures against the dangerous phenomenon of terrorism. When talking about terrorism one has to see both sides of the issue.

On the one hand there is terrorism itself widespread in the capitalist and developing countries for a number of objective and subjective reasons. On the other, there is the intention of reactionary imperialist circles of using terror in their fight against the social order of the socialist countries.

It is important to emphasize at the beginning that terrorism as a social phenomenon is an integral part of the antagonist bourgeois society. As some bourgeois sociologists have acknowledged, seeing the injustice, mass unemployment, and corruption many citizens of the bourgeois society, even in the higher levels of administration, are overwhelmed by the feeling of hopelessness and despair and lose faith in the future. If bourgeois governments remain unmoved by people's protest kept within legal bounds, then in some persons the spirit of anarchism and revolt is revived and they start resorting to violence as the most extreme means of expressing their protest against the existing system.

Consequently, murder of political opponents, bombing and arson by applying the latest technology, preparation and posting of explosives, and a general increase in the number of criminal offences have become familiar to the bourgeois society in recent years. Age-old social bonds are in crisis, the reassessment of material and moral values is in progress.

Terrorism is actively used by extreme right-wing organizations or those of fascist nature, which traditionally serve as a weapon in the hands of the imperialists in the fight against the revolutionary labour movement.

As the most important feature of terrorism, we would like to emphasize that imperialist special services seek to utilize this social phenomenon of our time to achieve their own goals, and in the fight against the contemporary social forces, and especially against world socialism.

In many countries of the world the activation of leftist elements, who are characterized by extreme warfare, has a certain effect on the spread of terrorism. While this is obvious in the case of fascistoid youth, the issue of leftist element is somewhat more complicated.

Leftist elements show a wide variety: anarchists, who appeared in the 60s and formed groups in many capitalist countries, the Maoist elements present in many countries, and the extreme Trotskyist groups.

All these we call extremists, the word coming from Latin “extremus”, which, as is well known, means “outer” [sic]. Theoretically we distinguish “left-wing” extremism and right-wing extremism, i.e. fascism. Right-wing and “left-wing” extremism often go shoulder to shoulder, using and applying the same method of political struggle against the forces of democracy, peace and socialism. This is exactly the way the fascist terrorists and “leftist” terrorists behave in Italy, Spain and other Western European countries.

According to Marxism-Leninism terrorism has nothing to do with political struggle, therefore it cannot be regarded as revolutionary activity. Marx and Engels vehemently opposed political conspiracy and assassination. They called terrorists and conspirators the “alchemists of revolution”. Lenin also condemned the practice of individual terror, and regarded terrorism as the ideology of the vanquished demonstrating their weakness by terrorist acts.

Despite ultra-left phrases, objectively the ideology of left extremist organizations serves the enemies of the democratic forces. Therefore reactionary circles of imperialist countries not only have a patient attitude towards extremist manifestations, coming either from the left or from the right, but in certain cases they actively support and even provoke these in order that the terrorist actions committed by them can be used as a pretext for attacking the democratic rights of workers.

Terrorism especially often flared at the beginning of the 70s, when dozens of extremist organizations and groups appeared in Europe, the Near East and Latin-America, and terrorism began to be widely propagated by neo-fascists, diverse nationalist groups, Zionists, and other left- and right-wing extremists appearing in various countries of the world. As the events of recent times show, the most active groups are the “Red Brigades” in Italy, the West German “Red Army Fraction”, many Japanese extremist groups, the organization of “Muslim Brotherhood” functioning in eastern countries, the Ananda Marga and some other ones. The situation is aggravated by the fact that extremist organizations, to a certain extent, receive cooperation and support from the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, students, employees and even from some, although insignificant, layers of workers in many countries.

In the West the risk of the left-wing radical movement becoming right-wing radical movement has been widely disputed recently. Talking about left-wing radicalism shifting to the right, it is usual to refer to the cult of violence, nihilism, and the impulse of enthusiasm due to lack of precise goals and tasks. The reactionary forces use these characteristics, which are indeed more or less typical of many left-wing radicals, for their own purposes.

The possibility of rebirth stems from the petty bourgeois essence of extremism, and this partly applies also to left-wing extremism, which is characterized by shifting from one extreme to the other.

Groups unrelated politics but using political slogans to disguise their real banditry also resort to terror in order to appear in the public eye as “warriors” fighting for freedom.

Recent facts bear witness that terrorist groups and organizations seek to contact each other and coordinate their activity. According to our information they attempt to establish a terrorist community, the centre and driving force of which would be in the Near East.

It is also known that in October 1978 a “secret” conference was held in Yugoslavia, in which extremist organizations from various countries were represented. Participants of the “conference” have signed the principle of the so-called "simultaneous revolutionary action”, which in practice provides for closer cooperation between the member organizations of the conference, and the preparation in different countries and simultaneous implementation of coordinated terrorist actions.

The term “international terrorism” has been used frequently in the press, radio and television recently. The meaning of “international terrorism” is rather relative, there is no precise definition yet, but some of its features are discernible.

**Deputy Minister Lieutenant General  
G. Sopov's speech  
Bulgaria**



## **Information**

On some problems of the fight against terrorism of Ministry of the Interior organs of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Dear Comrades,  
Dear Comrade Minister Obzina,  
My Dear Czechoslovak Friends,

Allow me to convey the kindest militant regards on behalf of the leadership and College of the BPR<sup>8</sup> Ministry of the Interior, and personally Comrade Minister Dimitr [Dimitar] Stoyanov. On this occasion I warmly and sincerely greet the representatives of the brotherly state security organs and wish you all fruitful work.

This forum of Chekists is an exhibition of our effective cooperation in the struggle against the class enemy, the confirmation of the unbreakable friendship between our peoples, and the manifestation of the social internationalism of communist parties and their first secretaries.

Almost two years have passed since our last meeting held in the capital of the brotherly Hungary. Within this short period significant, dynamic and also contradictory changes have occurred in the international political and operational situation.

With the leadership of the Soviet Union, the real socialism accelerated and was been raised to a higher level. Its ideological and material power, as well as its position has been established as a factor determining further expansion in the dimensions and development of the labour movement, the deepening of the national liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the perspective of peaceful development in the present phase.

The expansion in the geographical boundaries of socialism, the revolutionary victories in Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Mozambique, South Yemen etc. are, as a result of the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, inextricably linked with the support of all progressive forces in the world. The positive tendencies in the spirit of peaceful coexistence continue to develop, although not without contradictions, in the international relations.

The BPR<sup>9</sup>, by firmly and immovably following [sic] Lenin's guidelines in foreign policy, plays active role in the Warsaw Pact as well as in the concerted effort of the brotherly socialist countries to maintain peace and to expand the positions of real socialism, and builds an advanced socialist society at an accelerated pace. Workers concentrated around the Central Committee of the Party, the intelligentsia, the youth, and the whole Bulgarian people

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<sup>8</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>9</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

successfully implement the decisions of the XI. Congress of the BCP<sup>10</sup> and make efforts to further strengthen unity and agglutination with the Soviet Union, the CPSU<sup>11</sup> and with other brotherly parties and countries.

Comrades,

To offset the inevitable success of real socialism as well as the world revolutionary process and in relation to the deepening general crisis of capitalism, militaristic circles of the West have intensified their global actions towards the armaments race, stopping the détente process and returning to the era of the cold war in order to prevent socialism from winning a victory all over the world. Our joint conclusion reached in Budapest concerning the increasing aggressiveness of capitalism is again and again confirmed. On the basis of anti-sovietism the enemy stubbornly seeking and applies the new international and supranational economical-military, political and ideological forms of uniting all reactionary forces in the class struggle against real socialism. The enemy also deepens the integration process of ideological diversion and espionage and constantly broadens the total ideological war against the countries of the socialist camp; activates and reorganizes its special services, ideological centres and diplomatic missions, and more effectively use the tunnels of international exchange for penetrating the socialist camp and pursuing focused and differentiated subversive activities.

By continuing the review of the Helsinki agreement, which is a “legal basis” for the open interference in our internal affairs, the special services and ideological diversion centres enhance organizing their intelligence-organizational and propagandist-subversive activity in order to discredit socialist social construction, cause a split between the Soviet Union and the brotherly socialist countries, within the socialist camp, and within the international communist and labour movement.

Through the Carter Doctrine, ideologists and strategists of anti-communism ever more explicitly and globally aim their attacks against the Soviet Union, counting primarily on anti-sovietism in the global class struggle. The Maoist governing circles of China, who not only synchronize their actions and integrate with the global imperialism but also organize the creation of a unity front of “the USA, China, Japan and Western Europe” against the Soviet Union, play a dangerous role in this respect. In a deliberately provocative and anti-soviet manner, Chinese leaders stubbornly seek to form a block in the Balkans, including Yugoslavia and Romania, against the Soviet Union. Hua Guofeng recent visits to Bucharest, Belgrade and Scopje have served precisely this purpose.

The China-friendly line of our neighbours explicitly expressed especially in the fact that they support China in the perfidious aggression against the brotherly Vietnam, which was prepared and carried out in a typically Hitlerian-fascist way. The attack on Vietnam is an egregious mockery of the Vietnamese people, which again demonstrates that the hegemonic, expansionist and anti-soviet policy of the Chinese leaders is no different in form, method and purpose from that of “Third Reich”.

The enemy seeks to involve the leaders of the “eurocommunist” parties in its anti-soviet and anti-socialist actions and campaigns, actively use the hostile émigré organizations, the nationalist, Zionist and religious centres, the various “left-wing” and right-wing anti-

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<sup>10</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian Communist Party

<sup>11</sup> Translator's note: Communist Party of the Soviet Union

communist groups, the “dissidents”, the renegades and traitors regardless of their ideological platforms, aims and diversity of their tasks.  
Comrades,

After the Helsinki conference and especially in the last two years changes have been made in the tactics of the enemy in relation to the negative processes in international political and operational situation. Efforts to unite the hostile emigration on national and global scale coincide with the long-term ambition to coordinate the actions of hostile elements in our countries. The reactionary and avant-garde circles of monopolist bourgeoisie begin to use terror more and more actively, together with the other subversive methods and forms.

Terrorism, as the social phenomenon of the capitalist world, becomes more and more organized and mass-scale. Brutal oppression and physical retaliation for the resistance of progressive forces have become common practice of the ruling class and its special services. These are even included in the military regulations of the USA and the NATO countries, as the condition for the successful implementation of military operations. We are witnessing such evil actions even today, which are carried out in Vietnam and Laos, for example.

The terrorist activity is starting to spread in all imperialist countries, including the USA, Italy, the FRG<sup>12</sup>, France, Japan and England.

The political life of Turkey, Greece, Spain, Portugal and a number of Arab and Latin-American countries have been deeply penetrated. According to official data, there are more than 80 armed terrorist extremist and Neo-Nazi groups in the FRG<sup>13</sup> alone. There are several known terrorist organizations, like the Italian “Red Brigades”, the West German “Anarchist-Terrorist Organization”, the Japanese “Red Army”, the „Jewish Defense League” in the USA, the Arab “Tahrir Arabia”, The Palestinian “Black July”, the Greek “17 November”, the “Ulen-44”, the Turkish extreme right-wing illegal “Army for the Liberation of Captive Turks” (ETKO), etc. Each organization has specially trained cadres, considerable financial assets, and modern technology. They behave in an organized, rough and confident way not only in their own countries, but also internationally.

Left-wing extremism has been also activated due to the influence of Maoist China, which is the expression of ideological-political immaturity and despair among the instinctive petty bourgeois forces. The bourgeois circles concerned quite often encourage extremism deliberately under the pseudo-revolutionary slogan of struggle “against the institutions of the bourgeois state” as a condition of open reprisals.

Within the framework of the extremist-terrorist wave widespread in the West, the special services of the enemy more and more often encourage, organize and pursue terrorist activity, even directly against the BPR<sup>14</sup>. By means of rough provocation, blackmail, threat, plotting and uncovering terrorist acts they attempt to complicate matters for Bulgarian embassies and to compromise socialist Bulgaria abroad, causing confusion among the population and creating the illusion that inside and outside the country there is an “open resistance” to the people’s power. Certain intelligence organs in international crises transfer hostile-criminal elements inside the country to implement actions against the security and rights of Bulgarian citizens.

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<sup>12</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>13</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>14</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

To realize terrorist plans against the BPR<sup>15</sup>, the enemy primary uses the hostile émigré organizations, which always have been consistent supporters of terror. Directly instructed and financially supported by the special services the implementation of systematically organized terrorist actions is prepared. More and more often they attempt to cause mental anguish and create distrust among the staff of our embassies and the Bulgarian citizens temporary staying abroad. Diversionary-provocative and psychological operations are also planned in our territory, their aim is to form terrorist groups within the country. The actions are primary executed by young men, refugees not coming back, having avant-garde attitude and criminal tendencies, and who have been punished for various crimes. Persons from the most active groups of dissidents, i.e. former police staff and agents, members of fascist organizations and other notorious enemies of our homeland, also implement actions.

Boris Arsov, a defector and former police officer convicted of counter-revolutionary activity, established an association of Bulgarian revolutionary committees called “Vasil Levski” with the aim of fighting against the BPR<sup>16</sup> by the principal means of terrorism. The organization palled to blow up the Bulgarian embassy in Belgrade and the military installations in Sofia. They planned to place plastic bombs in letters addressed to our citizens. For this purpose they formed some “attacking units of five” to be transferred in the country. The organization intended to form a group inside the country in order to “free political prisoners by force” and “punish guilty representatives of power”.

We have uncovered the plot of the organization. Leaders of the “association” have returned to the BPR<sup>17</sup> in a combinatory way and were given the statutory penalty.

Following the example of Arsov, in order to execute actions against our embassies in the West some defectors have established a monarchist group in 1978 in Switzerland, which was supported by the enemy. At the same time the leader of the émigré organization of “Bulgarian National Committee” ordered his contact to form a “penalty triple” in order to liquidate party and state leaders in the right time.

What the poses the greatest risk for us today, however, is the émigré organization “Bulgarian Liberation Movement” (BLM), the centre of which is in Paris and has subcommittees in the USA, the FRG<sup>18</sup>, Italy, Belgium and Canada. It was organized by the Western special services in 1977 as a so-called “non-partisan formation” and “an organization of the whole Bulgarian nation inside and outside the country”. The organization is aiming at the unification and combination of émigré political and economic groups, defectors, classical counter-revolutionaries and politically unstable persons within the BPR<sup>19</sup> in order to overthrow the people’s power, and they are ready to use all means to achieve this goal, including diversion and terror. The BLM has established military, intelligence, counter-intelligence, and diversionary departments to participate in conflicts and wars, and to take retaliatory measures against our citizens abroad. The organization has won the majority of hostile emigrants over and established links with Russian and Czechoslovak émigré organizations.

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<sup>15</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>16</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>17</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>18</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>19</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

Cenko Barec, the leader of the BLM has contacted the Chinese embassy in Paris, the representatives of which have promised him financial and other support in exchange for information on the activity of the BLM against the BPR<sup>20</sup>.

Planning diversionary and terrorist actions, the BLM undertakes the task “to inspire like-minded people, make them more critical and revolutionary, and to demonstrate to the population that in the BPR the power is not strong enough”. “Young and fresh reinforcements” are chosen from the criminals and adventurers fled abroad, who readily commit the wildest hostile actions. They are trained to use weapons and explosives. The issue of forming terrorist groups in the FRG<sup>21</sup>, France, the USA, and Italy is also dealt with.

We have received information that the BLM is planning to destroy our vehicles (trucks marked with the TIR symbol, barges and planes) operating on a scheduled basis on Western European routes. They have discussed a plan to blow up the Soviet-Bulgarian friendship memorial and the buildings of the BCP CC<sup>22</sup> by using small-calibre radio-guided missiles and explosives placed in left-luggage offices of railway stations or the squares of Sofia. The aim of such actions is to cause panic and confusion among the population. To realise these goals, leaders of the organization have established relations with the Israeli embassy in Rome.

As I have observed, recently the so-called BLM, the Bulgarian National Committee, the Bulgarian National Front, the BSDP and certain active defectors have been constantly planning and executing actions against our embassies. They have started to threaten with outrages against Bulgarian embassy staff. Open attacks and bombings against our embassies have been carried out, rooms and movables have been set on fire. The number of reports on such phenomena significantly increased in 1978.

The BLM group has developed a plan to murder the consul of the Bulgarian embassy in Washington during the annual festival of émigrés in Toledo. In 1978 members of the BLM exploded a grenade in front of the entrance of the “Danubex” Bulgarian-French company in Paris. There were no victims, but it caused damage to property. In December 1977 in front of the embassy a small-calibre bomb was exploded in the car of the consul to the BPR<sup>23</sup> in Bayreuth. The following day we found an identical bomb that should have been exploded when starting or repairing the car. In February 1978 some young men shouting anti-communist slogans entered the office of the Balkan Bulgarian airline in Brussels, where they threw smoke cartridges into the building. In the beginning of February the BLM distributed leaflets with hostile content in front of the Balkantourist stand at the Munich tourism fair, and when they were advised to stop this activity, they started to threaten the Bulgarian representatives with physical retaliations.

Members of the émigré organization “Han Krum” have crushed the shop windows of the office of the state tourism committee of the threats BPR<sup>24</sup> in Vienna and left there a message: “We will kill you all”. Hostile Bulgarian émigrés have thrown a grenade at the embassy of the Soviet Union in Canberra to prevent “the BPR<sup>25</sup> from organically integrating with the Soviet Union”. Defectors living in Austria, the FRG<sup>26</sup>, France, the USA, Greece and other countries planned to organize kidnapping Bulgarian diplomats in order to exchange them with their

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<sup>20</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>21</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>22</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee

<sup>23</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>24</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>25</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>26</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

family members living in Bulgaria. An employee of our embassy has been threatened with violence by others, in case punitive measures are taken concerning against their relatives or they are not allowed to depart the country. Our colleagues in Frankfurt am Main have been threatened by Doncho Donkov, who emigrated to the FRG<sup>27</sup>, in case his wife and son are not allowed to visit him.

“Threats were made in connection with the death of defectors and BBC staff members Georgi Markov and Vladimir Simonov<sup>28</sup>, as Bulgaria and our organs were accused by the West of having a hand in it. Concerning this case<sup>29</sup> an Italian fascist and active member of the Bulgarian National Committee Enrico del Bello, whose son was imprisoned for terrorist activities, attempted to attack some members of our embassy staff in Rome.

The hostile emigrants have determined the targets of “retaliatory actions” and also those émigrés, owners of firms, restaurants, clubs and other institutions, who are loyal to the BPR<sup>30</sup> and may be regarded as “disseminators of communist propaganda”, and the institutions of whom may be thought to be “nests of spies”. Those clerical persons who were branded as “means of communist infiltration and disruption of the emigration also threatened.

Data analysis shows that terrorist acts against our embassies abroad are primarily planned and carries out by hostile Bulgarian emigrants with the participation and guidance of hostile special services. Considering the activation of hostile emigrants, the broadening of their hostile activity and becoming more organized can be expected for the future, which is proven by the establishment and training of the above-mentioned special terrorist groups.

Taking advantage of the favourable geographical position of Bulgaria at the intersection of Europe and Asia and the existing rules for tourists entering and staying in the country, certain terrorist organizations instructed by the hostile special services are trying to infiltrate the BPR<sup>31</sup> in order to carry out special tasks, such as creating tensions, diversion of operational forces and tools. The number of organized provocative actions increased, especially when major international events are held in the country.

In 1977 on the eve of the “Universiad-77” an intention of the enemy to blow up government residences in Sofia was indicated to us. For this purpose four defectors, one of whom served for four years in Djibouti in the French Foreign Legion, were formed into a group. Members of the group transported large amount of explosives in Italy and Switzerland, and they plotted the way to convey it to Bulgaria via Turkey. They planned that two persons would illegally enter the country to execute the action. Owing to our measures, the operation failed.

In order to compromise the BPR<sup>32</sup> abroad and damage its international reputation, the enemy initiates actions from our territory against third countries, including the Soviet Union. We have much data suggesting that various kinds of subversive literature are sent across the country and further data on connections of the so-called “Armenian Secret Army” to our citizens who have contact to citizens of the Armenian SSR<sup>33</sup>. The so-called “Armenian Secret

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<sup>27</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>28</sup> Translator's note: The text here most probably refers to Vladimir Kostov, a Bulgarian émigré who was attempted to be killed in the Paris metro, but he survived.

<sup>29</sup> Translator's note: The sentence is a fragment.

<sup>30</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>31</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>32</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>33</sup>Translator's note: Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

Army” is financed by the bourgeois-nationalist anti-soviet “Dashnak” party functioning in Lebanon. In 1977, we caught two letters that contained information that the organization launches actions against all Turkish embassies and that were sent from Sofia to the address of the Parisian agency “Francepress” and its office in New York. The letter warned every government from interference in order to avoid victims. Shortly afterwards active political envoy of the “Dashnak” party Dikran Asudjan, a Lebanese Armenian and employee of the police and a proven terrorist arrived in the BPR<sup>34</sup>. He has established connection with some Bulgarian citizens and foreigners that are suspected to be members of terrorist and subversive groups. Dikran Asudjan has visited the Turkish embassy in Sofia. Considering the threats in the letter and the forthcoming “Universiade-77” this Lebanese citizen was expelled from the country and refused entry into the BPR<sup>35</sup>.

Further measures were also taken to prevent other possible provocative actions.

Certain citizens of Arab countries temporary staying in the BPR<sup>36</sup> also plan terrorist acts. We are processing the case of two persons at present. One of them is Syrian, graduated from a Bulgarian university and married a Bulgarian woman. He is a member of the reactionary religious organization “Muslim brotherhood”. He has been convicted of currency crime. He attempted to organize an attack against the Bulgarian ambassador to Damascus and another diplomat. The other person, an Iraqi Baathist terrorist, has executed actions against Iraqi communists.

The received data show that for the purposes of terrorism the enemy wants to use among others the channels of tourism existing between the brotherly countries. Similar attempts were made in 1977, as well. We take all necessary measures to prevent the enemy from turning the territory of the BPR<sup>37</sup> the area of planning, organizing and executing international and internal terrorist actions.

Comrades,

Terror, as the means of subversive activity against the BPR<sup>38</sup> is also used by Turkish diversionary organizations in order to influence and divert our party and state leadership from the policy of involving Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin into the socialist construction. This is also the purpose of the so-called “Cultural society showing solidarity with the Rhodope and Danube Turks”. Its agents incite nationalism and religious fanaticism among the population and encourage them to revolt. The so-called “Turkish National Liberation Movement in Bulgaria” threatened with sabotage and terror in the letter addressed to the Chairman of the BPR<sup>39</sup> State Council. The “Turkish Nationalist Organisation” threatened our consulate general that “many Bulgarian diplomats would loose their lives because of weapons illegally transported into Turkey by our foreign trade company called Kintex”.

17 February 1979 we caught a telegram sent to the Turkish vilayets saying that right-winger persons and organizations would execute actions, among others killings against Bulgarian drivers participating in international transport.

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<sup>34</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>35</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>36</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>37</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>38</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>39</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

Turkish diplomats show special interest in terrorist intentions and ideas of Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin. Some of them stir certain nationalist-minded persons to hijack the planes of "Balkan" Bulgarian airlines to Turkey. In recent years, the Yugoslav special services have been activated on international scale, using terror for neutralizing citizens living in Western Europe, America, Australia and the socialist countries. Primarily the methods of attacks, murders, moral pressure, and anonymous threats are applied. Currently, we are processing the case of a Yugoslav citizen that often visits our country and takes conspicuous interest in three of his compatriots that are political exiles and representatives of our scientific and cultural front. Furthermore, we are controlling the report on a group that has been established in the Macedonian Socialist Republic in order to carry out terrorist and diversionary actions in the BPR<sup>40</sup>. These cases and the series of data showing hostile activity of the YSFR<sup>41</sup> against our country came as no surprise for the organs of the Ministry of the Interior. For long and especially in recent years, the Yugoslav state and political leadership has used all means to enforce its nationalist-chauvinist policy against the Bulgarian people. The "UDB-a" the "Skopje Centre" and all other Yugoslav subversive ideological and propaganda institutions continue with increased force their anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist actions, campaigns, insinuations, forges and blackmail. They invent evidence that there is "Macedonian ethnic minority" in the BPR<sup>42</sup> and "facts on neglect of their rights and liberty". They are searching ways to internationalize the "Macedonian problem". All this is subordinated to one purpose: the realization of Yugoslavia's great power and territorial ambitions concerning the Pirin area of the BPR<sup>43</sup>. Concerning this question they fuel psychosis between the peoples of Yugoslavia and hatred against the BPR<sup>44</sup>. These kind of measures are regularly taken, e.g. they constantly apply psychological pressure in order to affect the Bulgarian national identity among the population of the Yugoslav border area.

Besides, the Yugoslav special services continue constantly interrogating, threatening, provoking and working on our citizens temporary staying in the YSFR<sup>45</sup>.

More and more often agencies, agents and specially trained persons attempt to penetrate our country under tourist cover. Organs of the UDB-a try to pursue subversive activity, gather intelligence and involve certain persons in establishing hostile illegal organizations and groups. Our data on the activity and intentions of Yugoslav intelligence and subversive propaganda centres form grounds for expecting further escalation of anti-Bulgarian activity from the Yugoslav side in the near future, for which we are prepared having taken the necessary measures.

Comrades,

Terrorism is alien to the essence of the theory of scientific communism and the practice of socialist society itself. In the BPR<sup>46</sup> there is no socialist basis, internal political precondition and other conditions for the manifestation of such activity. In our country there is order, peace and security. This does not mean, however, that the possibility of terrorist acts in the BPR<sup>47</sup> is excluded.

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<sup>40</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>41</sup>Translator's note: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

<sup>42</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>43</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>44</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>45</sup>Translator's note: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

<sup>46</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic

<sup>47</sup>Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic



Terrorist activity encouraged and directed by hostile special services and carried out by all kinds of extremist, nationalist, Maoist and other extreme “left-wing” and “right-wing” groups has repercussions for our country. It was determined that hostile criminal elements have been activated, some of them are influenced by the propaganda of the enemy and hostile Bulgarian émigré organizations and plan terrorist actions.

Until 1977, signs of plotting and carrying out terrorist acts remained relatively stable, in 1978, however, their number increased by 68%. Goals, motives, aims and social-political composition of persons indicated in the signals have changed.

This is clearly visible from plans to commit terrorist acts against party, state and social leaders as well as MOI<sup>48</sup> staff. The number of signals warning about terror against central targets is unchanged (10 signs annually on the average), but the number of terrorist attempts on local leading cadres more than doubled in 1978 and reached 28. Persons intending to pursue such activity are aged between 18 and 35 years, and are recorded as hostile criminals or recidivists. The main motive is political discontent and hostility to political power.

As a result of successful work by organs of the BPR MOI<sup>49</sup> so far all terrorist attempts of this kind have failed in the country. Before certain installations came to the attention of the state security organs they managed to prepare for the terrorist acts to some extent.

Influenced by Hitler’s book entitled “Mein Kampf“ a young man has managed to obtain a pistol, with which he wanted to shoot at party and state leaders standing on the grandstand of Dimitrov’s Mausoleum at the 24 May ceremony held for Slavic writing and culture. The above-mentioned person is currently serving his sentence. In the prison he continues threatening with executing terrorist actions and diversion after his release.

A criminal who has served his time established a group with four other convicts under the influence of a once active oppositional person who had been sentenced for espionage and developed a detailed plan for the assassination of a member of the BCP CC<sup>50</sup> in order to receive large amounts of ransom and be able to travel to Italy unhindered. The state security organs upset the plans of the group in proper time.

Anonymous letters and phone calls referring to assassinations, attacks, and other plans against the party and state leadership and other prominent personalities are forms of the psychological terror. Such activity was attempted at the opening ceremony of the Plovdiv international fair, where many members of the Political Committee and the Ministerial Council were present, and one of Todor Zhivkov ‘s visits to district centres in the country, etc.

By using the forms of international terrorism, certain adventurers and criminals commit typical pirate acts of hijacking planes, cruise ships and other vehicles, taking hostages, etc. in order that their ultimatory demands to be fulfilled.

The number of signals and data on similar kind of activity has been unchanged in recent years in our country, on the average annually 8. Their degree of danger to society, however, has increased.

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<sup>48</sup> Translator's note: Ministry of the Interior

<sup>49</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian People's Republic Ministry of the Interior

<sup>50</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee

A recidivist kidnapped some functionaries at a junction station and in exchange for their release demanded to be let depart to a capitalist country. He was rendered harmless. While in prison he established a group three-member group equipped with home-made bombs, with which they planned to take hostages from among the guards, in exchange of whom they wanted to get 500 000 dollars and free departure to the West. In case of refusal members of the group threatened with exploding a mine where 800 people worked. MOI organs managed to thwart their threats and actions and they were sentenced to further imprisonment.

In 1977 three young men recorded as criminals, under the influence of the film entitled “The Day of the Jackal” and armed with stolen weapons, prepared to rob and murder a cashier; they wanted to take hostages on a bus from among kindergarteners in order to travel to Greece. Members of the group in proper time were rendered harmless and convicted.

So far hijacking the planes of the Balkan BGA<sup>51</sup>, to Greece and Yugoslavia, have been recorded two times.

Certain Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin have committed terrorist acts influenced by Turkish nationalism and Islam fanaticism. Some hostile criminal elements of these circles threatened with killing representatives of local authorities. These elements are searching for MOI agents among the local population of Turkish origin, so as to lynch them. They also terrorize members of the BCP<sup>52</sup> and other political activists.

In the last four years preparation of crimes dangerous to the society (bombings, arson and other extreme actions) have been indicated to us, the aim of which is to cause damage to the economy and to disorganize the population or certain groups of society. Motives for terrorist acts of this kind (18 cases in 1978) are hostile attitude towards the people’s power, “political activity”, escape abroad and adventurism.

Guided by adventurer motives resulted from Western films and in order that four seaman of the navy fleet would be demobilized ahead of time, they plotted to explode a warship (according to sea rules the crew of a sinking ship is dismissed ahead of time). The plans of these sailors have been unveiled by the military intelligence and they were sentenced to imprisonment.

Let me draw your attention to some issues relating to terrorist acts, which pose major threat to the society. These are acts committed by mentally ill persons, who are not recorded in hospitals and are easily persuaded into committing such terrorist acts. We had two serious cases of the kind in Sofia. A young man finishing secondary school influenced by the American film entitled “The Godson” broke into a hall late at night armed with his father’s pistol and shot six Bulgarian and foreign students. Another student, who is mentally disturbed, brutally killed two Vietnamese students with an axe and knife. These two cases caused uncertainty and psychotic atmosphere among students and the population of the capital.

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<sup>51</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian Airlines

<sup>52</sup> Translator's note: Bulgarian Communist Party

**Deputy Minister Police Major General  
Lajos Karasz's speech  
Hungary**

Manifestations of the international political terrorism and  
experiences of counteracting it in the Hungarian People's Republic

Political terrorism, which gradually has assumed an organized form and an international dimension and has become a significant part of the arsenal of imperialism in recent years, has developed as a social phenomenon on the basis of comprehensive and ever-deepening crisis of the imperialist countries, the so-called "consumer societies", the intensifying class struggle, and an upswing in liberation and revolutionary movements, and also as an adverse side effect of these.

Imperialist powers, having been unable to overcome the spreading banditry, which revealed deep structural and moral decay of their system and threatened their internal security, ordered their special services to manipulate terrorism according to their interests.

Imperialist powers have realized that extreme right-wing and ultra-left-wing terrorist groups formed and active in independence and liberation movements of suppressed peoples can be used for their purpose.

More and more events and specific data prove that imperialist special services have infiltrated, or even formed certain terrorist groups. These are used for concealing their reactionary political actions, discrediting the left, as well as the revolutionary and liberation movements, and for liquidating certain leaders of them. Terrorism is also used by different imperialist interest groups as a tool to struggle against each other.

The endeavour of the imperialist special services to use terrorist groups directed or encouraged by them for discrediting the communist world movement and against the socialist countries and to encourage executing this kind of actions in the socialist countries poses special risk. On the pretext of fighting against international terrorism, they are taking measures offensive to embassies and citizens of the socialist countries. Their propaganda, however, creates the illusion as if secret services of the socialist countries supported generally condemned terrorist acts.

In recent years the number and dangerousness of terrorist acts has increased. It is reasonable to expect them to be activated in the future to a greater extent, especially towards progressive movements.

Resolutions of the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties of the world, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and our state leadership included, clearly condemn terrorist activities regardless of the slogans uttered by the perpetrators. The resolutions clearly follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism when declaring that terrorism cannot be the tool of social and political progression, and such activities carried out by ultra-left-wing groups are

equally as reprehensible as similar acts of the nationalist, fascist forces, as objectively both serves imperialist interests.

According to these resolutions, all opportunity, force, tools and methods must be used to prevent and avoid terrorist acts, to retaliate against the perpetrators and it must be achieved that their influence should not reach the socialist countries.

This spirit is now reflected in the legislative system of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic. In the penal code coming into force this year the legal facts of terrorist act and seizure of an aircraft, and penalties for them, are explicitly formulated for the first time. According to law, Hungarian and foreign citizens are equally punishable, regardless of the scene of the offence. Even maximum sentences are to be imposed by the law, which, however, also allows unlimited reduction in the penalty of those who stop a terrorist act before it would have serious consequences.

## I.

It should be emphasized and it is confirmed by our experience so far that political terrorism inevitably cannot develop and spread within the framework of the socialist social system, due to the lack of antagonistic social contradictions that serve as a breeding ground for it, and obviously its alleged goals cannot coincide with the interests of the socialist society either.

It cannot be ignored, however, that the effect of the increasingly dangerous political terrorism widespread in the West also occurs, mainly via criminals and the mentally disabled [sic], in the socialist countries due to participation in international forums and the activity of imperialist propaganda and their special services.

According to our experience so far the effect is only manifested in Hungary in the form of some isolated, non-political common crimes, which, however, pose great danger to society or, imitating Western examples and provoking our organs, in unfulfilled threats, their announcements and indications.

The most serious action of the kind was committed in 1973 by two underage persons who armed with stolen firearms occupied the student hostel of a girls' secondary school in one of our country towns and took hostages in order to compel our authorities to provide them with a larger sum of money, a car and a plane for their escape to the West.

Organs of the Ministry of the Interior using security and operational forces disposed of the terrorist attack without causing harm to the hostages. One terrorist was killed during the action.

Violent attempts to escape occurred several times in our western and southern border sections, some of which were conducted as a terrorist act. A 32-year-old person having a criminal record, for example, boarded the Budapest Vienna shuttle bus at Hegyeshalom crossing and threatened with exploding the bus unless he is taken to Austria. He had no explosives on him. He was shot dead by the border guards during the action.

A few similar acts (e.g. organizing plane robbery, attempting a prison riot) were detected in the preparatory stage by our organs that by conducting criminal procedures in many cases managed to prevent and by introducing preventive measures to upset these plans.

It can be concluded that on the part of the qualified internal hostile forces under our control, the so-called “internal opposition groups”, there were no preparations for executing terrorist acts or endeavours to use political terrorism as a tool detectable in the territory of the Hungarian Peoples’ Republic.

International terrorism, however, has a considerable effect on a narrow and peripheral part of the Hungarian society. Those inclined to plot and execute terrorist actions are primarily found among work-shy young people joining gangs or violent common criminals.

In recent years, mainly based on anonymous reports, organs of the Ministry of the Interior has executed several actions to prevent alleged terrorist acts and to trace members of terrorist groups supposedly staying in Hungary.

The number of this kind of reports has increased recently. It is clear that this process is primarily influenced by external forces and the activity of hostile persons. They want to cause panic and disrupt the work of our organs, as they experience that all reports are investigated and apparently real cases are we move larger forces, which is also felt by wide circles of the population.

In recent years there have been some more serious cases of public concern (e.g. gas explosions damaging a school and a house, etc.) which indicated terrorism aroused the suspicion of our organs. In these cases, however, the carefully conducted investigation excluded the possibility of terrorism or deliberate crime.

The social-political processes taking place in countries of the Third World are strongly felt among the foreign students studying in our country. They are polarized according to political opinions and fighting with each other sharp, often passionate political battles, during which persons they themselves call “terrorists” and find suspicious are mentioned.

Relatively often Arab students, especially of Palestinian origin, are said to possess weapons, use fake passports, have suspicious, uncontrollable contacts with hostile persons, and are alleged to be member of a terrorist organization. Verifying information is difficult, often almost impossible, due to international legal problems and strong conspiracy. Consequently, the measures we introduce are occasionally less effective. For example, blacklisted persons enter the country with a fake passport and often stay in a student hostel in one of their fellow student’s room.

Although during the confidential investigations we have not detected preparations for or intention of terrorist acts, the above-mentioned phenomena poses the potential threat of some of them undertaking the execution of terrorist actions or becoming tools of these.

In the past three years there have been 27 acts of terrorist nature executed against embassies and citizens of the Hungarian Peoples’ Republic. In two cases of these diplomatic cars were shot at, other cases were threats and interceptions. Concerning the committed acts of terrorist nature it can be concluded that in the period indicated terrorism did not pose a direct threat to

us. In the cases of shots and interceptions our embassy staff has become target of terrorist acts by mistake presumably. There were no injuries in either incident.

Today the potential for terrorist acts (e.g. letter bombs, a possible hostage situation, bombing embassies, etc.) is a factor that our embassies and citizens have to take into account. Therefore we have taken effective measures to fully protect personal and property security of our embassies. For this reason within the scope of our intelligence we constantly examine the effect of terrorism on the operational situation, which often endangers our operational positions. On the basis of available data we have informed residents concerned and friendly state security organs about the terrorist organizations, their members, goals and applied methods.

The protection of persons having been threatened by international terrorist organizations and visiting our country is a very responsible and special task. Lately the visits of FRG<sup>53</sup> politician Wischniewski or Arafat have been cases of the kind, for example. It is reasonable to assume that executing a terrorist act in a third country against a person chosen by them and participating in open programs might be a tempting possibility for specially trained terrorists unknown to the local security organs. It can be also assumed that these actions might be encouraged by the imperialist special services for political reasons. Therefore during such visits extensive preventive measures are taken besides strengthening personal and operational security. At least a week prior to the visit we tighten up control on all border checkpoints in order that monitored persons or those with fake, stolen passports cannot enter the country and cannot bring in weapons and explosives. It would be useful to introduce this kind of measures mutually every time when particularly threatened persons stay in a brotherly socialist country.

Simultaneously, inside the country we strengthen operational control of Hungarian and foreign citizens that pose threat to the protected person and we ensure that they cannot approach the protected person. We also apply these special defensive measures for events threatened by terrorists. We take part in securing events of the kind in other socialist countries as far as possible. We consider a high priority to use our opportunities in order to facilitate the work of the Soviet comrades while organizing the Moscow Olympic Games.

In order to prevent international terrorist organizations from expanding their scope of activity to our country, and Hungarian citizens from executing such acts, we defined both common and specified tasks of each organs of the Ministry of the Interior in prevention and overcoming potential attempts. Their implementation as well as intensive training of the appointed personnel is now in progress.

We have established a separate unit at the intelligence and counter-intelligence service of the state security organ to implement and coordinate intelligence and preventive activities.

We ordered our intelligence points and units abroad and in the society to obtain and analyse legal and intelligence information concerning terrorism. Since 1978 the topics of terrorism and counter-terrorist organizations of imperialist powers have been included in the central requests for news.

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<sup>53</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

In the most important areas for our intelligence and counter-intelligence we have taken measures to closely monitor the movements and activities of strangers visiting the embassies in order to protect our embassies and the Hungarian colonies, including our resident agents.

It has been demonstrated during information collection that besides information obtained secretly, processing and analysing foreign press materials concerned with terrorist actions executed all over the world allows monitoring trends in terrorism, internationally interwoven terrorist groups, their combat methods and the fight against them. It also contributes to gather information about their personnel in order to protect our citizens travelling and permanently staying abroad as well as our embassy installations.

The internationally widespread extreme left-wing and right-wing terrorism directly and indirectly affects the operational situation of a given country, the conditions for the activity of our resident agents and embassies functioning there and the security of our citizens staying there.

The mission of our intelligence organs is prevention, establishing effective internal protection systems, preparation for executing operational measures that facilitate overcoming fast and without loss terrorist acts and actions disrupting the function of public utilities.

Our preventive measures were primarily directed towards forbidding persons suspected of committing terrorist acts or belonging to various terrorist groups from travelling to Hungary or other countries of the socialist community.

In order to achieve this goal, on the basis of available and continuously incoming data and information:

- we have reviewed materials in our databases concerning terrorist organizations and their members and where necessary supplemented the data of organizations and persons registered, and based on the available data registered those that were not in the database
- based on the obtained data we have taken measures to blacklist persons suspected of terrorist activity in order to prevent them from travelling to the territory of Hungary;
- we have ordered monitoring at the borders the passports and other identity and travelling documents that according to our information had been stolen by alleged terrorist organizations in various Western and other countries [sic], in order to prevent attempts to enter the territory of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic using these.

During our measures of the kind in recent years, based on information received primarily from state security organs of the Soviet Union and the GDR<sup>54</sup> as well as obtained by operational organs of the Ministry of the Interior of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic, we have processed information and data concerning some thirty international terrorist organizations and their more than 1200 members.

As a result of our preventive measures, on several occasions we managed to forbid persons attempting to utilize stolen passports recorded in our database on suspicion of terrorist acts from entering the territory of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic.

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<sup>54</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)



- Preventing West German citizen Detlef Schultz from travelling to Hungary was an outstanding example of our measures of the kind. Based on data received from the Soviet state security organs we ordered to blacklist Schultz on strong suspicion of terrorist activity.

On 13 December 1978 Schultz attempted entry to the Hungarian Peoples' Republic with a travel document that was ordered to be monitored based on information received from the Ministry for State Security of the GDR<sup>55</sup> concerning blank passports stolen in the FRG<sup>56</sup>.

Detlef Schutz was refused entry into the country.

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<sup>55</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

<sup>56</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

From own outgoing materials:

67/9-2096/79 (571 Öf)

67/9-1178/78 (RE-II)

67/9-3473/78 (PY)

67/9-681/79 (PY)

67/9-5184/29.08.79.<sup>57</sup>

Subject: On international terrorism in connection with “Carlos”  
29 August 1979, Budapest

### **MEMORANDUM**

The real name of “Carlos Martinez” the internationally wanted terrorist is “Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, son of a Caracas (Venezuela) lawyer. According to Western press information he studied at the Lumumba University in Moscow.

The beginnings of his terrorist past remain obscure. His name, person and activity came to the fore in 1975, when law enforcement agencies of the FRG<sup>58</sup> having executed some successful actions acquired wider knowledge of the activity and international connections of extreme leftist terrorist organizations in West Germany, and based on this data apparently launched concerted action with their French and English fellow organs against extreme left-wing terrorist organizations of their countries.

In the summer of 1975, first in London and then in Paris police revealed the headquarters of “Carlos” and his local groups, where arms, explosives, fake passports and various identification forms were found and terrorists were arrested.

Based on Western press information “Carlos’s” terrorist activity can be summarized as follows:

- “Carlos” had contact with more members of the West German extreme left-wing organizations called “Red Army Fraction” and “Revolutionary Cells” lead by Bader-Meinhof. These are the organizations that kidnapped the West Berliner CDU politician [Peter] Lorenz, the attack on the West German embassy in Stockholm, and the kidnap and murder of West German industrialist [Hanns-Martin] Schleyer and West German Attorney General [Siegfried] Buback.

They participated in the memorable Entebbe raid, i.e. hijacking an Air France plane to Uganda, and the hijacking a Lufthansa flight, the so-called Mogadishu raid, and in the attack on the OPEC conference in Vienna. These terrorist acts caused several deaths.

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<sup>57</sup> Translator's note: handwritten text.

<sup>58</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

The following members of the above-mentioned organizations were “Carlos”s” contacts:

- Wilfried Böse, member of the publishing house “Red Star” staff in Frankfurt and the West German “Red Army Fraction”. He died.
- Brigitte Kuhlmann, university student of pedagogy. She died.
- Hans Joachim Klein, mechanic from Frankfurt. He was injured at the attack on the OPEC headquarters in Vienna.
- Gabriele Kröcher-Tiedemann, who, together with Klein, was member of the group attacking the OPEC headquarters in Vienna. She is imprisoned in Austria.
- Siegfried Haag, former lawyer of Bader, who planned the Stockholm action and later emerged in an Iraqi terrorist training camp.
- Rolf Pohle, who participated in rescuing arrested members of the group that kidnapped Lorenz, and then fled to South Yemen.

According to Western news sources “Carlos” also has contacts with Palestinian/Arab groups reckoned in the Rejection Front, like

- The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), leader: George Habash
  - Wadia Haddad’ group
  - the so-called PFLP - General Command, leader: Ahmed Jibril
  - Black June group, leader: Abu Nidal
- and Iraqi and Libyan terrorist groups.

According to the above-mentioned news sources, via his Palestinian/Arab contacts “Carlos” can reach Iraqi, Libyan, as well as Dutch and Japanese terrorist organizations, as certain members of these were trained in Iraqi and South Yemeni terrorist camps.

Their cooperation includes financial aid, supply of fake passports and various personal documents, transport and supply of ammunition and weapons, and providing training opportunities.

Other significant data in our possession having no direct connection to the subject:

1. Iraqi foreign affairs source: After the Palestinian action against the PLO office in Islamabad three members of the action group fleeing from the Pakistani authorities and the FATAH travelled via Afghanistan to Baghdad with Iraqi assistance. These were:

Navaf Nadjib Ravas with Iraqi passport

Senani Salem Nadjib and

Amir Ramadan Muhammad have Jordanian passports

2. Official Japanese source: According to official information the following persons are charged with cooperation with the terrorist organization called “Red Army” [sic] and their passports are revoked:

Osuma Markoka (20.10.1950.)

Yoshiaki Yamadi (01.01.1959.)

Jum Nishikawa (08.08.1950.)

Haruo Wako (12.06.1948.)

3. Palestinian source: The security service of the PLO has launched establishing its foreign operational groups that work mainly against Israel, the FRG<sup>59</sup> and Austria. The security service is planning to form such a group also in Hungary. The security service of the PLO considers that the use of passports provided for the PLO by the Jordanian authorities is not safe. They assume that the Jordanian passports made in the USA are marked and instead of these they will use Algerian passports in the future (information dated February 1979).

We constantly inform the competent organs about the above facts.

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by RH/Mrs Cs

Recipients: 1. Cde Karasz  
2. Registry (427)  
3. Registry (BX-6)

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<sup>59</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

45/78/10/109/1979

Classification cancelled in accordance with  
1995 c. LVX s. 28 (2)<sup>62</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*  
Lajos Karasz  
Police Major General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 109

12 May 1979, Budapest

Other events, information

10./ In relation to the Palestinian delegation that has recently visited Hungary, the following have come to the organ's attention:

- The leader of the Palestinian terror groups is ABU IYYAD, whose direct subordinate is ABU DAOUD.
- Terror groups of the Palestinian Security Services are planning action against President Sadat and the Jewish Documentation Centre in Vienna.
- They are planning to implement actions also in Romania. In other socialist countries they are not planning actions.
- Before arriving in Budapest they held negotiations with the known terrorist, Carlos.

(III/II.)

The source of the information is reliable, verified. Its content is not verified.

Measures: The Soviet state security organs will be informed.

*(signature)*  
Police Lieutenant Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
head of department

Cde. Redei! Please send me a special report in the matter.<sup>63</sup>

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Appendix: 5 pages

<sup>60</sup>Translator's note: Abbreviation of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior (Belügyminisztérium)

<sup>61</sup>Translator's note: Ministry of the Interior

<sup>62</sup>Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>63</sup>Translator's note: handwritten note. Cde. Is the abbreviation of comrade

45-78/10/177/1979

Classification cancelled in accordance with  
1995 c. LVX s. 28 (2)<sup>64</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*  
Lajos Karasz  
Police Major General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 177

31 July 1979, Budapest

7./ On 27 July the state security organ of the DDR informed the Chief Directorate that ILICH RAMIREZ-SANCHES [sic] (a known terrorist by the name of 'Carlos') and his confidant ALI BIN THABET arrived in Budapest on Malév flight 805 from Sofia via Berlin-Schönefeld. For their journey they used passports No. 001-278 and 056-127 of Yemen PDR<sup>65</sup>.

During the inspection the organ has established that, according to the description, with Yemeni passport No. 001-278 under the name AHMED FAWAZ most probably 'Carlos' and with passport No. 056-127 ALI BIN THABET entered at Ferihegy on 23 July. They stayed in rooms 225 and 226 in the Duna Intercontinental and exited the country at Ferihegy on 25 July via a flight to Moscow.

(III/II.)

Measures: The Soviet state security organs have been informed.

*(signature)*  
Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

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<sup>64</sup>Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>65</sup>Translator's note: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

45/78/10/201/1979

Classification cancelled in accordance with  
1995 c. LVX s. 28 (2)<sup>66</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*  
Lajos Karasz  
Police Major General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 201

31 July 1979, Budapest

Other events, information

8./ On the basis of preliminary information received from the state security organ of the GDR<sup>67</sup>, MOI III/II. Directorate conducted wide-ranging reconnaissance to search for ILIC RAMIREZ SANCHEZ [sic], the terrorist leader known under the pseudonym 'Carlos', and his associates in Hungary, and document their activities.

As a result of the work, it was found that 'Carlos' stayed in Budapest in July and August this year, then he travelled, with his Yemeni diplomatic passport issued under the name 'Ahmed Adil Fawaz', to the Soviet Union, the DDR and Czechoslovakia. Since 27 August he has been staying in Budapest again. Group members , ALI BIN THABET and ABDUL QAWI MARIAN arrived in Budapest in January this year with Yemeni tourist passports and rented a flat.

The organ organized [sic] an action to inspect and research covertly the group's Budapest den, which lead to the following results:

- The group's base in Hungary, known to the organ, is a family house in the territory of Budapest, the 4 rooms of which is rented via the Budapest Tourist. Group members lead a deeply conspiratorial life, they conduct meetings. They maintained telephone links with their foreign contacts. They sometimes receive foreigners – presumably belonging to the group – in the flat, occasionally – presumably – embassy employees [sic].

- During the covert research in the open part of the flat far-leftist political and anti-terrorism literature was found, mainly written by Gaddafi. In the metal-lined suitcase supplied with a four-digit code and placed in the flat there were found 2 pcs<sup>68</sup> of ready-to-fire small arms made in America [sic] and the FRG<sup>69</sup>, twenty thousand dollars in one-hundred-dollar denominations, a large number of maps,

<sup>66</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>67</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

<sup>68</sup> Translator's note: pieces

<sup>69</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

and fake passports necessary for the movement of group members, blank western passports and identity cards, a list containing only first names and telephone numbers of foreign nationals connected with the group, minutes of meetings with representatives of various terrorist organizations, and notes on the knowledge, weapon set, obtaining weapons and documents necessary to specific terrorist acts.

(III/II.)

Measures: - By use of combined operational devices, cooperating with friendly organs deep reconnaissance of the activity of the group, subsequently, possible restriction of the group members' activity in Hungary.  
- Necessary steps are taken in the matter according to changes in the operational situation and based on leader's decision.

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

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**MOI Third Chief Directorate  
Operations Coordination, Control and Secretarial Department**

*Top Secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/97/80

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>70</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Lajos Karasz  
Police Lieutenant General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 97

26 April 1980, Budapest

Other events, information

12./ According to the information originated by a NATO member state from Bucharest terrorist groups held five secret meetings in Romania (in Sinala<sup>71</sup>-Predeal and in Bucharest). The English<sup>72</sup> military attaché stated that according to their information the international terrorist Carlos is also staying in Romania.

Note: The information is known to MOI III/II. Directorate.

(III/I.)

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

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<sup>70</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>71</sup> Translator's note: correctly Sinaia

<sup>72</sup> Translator's note: correctly British

Report No. 2/18/2/1981.

*Top secret!*  
*Particularly important!*

67/9-1308/23.02.1981.

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (1)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>73</sup>

Typist: Mrs. Merész

Subject: International terrorism

### **Report**

2 February 1981, Paris

Abstract of the article published on 28 January 1981 in France-Soir:

President of the Italian Republic Pertini commenting to the French television said that “The centre of Italian terrorists is abroad”. Under pressure from political parties finally Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani had to apologize. Although Pertini did not name the country, left no doubt about whom he meant: “we are talking about a country that shares several thousand kilometres of common border with Turkey”, i.e. the Soviet Union.

The statement caused heated debate among political parties, the Italian Communist Party called it an open attack on [sic] and questioned the legitimacy of such a statement, especially from an honourable person, when even the police has sufficient evidence to support such a claim.

Although it is no more than a hypothesis, the claim has some foundation. A few days earlier Socialist MP Silvano Signori citing reliable sources stated that head of the Romanian government Nicolae Ceausescu had also indicated a connection e.g. between the Czechoslovak secret service and the Red Brigades. Concerning the matter Signori referred to Berlinguer’s statement, which, although Berlinguer denied having made it, was also confirmed by writer Leonardo Sciascia. Another Socialist MP Bettino Craxi confirmed in 1978 that he had evidence to suggest that Eastern countries were to be searched for the centre of terrorism. The first clues revealed support this idea. For example, in 1973 the Italian police arrested Renato Curcio, the main “historical” figure of the Red Brigades, and it was revealed that he had spent several months in Czechoslovakia, which was proven beyond doubt by the Czechoslovakian stamps in his passport.

Other terrorists were also proved to have regularly visited, especially in the 70s, Palestinian camps in Lebanon or training camps in South Yemen. There is a Palestinian terrorist network existing, which has been revealed during an interrogation by an arrested terrorist, Patrizio Peci. According to him, weapons and equipment for terrorists arrived from Lebanon to the Italian ports, e.g. Walther PKK pistols, Scorpion machine guns made in Czechoslovakia (a gun of this type was used for murdering Aldo Moro), but there were large numbers of Kalashnikov, as well.

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<sup>73</sup> Translator’s note: Stamped on the document

There were also evidence for Libya's participation in the arms transfer: a member of their embassy staff in Rome delivered back then a suitcase of weapon to the legendary Carlos and his terrorist group, which some years earlier had taken hostages from among the OPEC representatives meeting in Vienna. Libya often welcomes terrorists that are trained in camps of the country.

Concerning the above subject, we would remind that according to news published 28 January the Soviet government sent a letter of protest to the Italian government, which objected to Pertini's statement and emphasized that had it not been declared on such a high level, they would have left it without a word. The diplomatic note warned the Italian government and reminded that the Soviet Union had condemned and was condemning terrorism. Only l'Humanité published immediately the declaration of the Soviet government in France, anyway.

Likely as a result, Forlani had to apologize and said that "Italian terrorism is of internal, national origin and nature, therefore should be eliminated by internal forces", he added however, in order to avoid complete withdrawal, that "its international aspects, however, cannot be overlooked".

Note:

Our previous reports have also included reference to socialist countries or their sympathizers backing terrorism. As a specific example we would mention that in the 5 January issue of the Quotidien an article was published concerning a report presented to the Spanish king by the committee composed of police experts. According to the report, published in the periodical Police espanol, the ETA commandos are trained in military training camps of seven countries, which are the following: South Yemen, Lebanon, Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Uruguay, Cuba and Algeria. Of the latter the report remarked that it had ceased assisting the ETA.

In the report the experts confirmed that Spanish terrorists emigrated from Spain to France, Belgium and Venezuela were financially supported by China, the Soviet Union and Libya.

Seen by: *Pósa*<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Translator's note: Handwritten signature

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**Ministry of the Interior**  
**III/I-6. Department**  
67/9-724/1981

*Top secret!*  
*Particularly important!*  
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16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>75</sup>

According to the non-verified information of our fellow organ, on 3 February the leadership of the Italian Social Democratic Party will demand in a debate in the parliament that the special services should disclose the relations of Italian terrorists to the socialist countries. By using these they would propose: restrictions on travel to the socialist countries; radical reduction in embassy staffs of the socialist countries; political-economic sanctions against countries linked to terrorism.

Please try to verify the information using your opportunities and report on the outcome in this way.

2 February 1981, Budapest

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2. Registry

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<sup>75</sup>

Translator's note: Stamped on the document

Soviet 67/9-1581/9. 3.81.

**Ministry of the Interior**  
**III/I-6. Department**

*Top secret!*  
*Particularly important!*

67/9-1741/12. 3. 1981.

Copy No. 12

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (h)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>76</sup>

Subject: The activity of the organization of the  
“Muslim Brotherhood” in the socialist countries

### **Memorandum**

12 March 1981, Budapest

The Arab reactionary organisation called “Muslim Brotherhood”, the main centres of which are in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Pakistan, and which the special services of the USA, Great Britain, Egypt and Iraq actively support and encourage, has significantly increased its activities recently.

In 1979 the congress of the organization held in Aliman took a decision about the fight against the communism and the increase in the number of the organization, *inter alia* by means of recruiting Soviet citizens of Muslim faith.

Enhancing the activity in the European socialist countries has been designated as an important task by the leadership of the organization.

When selecting new members of the organization, leaders of the Joint Organization of Muslim Students in Europe are oriented towards fanatical-minded anti-communist students coming from Muslim countries and learning in Europe. The organization regards terrorism as its principal method.

In order to achieve the above goals, the organization tries to utilize, *inter alia*, student exchange programs. Agents of the organization, who are sent as students, aspirants to the Soviet Union are engaged in anti-communist, Pan-Islamic propaganda, they disseminate literature slandering the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and they try to infiltrate into circles of progressive, communist students coming from Muslim countries or those sympathizing with them, in order to influence their ideological beliefs and to win their support. Agents are managed and controlled by the staff of diplomatic missions in the Soviet

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<sup>76</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

Union, e.g. Jordanian, Iraqi, who are also members of the organization “Muslim Brotherhood”.

(The information is gained from among the leaders of the organization, it is reliable.)

1. MOI Info.<sup>77</sup>
2. MOI Cde.<sup>78</sup> Karasz
3. Cde. Berecz
4. Cde. Győri
5. HPAGS<sup>79</sup>/2.
6. III/II.
7. III/III.
8. Cde. Pados
9. 2<sup>nd</sup> Dept.<sup>80</sup>
10. 7<sup>th</sup> Dept.
11. 11<sup>th</sup> Dept.
12. Registry

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<sup>77</sup> Translator's note: Information Bulletin

<sup>78</sup> Translator's note: Comrade

<sup>79</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian People's Army General Staff

<sup>80</sup> Translator's note: Department

45/78/10/75/1981

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>81</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Lajos Karasz  
Police Lieutenant General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 75

7 April 1981, Budapest

Other events, information

13./ In the 24 February – 1 March 1981 issue of the weekly magazine 'Point'<sup>82</sup>, published in France, a short news item appeared that according to Libyan refugees settled in Egypt the international terrorist ILITCH RAMIREZ SANCHEZ [sic] known by the name 'Carlos' lives in Tripoli. Gaddafi lent him a seaside villa and he quite often travels abroad with fake Libyan documents.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I.)

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

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<sup>81</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document  
<sup>82</sup> Translator's note: correctly 'Le Point'

67/9-1741/12. 3. 1981.

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (h)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>83</sup>

Subject: CARLOS group

### **Report**

30 January 1982, Budapest

Hereby I report that during the conversation (of 27 January 1980) with Deputy Head of Soviet Intelligence K Directorate Comrade Colonel S. A. GOLUBEV also the problem of the CARLOS group was mentioned.

Comrade GOLUBEV told that they have been monitoring the activities and movements of the group for a longer period of time. It is known that they have significant bases (arsenal, illegal flats etc.) in Romania and Yugoslavia. The CARLOS GROUP, to their knowledge, does not adopt a hostile attitude towards the socialist countries, therefore it would not be appropriate to take action against them.

Their opinion of the group is the following:

1. It is advisable to create a situation where C. and his fellows remove their bases and leave the socialist countries. This has to be solved in a civilized way so as not to provide a pretext for taking action against socialist countries.
2. However, it is advisable to monitor their activities, movements and bases, preferable via the network.
3. It should be ensured that Carlos and his main associates do not fall into the hands of hostile special services.

Comrade GLUBEV [sic] suggested that we adopt this line of conduct and operational principle towards CARLOS and his fellows.

*(signature)*  
P. Colonel László Csordás  
Head of Department

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<sup>83</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document



**Ministry of the Interior**  
**III/I. Directorate**

*Top secret!*  
*Particularly important!*

67-52-1/48/82.

Copy No. 1

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>84</sup>

Subject: Operational information

### **Memorandum**

9 March 1982, Budapest

6./ Legal

According to French press reports, following a threat the known terrorist “Carlos” addressed to Gaston Deferre [sic], the French border control organs had been reinforced, persons entering the country are more carefully checked.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>85</sup> Major General János Bögye  
Deputy Chief Director

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<sup>84</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document  
<sup>85</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior**  
**III/I. Directorate**

*Top secret!*  
*Particularly important!*

67-52-1/62/82.

Copy No. 1

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>86</sup>

Subject: Operational information

**Memorandum**

29 March 1982, Budapest

3. /Legal

According to French press reports, CARLOS has recently sent a letter to the French government. Experts who have examined the fingerprint in the letter certify that it really belongs to Carlos.

In the letter the terrorist demands the release of his two friends, BRUNO BRÉGUET and MAGDALENA KAUP [sic], who were arrested by the French police on 16 February. The police have found two kilograms of explosives and two thousand dollars in a car with false registration plates. The two terrorists attempted to escape. While fleeing they shot at the pursuing policemen. They are in FRESNES prison at present. Both of them identify themselves as members of the "INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION". BRÉGUET is of Swiss origin, KAUP is west German.

In the letter written in Spanish CARLOS gave a one-month deadline for French authorities. If his friends are not released by then, he will take steps against the French government, especially against the interior minister.

The French authorities reinforced the personal protection of MITTERAND, MAUROY and DEFERRE. The French ambassador in the Hague got a bulletproof car and his journeys are secured by the Dutch police.

The west German police have found documents that might have connection with CARLOS in one of BRUNO BRÉGUET's former flats in West Berlin. The documents are examined by the BKA<sup>87</sup> at present.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

*(signature)*

P.<sup>88</sup> Major General János Bögye  
Deputy Chief Director

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Received: according to distribution

<sup>86</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>87</sup> Translator's note: Bundeskriminalamt, west German Federal Criminal Police Office

<sup>88</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior**  
**III/I. Directorate**

*Top secret!*  
*Particularly important!*

67-52-1/81/82.

Copy No. 1

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>89</sup>

Subject: Operational information

### **Memorandum**

26 April 1982, Budapest

4./ Legal

22 April in the morning on the corner of the CHAPSELYSÉE [sic] and RUE MARBEUF in Paris in front of the editorial office of Iraqi newspaper AL WATAN AL ARABI a device was exploded in a car hired in Vienna. One person has been killed and at least 50 injured in the attack.

French papers suspect Syria or CARLOS behind the perpetrators. As a consequence of the assassination, the Syrian military and cultural attachés have been expelled by the French government.

CHEYSSON in his statement on television hinted without mentioning names that they plan to impose restrictive measures against diplomatic representations that are engaged in activities in France inconsistent with their mission.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>90</sup> Major General János Bőgye  
Deputy Chief Director

Made: 6 copies  
by J. Sz./ Mrs. B.  
Received: according to distribution

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<sup>89</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document  
<sup>90</sup> Translator's note: Police

**MOI Third Chief Directorate  
Operations Coordination, Control and Secretarial Department**

*Top Secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/106/1982

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>91</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Lajos Karasz  
Police Lieutenant General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 106

27 May 1982, Budapest

Other events, information

9./ According to French press information CARLOS's new terrorist organizations operate in Belgium and the FRG<sup>92</sup>. A smaller base works also in Austria [sic].

The mission of Carlos's network: implementing attacks against American diplomats and servicemen working in Europe, multinational companies cooperating with the US Department of Defense, the NATO, or governments taking a rigid position in the Polish question and Israel. These operations are possibly in concert with environmentalist and pacifist agitation in the USA. (For example attacks against the Monsanto Chemical Corporation [sic], the Dow Chemical [Company] and the Bayer [Company] and the campaign against chemical weapons were coordinated.)

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I.)

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

Made: 1 copy 11 pages  
Photocopied: 8 copies  
Submitted to: Comrade Minister  
Comrade Secretary of State  
Received: according to distribution

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<sup>91</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>92</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

**MOI Third Chief Directorate  
Operations Coordination, Control and Secretarial Department**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/131/1982

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>93</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Lajos Karasz  
Police Lieutenant General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 131

1 July 1982, Budapest

Other events, information

8./ The AFP French news agency received a letter with the signature of CARLOS. In the letter Carlos announces the formation of an organization called “La Main Rouge Libano-Palestinienne”, that will fight against the imperialist, zionist, reactionary forces and retaliate Israel's aggression in Lebanon.

The aim of the organization: “to free Lebanon and Palestine from the Israeli occupation” through armed struggle. “From today on – the text reads – we strike at the American imperialist interests, liquidate the sympathizers and collaborators, and chase the enemy all over the world. We wage our actions against the zionist, imperialist enemy without regard to the human factor”.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I.)

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

Made: 1 copy 5 pages  
Photocopied: 8 copies  
Submitted to: Comrade Minister  
Comrade Secretary of State  
Received: according to distribution

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<sup>93</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

**MOI Third Chief Directorate  
Operations Coordination, Control and Secretarial Department**

*Top Secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/168/1982

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>94</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi  
Border Guard Major General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 168

24 August 1982, Budapest

Other events, information

8./ On the 18<sup>th</sup> of the current month our embassy in Aden reported to the MFA<sup>95</sup> that a leader of the Yemeni Socialist Party said that to his knowledge the international terrorist known by the name 'Carlos', who presumably has a southern Yemeni passport, is staying in Hungary,.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I.)

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

Made: 1 copy 6 pages  
Photocopied: 8 copies  
Submitted to: Comrade Minister  
Comrade Secretary of State  
Received: according to distribution

<sup>94</sup>

Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>95</sup>

Translator's note: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**Ministry of the Interior**  
**III/I-2. Department**

*Top secret!*

67/9-89/12 Jan. 1983  
67-52-2/18/83.

Copy No. 3

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>96</sup>

To Comrade P.<sup>97</sup> Colonel Gusztáv Bárdos  
Head of MOI III/I-6. Department

Subject: About the “Muslim Brotherhood” and  
the Armenian terrorist organization

### **Memorandum**

I inform the Comrade Head of Department that the III/III. Directorate has drawn under control the activity of “Muslim Brotherhood” and the Armenian terrorist organizations.

Recently obtained information has suggested that the differently oriented extremist Armenian organizations have been activated. The most influential among them is the organization called “Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia”. According to verified data the organization has established centres in Europe, its minor groups function in Bulgaria, Poland and the GDR<sup>98</sup>.

The special services of the capitalist countries extensively use the organization of “Muslim Brotherhood” for their purpose. Some of its members are trained as saboteurs in order to be used in the territory of the socialist countries for executing various actions (e.g. bombings, arsons, infection of plants, animals or reservoirs).

The “Muslim Brotherhood” is continually establishing centres in the western countries, which have been functioning in the USA and also in the FRG<sup>99</sup>.

It can be expected in the present international situation that terrorist organizations commit terrorist acts in the territory of socialist countries, and even in our country. We cannot exclude the possibility that members of the terrorist organizations temporarily or permanently stay in Hungary (possibly as a scholar), and that Hungary is used a base before and after executing their actions.

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<sup>96</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>97</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>98</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

<sup>99</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

Comrade Head of Department, within your scope please monitor the activity of the above-mentioned terrorist organizations and send the information to our department in order to be forwarded to the MOI III/III. Directorate.

10 January 1983, Budapest

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>100</sup> Colonel László Csordás  
Head of Department

Made: 6 copies  
by Mrs. K./ Mrs. L.  
Received: according to distribution  
Reg. No.132-2/83.

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<sup>100</sup>

Translator's note: Police



**MOI Department of International Relations**

*Top Secret!*

41-Sz-132/66-83.  
67/9-3130/14 June 1983

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (h)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>101</sup>

To Comrade Police Major General János Bőgye  
Deputy Chief Director of the MOI III. Directorate

In the attachment I am sending the Hungarian translation of the material entitled “On the activity of the terrorist-reactionary organization Muslim Brotherhood”, which was received from Representation of the State Security Committee of the Soviet Union functioning beside the HPR<sup>102</sup> Ministry of the Interior.

The State Security Committee has requested for our information report concerning plans and activities of the “Muslim Brotherhood” against the socialist countries.

Note: At the request of the Soviet party we have sent the material to the III/III. Directorate, as well.

10 June 1983, Budapest

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>103</sup> Lieutenant Colonel János Roszol  
Head of Department

Made: 2 copies  
Copy 1: addressee  
Copy 2: archive  
By A.Á./Mrs. J.P.

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<sup>101</sup> Translator's note: Stamped and handwritten text

<sup>102</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian Peoples' Republic

<sup>103</sup> Translator's note: Police

### **The activity of the terrorist-reactionary organization “Muslim Brotherhood”**

In many Arab and Asian countries the Islam has become an important, long-term factor of home affairs. Intelligence services of the imperialist countries, especially the USA, pay special attention to Islamic political movements and the Islamic ideology. The influence of Islam on the formation of social-political world events, in particular with regard to areas close to the borders of the Soviet Union, is examined by the CIA within the framework of a comprehensive program.

The hostile special services and the Muslim centres abroad aim at discrediting the communist ideology and provoking processes that are intended distancing the Central Asian republics from the Soviet Union and establishing religious-bourgeois government systems in them.

The strategic goal of the reactionary-terrorist movement “Muslim Brotherhood”, which is the most active and bellicose advocate of Islam, is to establish a “true Muslim state” based on doctrines of the Quran. Therefore, they regard communism as the main enemy [obstacle] obstacle to achieving this goal, as communism means atheism and denying private ownership, which Islam considers sacred.

The “Muslim Brotherhood” conceives of Islam as a comprehensive system regulating not only religious but also political, social and economic life.

In the view of “Muslim Brotherhood” tactics of serial state turns [sic] are to be employed in the Muslim countries in order to establish a single Muslim state by concentrating the majority of their forces and assets.

A main direction of the activity of the “Muslim Brotherhood” nowadays is to fight against Arab countries that have entered the path of political social progress and the spread of communist ideology in the Muslim countries. In Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and many other Arab countries the “Muslim Brotherhood” has become military-political force that possesses well-concealed military assault teams beside legal organizations. The “Muslim Brotherhood” conducts among the population active ideological propaganda under the guise of religious educational activity. Their religious fanaticism is in many respects identical to the ideas of fascism, and their affection for the social political system of Hitlerian Germany and fascist Italy is not even concealed. It organizes symposiums and conferences, often with an anti-soviet attitude, publishes newspapers (Ad-Dava – Egypt, Al-Liva – Jordan, Al-Aman – Lebanon, Al-Mujtama – Kuwait, Silm Al-Islamia – Saudi Arabia), organizes libraries, spread anti-communist literature, etc.

The organisation is flexible and inventive and special pays attention to the involvement of youth. Functionaries of the movement serve as teachers at universities, especially in Jordan (at the universities of Amman and Yarmuk) and give lectures to students analysing political and social phenomena from an Islamic perspective. These lectures intended to influence on religious feelings and the psyche of the students are used for preparing them for accepting the idea of the “brotherhood”. The “Muslim Brothers” organize special clubs to convince the

young ideologically, they pay their members a certain sum of money on condition that they attend the educational lectures and participate in spreading the ideals of the “brotherhood”. This part of the work has already produced certain results.

The part of the youth that has no strong political convictions is happy to visit the events. The aim of the “Brotherhood’s” legal activity is to strengthen its influence among the masses, to spread extremist religious sentiment, especially among the youth, and to recruit and involve new members to the military troops, which should become forces of Muslim reaction, according to organizers of the movement.

Aspiring to recreate the medieval Islamic order in the Muslim world and loosing one position after the other, the “Brotherhood” gradually slides down to the level of terrorism. According to the conviction of the “Muslim Brotherhood” the idea of using violence against the enemies of the Islam springs from Muslim doctrines. In accordance with these the world is divided into two parts, the “world of Islam” and the “world of war”. This imposes on each Muslim the duty of waging “jihad” (holy war) against the “infidels” (those who denies the Islamic doctrines). Among various groups of the “Muslim Brotherhood” there are the deeply conspired sects of fidais (or fidawis). Fidais, who are willing to sacrifice themselves in the knowledge that they get into heaven (paradise) in exchange, undergo a special ideological and physical training and are regarded as ideologically prepared executors. When members of the “Brotherhood” use violence against enemies of the Islam, this is regarded as legitimate and even sanctified by Islamic laws, and according to the “Brotherhood” these form the moral basis of executing terrorist actions not only under the command of the “highest educator” but also individually.

*[Page 4 of the document is missing.]*

*[The first part of the sentence is missing]* owner of the newspaper entitled “Call”). The leaders of “Brotherhood”, the so-called “general supervisors” or “highest emirs”, in the other countries are subordinated to him.

In each country there is the legislative council, the executive committee and the supreme court belonging to the organizational structure of the “Muslim Brotherhood”.

In each country the organization is divided into and directed by centres, which are formed in areas where the number of organisation members exceeds fifty.

Centres are divided into departments.

A department consists of three or more battalions, a battalion comprises three or more “families”. A family has three-five members.

The lowest-level organisational units of the “Muslim Brotherhood” in each country are the cells, which comprise three people on the average. Only the leader of the cell knows the other two members, who know nothing about each other. Two cells make up a family, the leader of which only knows the leaders of the cells, quite often under their pseudonym only.

The process of entering the organization has several stages. The candidate is first accepted by an “open family”. Its members are not initiated and do not pay a membership fee. They are studying the Quran and Muslim philosophy for a year. One has to operate in an “open family”

at least for a year, but in some cases this can exceed ten years. The next phase of membership is the so-called “closed family”, in which one has to spend not less than two years.

Members of the “closed families” already have access to certain information concerning the organisation’s activity and pay a membership fee. From among the members of “closed families” the “brothers” are transferred into the order of “full participants” and after three years among “main members”. For ordinary members of the organisation this is the highest rank available, anyway. Having spent five years in this order one can fulfil any leading functions.

Based on a survey among arrested members of the organisation, Western sociologists sketched a general psychological portrait of “Muslim brothers”. An average member is 20-30 years old, successful, studies at a university or has recently graduated. His marks in the school were better than the average. He is attracted by debates, excited about political ideals, impatient of different aspects, and ready to use violence if it is essential to achieve objectives he regards as redeeming. He wants the treasures of the region to be used for the advantage of the people. He considers most forms of cooperation with the socialist and western countries as neo-colonialism. Coming from a small peasant or middle class background he wants to achieve success at all costs. Surprisingly enough, he is more often an engineer, and has a technical degree rather than an MA.

It is also important to remember that declassed elements are involved in large numbers, besides members of the organisation, in executing diversionary-terrorist actions. In addition to their centres in the Muslim countries, the “Muslim Brothers” also have associations in Western Europe as well as in the USA. Muslims are concentrated into the following religious organizations in Western Europe: European Association of Islamic Organisations, Islamic Society (London), Hansa Society (Munich), Islamic Centre (Aachen), United European Organisation of Muslim Students (Braunschweig), Islamic Centre (Rome), Islamic Youth Centre (Skopje), Islamic Research Institute (Genf).

Since its birth the organisation always has been the target of penetration by imperialist special services. The English intelligence, for example, supported financially the organisation up until the 60s and used it for fuelling international and religious conflicts. When English positions weakened in the Middle and Near East the brothers had established contact with special services of the FRG<sup>104</sup>. In 1980 the Syrian special service arrested an illegal group of the West German intelligence, which actively used members of the organization for gathering intelligence information.

In 1973, following the Arab-Israeli war and the Iranian events, the USA fearing for his interests in the Near East and in order to calm the waves of anti-Americanism in the region established contact with the “Muslim Brothers” and soon defined its policy in many respects. The Camp David Accords were another essential facilitating factor of the further development in the relations between special services of the USA and the “Muslim Brotherhood”. After Camp David the Americans instructed the “brothers” to intensify subversion in the progressive Arab countries. The CIA actively uses local inhabitants working in American institutions and members of the “brotherhood” in the subversive activity. We have data concerning the connections between the “Muslim Brotherhood” and special services of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and Pakistan.

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<sup>104</sup> Translator’s note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

According to instructions of the special services the “brotherhood” actively participates in organizing provocations and holding demonstrations in front of Soviet embassy buildings in Arab and African countries, especially in Syria, Tunisia and Nigeria. These actions are usually held when international tensions are increasing, the anti-Soviet campaign of the USA and Western European countries is being intensified or during Muslim feasts.

The “brotherhood” aims to discredit progressive measures of many Arab countries, e.g. Syria, Algeria and the Yemeni PDR<sup>105</sup>, to create a chauvinistic atmosphere, to fuel hostilities between various groups of believers and to call for an open armed struggle, as it does in Syria and Afghanistan.

Following the brotherly Soviet aid offered to the Afghan people, the activity of the organization took an especially sharp anti-Soviet turn. Special services of the West and reactionary Arab countries, besides using the ideology of the “Muslim Brotherhood”, encourage the organization to executing terrorist actions against Soviet embassies and Soviet citizens staying abroad in order to create an anti-Soviet atmosphere among the population of the Arab countries and to put pressure on the Soviet Union. The massive increase in the number of actions like bombings, shootings, and arsons deserves special attention. The number of diversionary and terrorist actions implemented by members of the organization against Soviet citizens and Soviet embassies abroad was around 90 in 1981 only.

It is reasonable to assume that when the Afghan counter-revolution is defeated the Muslim reaction and especially the “Muslim Brotherhood” will choose to follow a different path in order to resolve the “Afghan issue” in their favour. According to available data, in the conference of the “Muslim Brotherhood” held in the FRG<sup>106</sup> in 1981 they drew conclusions from unsuccessful actions against Soviet experts and decided to convert to executing group terrorist acts against Soviet embassies and Soviet people. The conference decision is also concerned with uniting and fusing Islamic organizations much more closely, supporting the “brotherhood” in Syria, expanding the scope of the organization and its propaganda. In the conference delegations of Muslims from Italy, Spain, Switzerland, the FRG<sup>107</sup>, England, Ireland, Belgium, and France were also present.

The organization “Muslim Brotherhood” holds many conferences and workshops in order to develop a unified position on the most important issues. In these the Afghan issue and the question of supporting the Afghan and Syrian counter-revolution usually arises. Concerning the subject they hear lectures, such as “The communism is the enemy of the Islam”, “The holy war”, etc.

Recently the “Muslim Brotherhood” has attempted to spread his subversive activity to the territories of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, using students studying there.

A most active agent of the reactionary line of the organization in the field of student exchange programs is the United Organization of Muslim Students in Europe (UOMSE), which is the youth division of the “Muslim Brotherhood”. The mission of the UOMSE is to promote the ideals of the “brotherhood” among foreigners studying in the socialist countries. Moreover,

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<sup>105</sup>Translator's note: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

<sup>106</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>107</sup>Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

the leadership of the organization openly urged members in a conference to “intensify their efforts to expand the organization, even via Soviet citizens”.

As the political role of the “Muslim Brotherhood” strengthened, in many Arab countries there has been more opportunity to send through state scholarship programs their members and supporters to study in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Through this channel they can organize hostile activity against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

At the moment 17 112 students from the Muslim countries are studying in the Soviet Union. Most of them are coming from Afghanistan (3029), Jordan (2180), Syria, Yemen (2023), Lebanon, Sudan (578) and Pakistan (255).

Soviet university scholarships are available on the recommendation of social organizations or based on international contracts.

Three hundred of the students were suspected of belonging to the organization, the most active of them are being monitored.

Most of the monitored persons, who are suspected of belonging to the organizations, are of small and middle bourgeois origin, not averse to debate, narcissistic, fanatically loyal to the organization. These persons frequently visit mosques, read religious and often anti-soviet literature, comprise 3-5-member cells, organize conspired meetings, organizationally connect to their comrades living in other cities of the Soviet Union and the Muslim centres abroad that lead and direct their activity.

According to our data the organization functioning in the territory of the Soviet Union belongs to the UOMSE, to which it is subordinated. In May 1982 Imad Abou Salem, the general secretary of the UOMSE instructed the emir of the organization functioning in the territory of the Soviet Union to travel to London for the conference of the organization and make a report on the following questions: the structure of the organization in the Soviet Union, the number of non-member Muslims, detailed analysis of the organization’s state of affairs, technical equipment needs of the organization, its financial and cultural requirements, internal and external problems of the organization, further suggestions concerning the activity of the “brotherhood” in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The UOMSE sends illegal instructions, religious and anti-soviet literature to the Soviet Union mainly from the FRG<sup>108</sup>, Yugoslavia, and Italy.

Following the expulsion of many members from the Soviet Union the foreign centres instructed their comrades to refrain from anti-social and illegal actions, in order to avoid administrative measures of the Soviets against them. Moreover, they suggested intensifying conspiracy, especially when involving new members and between preparatory branches, working with them individually in order to distance them from communist ideological influence, and to recruit supporters among students of Soviet military institutions.

The centres regard spreading anti-soviet literature and the ideology of the “Muslim brotherhood” as one of the most effective method of work. They give specific instructions on how to import and where to hide illegal literature.

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<sup>108</sup> Translator’s note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

Our data also confirm that there are connections between the leaders of the organization “Muslim Brotherhood” and the embassies of Muslim countries in the Soviet Union, especially those of Jordan, Iraq, Egypt and Pakistan.

Intelligence units functioning on the basis of embassies have significantly intensified their activity among their citizens studying in the Soviet Union. This activity is typical not only among diplomats of the above-mentioned countries but also those of Iran, Sudan, Central Africa, Nigeria, and Somalia, who attempt to establish firm connections among embassy staff, foreign students, those possessing secrets, and unreliable Soviet citizens.

Specifically, resident agents of the Iraqi special services maintain permanent connection in Moscow with their agents and informants among foreign students. They maintain connection with not only Iraqi but also third-country citizens.

Beside occurring counter-intelligence tasks in the communities of their own citizens, resident units and agents of national special services take pain to collect intelligence information on the Soviet Union.

Recently the channels of tourism and individual travels into the Soviet Union are also attempted to be used by foreign centres of the “Muslim Brotherhood” for hostile purposes.

The activity of the “Muslim Brotherhood” in the Soviet Union is closely conspired, the leaders and messengers maintain connections between the cells by means of their individual travels inside the country and abroad.

The place and time of events are usually not indicated in letters addressed to *poste restante* or post office boxes. During correspondence with the leadership of the UOMSE the leaders of the “Muslim Brotherhood” in the Soviet Union were given two false addresses in London. The corresponding letter was sent to a false address in Moscow.

Based on the tasks and goals indicated by the leaders of the organization the “Muslim Brotherhood” takes pain to convince, in a religious and anti-soviet manner, students from the Arab countries, especially newcomers, urges them to boycott lecture and seminars on social sciences and to absent themselves from social-political events, to maintain connections with the Soviet citizens that exercise their religion, and Muslim priests and to spread doctrines and literature causing religious and social damage among them. In circles close to the “Muslim Brotherhood” openly anti-soviet statements are made, such as “purging Moscow and then the whole world from the communists”, and they call for removing the Central Asian republics from the Soviet Union. They sharply criticize the Soviet Union and its policy towards the Arab countries and for supporting the Afghan people.

During processing data concerning the cells, we found that their leaders regularly held conspired meetings to discuss organizational and practical problems of their activity in the territory of the Soviet Union together with the question of [*fragmented text*]

**Ministry Of the Interior  
III/II. Directorate**

*Top secret!*

67/9-1496/1 April 1983

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (h)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>109</sup>

Subject: Information on terrorism

To Comrade Police Major General János Bőgye  
Deputy Chief Director  
Head of MOI III/I. Directorate

Budapest

According to information collected from the Budapest PLO<sup>110</sup> office the attack on Abu Daoud was carried out by the MOSSAD, the Israeli secret service. He is the only living person from among those accused of committing the outrage against Israeli sportsmen during the Munich Olympia

Recently Daoud has travelled to no socialist countries but East Berlin.

(The information appeared in DOIR<sup>111</sup>.)

Information:	not verified
Expiry date:	March 1983
Source:	The III/II-4. Department's daily report of 24. 03. 1983. No. 40/4-20/51
Sent for actions:	-
for information:	III/I. Directorate

28 March 1983, Budapest

Police Major General Dr. Miklós Rédei  
Deputy Chief Director

Made: 2 copies  
No. 1. Addressee  
No. 2. Archive  
Made by: JB / Mrs. FI  
Reg. No. 40/9-3-340-b.

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<sup>109</sup> Translator's note: Stamped and handwritten text  
<sup>110</sup> Translator's note: Palestine Liberation Organization  
<sup>111</sup> Translator's note: Daily operations information report



45-78/10/69/1983

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>112</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi  
Border Guard Major General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 69

7 April 1983, Budapest

Other events, information

8./ Between August 1979 and April 1982 members of the terrorist organization confidentially investigated under the code name 'Carlos' regularly stayed in Budapest, where they rented flats. The organization follows an extremist, confused, definitely anti-marxist line. It liaises actively with the Romanian, Libyan, Syrian, Israeli and south Yemeni secret services, and maintains intermittent, superficial contact with the Cuban and GDR<sup>113</sup> state security organs. The special services of the above-mentioned Middle Eastern countries and Romania supply the group with money, arms and passports. The principal client of the group is Libya, but Romania has also assigned liquidation or similar missions to them. 'Carlos' and his group closely cooperate with a range of known terrorist organizations, the organs however have no knowledge that the group would plan actions against socialist countries.

Based on political leader's decision, as a result of active measures coordinated with friendly (Czech, Bulgarian, GDR) state security organs we managed to eliminate the Budapest base of the group without confrontation and remove group members from Hungary. We managed to obtain preliminary information about planned actions of the group (RFE<sup>114</sup>, Paris attacks, Vienna bombings, etc.) on several occasions.

The source and content of the information are verified.

Measures: within the framework of confidential investigation the group and its members intermittently entering the country is held under operational control.

(III/II.)

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<sup>112</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>113</sup> Translator's note: east German

<sup>114</sup> Translator's note: Radio Free Europe

10./ On 30 March, based on information obtained from the MFA<sup>115</sup> we reported that in a letter written in the name of the Palestine Liberation Organization a Syrian merchant living in Budapest, ABDOUL RAOUF AL AMIN, received death threats.

The aforementioned person and ABU HAKAM, a member of the “Carlos” terrorist group staying in Budapest, spread rumours that the threatening letter was written by the Hungarian police. According to Hakam also in the GDR<sup>116</sup> and Bulgaria the persons investigated in order to be recruited are usually approached by means of such actions, and those who do not agree to collaborate are expelled from the country soon.

The source of the information is verified, its content is not verified.

Measures: developments are monitored operationally.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

Béla Vagyóczky police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>115</sup> Translator's note: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<sup>116</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

## IMPORTANT INFORMATION RECEIVED AFTER THE COMPILATION OF THE REPORT

10./ Antecedent: 3rd Chief Directorate's DOIR<sup>117</sup> No. 63/14 of 30 March 1983  
The Syrian merchant living in Budapest Abdoul Raouf Al Amin received death threats. He was called to pay 1 million dollars to a foreign bank account to a set deadline.

Abu Hakam (a member of the terrorist group code-named "Carlos" staying in Budapest) and the Syrian citizen Abdoul Raouf Al Amin, who received death threats in a letter delivered to him on 24 March 1983, spread rumours that the threatening letter was written by the Hungarian police. According to Hakam also in the GDR<sup>118</sup> and Bulgaria the persons investigated in order to be recruited are usually approached by means of such actions, and those who do not agree to collaborate are expelled from the country soon.

The source of the information is verified, its content is not verified.<sup>119</sup>

Measures: developments are monitored operationally.

Source:	st. <sup>120</sup>
Source certificate:	verified
Information:	not verified
Production date:	3 April 1983
Expiry date:	April 1983
Phase of generation:	reconnaissance, filter-research work

(III/II-4. Department)

*(signature)*  
Dr. Károly Hári police lieutenant colonel  
head of department

Made: 18 copies 10 pages  
Received: according to distribution  
Reg. No. 9/3-68/83.

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<sup>117</sup> Translator's note: Daily operations information report  
<sup>118</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)  
<sup>119</sup> Translator's note: handwritten text  
<sup>120</sup> Translator's note: secret trustee, member of the state security network

**Ministry Of the Interior**  
**III/II. Directorate**

*Top secret!*

67/9-2318/12 May 1983

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (h)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>121</sup>

Subject: Decision of the terrorist organization 'Abu Nidal'

To Comrade Police Major General János Bógye  
Deputy Chief Director  
Head of MOI III/I. Directorate

Budapest

According to the understanding of the first secretary of the Budapest PLO<sup>122</sup> office all Palestinians who are participants, facilitators or organizers of meetings or negotiations with Israeli officials are to be liquidated in accordance with the decision of the terrorist organization 'Abu Nidal'.

Even the head of the Budapest PLO Office Hijazhy is on the blacklist of the organization, as he has contributed to the organization of the meeting between Abu Iyad staying in Budapest and members of the Israeli peace delegation.

(The information appeared in DOIR<sup>123</sup>.)

Information:	not verified
Expiry date:	1983. continuous
Source:	The III/II-4. Department's daily report of 04. 05. 1983. No. 40/4-20/74
Sent for actions:	-
for information:	III/I. Directorate

5 May 1983, Budapest

Police Major General Dr. Miklós Rédei  
Deputy Chief Director

Made: 2 copies  
No. 1. Addressee  
No. 2. Archive  
Made by: KHS / Mrs. FI  
Reg. No. 40/9-3/506.

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<sup>121</sup> Translator's note: Stamped and handwritten text  
<sup>122</sup> Translator's note: Palestine Liberation Organization  
<sup>123</sup> Translator's note: Daily operations information report

45-78/10/138/1983

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>124</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi  
Border Guard Major General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 138

13 July 1983, Budapest

Other events, information

11./ The Turkish authorities are worried that the organization 'Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command' plans actions – supported by the Saika<sup>125</sup>, Abu Nidal, Carlos and other Syria-friendly groups – against certain American institutions in Baghdad. According to the opinion of the authorities, later they want to perform actions against American institutions and their staff in Turkey, especially in Istanbul.

The information is partly verified.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I)

*(signature)*

Police Lieutenant Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Department

Made: 1 copy 8 pages  
Photocopied: 8 copies  
Submitted to: Comrade Minister  
                    Comrade Secretary of State  
Received: according to distribution

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<sup>124</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>125</sup> Translator's note: Al Saika, also known as As Saika, As-Saiqa etc.

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/223/1983

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>126</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>127</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 223

11 November 1983, Budapest

Other events, information

According to French press information the West German security organs learned that the terrorist code-named 'Carlos' is staying in Syria, and he has organized a new action group there.

The Saudi Arabian ambassador of the FRG<sup>128</sup> received a threatening letter, according to which West German Minister of the Interior ZIMMERMANN will be killed, because the West German authorities want to take GABRIELLA KÖRCHNER TIEDEMANN [sic], former member of the Baader[-Meinhof] Group to military court, who was sentenced in Switzerland to 15 years in prison, and the FRG has recently requested her extradition. The West German security organs have found 'Carlos's' fingerprint on the threatening letter.

Measures: MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>129</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>126</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>127</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>128</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>129</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/230/1983

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>130</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>131</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 230

22 November 1983, Budapest

Other events, information

On the 14th of current month the member code-named 'Ali' of the terrorist organization code-named 'C-79' arrived in Budapest. 'Ali' told that he came from Berlin, from where he was expelled and was blacklisted for the alleged infringement of hotel guest rules, but in 'Ali's' view rather as a result of the pre-planned action of the GDR<sup>132</sup> police. (Ali is blacklisted also in Czechoslovakia.)

When the above information was mentioned to him, the head of representation in the Budapest office of the PLO<sup>133</sup> ABU BAKR told that c. 3 weeks ago he saw 'Carlos', head of the group code-named 'C-79' in the Hotel Intercontinental in Moscow. Carlos has altered his appearance by growing a long, thick beard and dyeing his hair dark brown to match the beard, and wears thick-framed glasses.

The source of the information is reliable, verified, its content is not verified.

Measures: The Soviet and GDR<sup>134</sup> ss.<sup>135</sup> organs will be informed. The GDR ss. organ is to be informed only of the facts written in the 2nd paragraph.<sup>136</sup>  
(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>137</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 11 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>130</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>131</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>132</sup> Translator's note: east German

<sup>133</sup> Translator's note: Palestine Liberation Organization

<sup>134</sup> Translator's note: east German

<sup>135</sup> Translator's note: State security

<sup>136</sup> Translator's note: Handwritten note

<sup>137</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Daily operations information report**

No. 247

19 December 1983, Budapest

Terrorism

On 14. 12. 1983. leader of the international terrorist organization called 'The Arm of the [Arab] Revolution' Carlos arrived in Budapest for a one-day visit. It was ascertained that 'Carlos' entered the territory of Hungary on MALÉV Flight 307 from Tripoli with the YPDR<sup>139</sup> diplomatic passport of Abdullah Sulaiman Saleh (Hadhramout, 1949, Maria Elba).

Measure: Carlos's supervision during his Budapest visit has been organized

Source:	offl. con. <sup>140</sup>
Source certificate:	verified
Information:	verified
Production date:	14. 12. 1983.
Expiry date:	14. 12. 1983.
Phase of generation:	confidential investigation

(III/II-8.)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>141</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Károly Hári  
Head of Department

Made: 18 copies 6 pages  
Received: according to distribution  
Reg. No. 40/9-3-247/83

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<sup>138</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document  
<sup>139</sup> Translator's note: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen  
<sup>140</sup> Translator's note: official contact  
<sup>141</sup> Translator's note: Police



41-CS-29-76/1983.

*Top secret!*

**From the Ministry of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic**

67/9-6220/27 Dec 1983

Classification cancelled  
2003 c. III s. 2 (h)  
16 Oct. 2010  
(signature)<sup>142</sup>

We report it in a daily, and inform the III/II-8.  
Németh<sup>143</sup>

### **THE ACTIVITY OF TERRORIST GROUPS IN SYRIA**

According to reliable data, the transfer of the terrorist groups – the Revolutionary Council led by Abu Nidal and the Carlos-led groups – of the Fatah organization to the Syrian Arab Republic has happened. The mission of the various terrorist groups was to seek contact with the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), which following the Israeli aggression in Lebanon has conspiratorially changed its centre and moved from Bayreuth to Syria. Based on the secret agreement in force between Turkey and Syria, joint measures are taken in the framework of the fight against the ASALA. It seems likely that the Syrian special services utilize the Abu Nidal's forces and the Carlos's groups for the physical destruction of Yasser Arafat or other persons regarded by them as "undesirable".

The ringleaders are now searching for the way and the means of transferring their agency to Czechoslovakia, following the example of the PLO<sup>144</sup> security service. Furthermore, Abu Nidal's group recently has shown interest in establishing relations with Czechoslovakian party organs.

Arrived at the IRD<sup>145</sup>: 8 December 1983

Made: 2 copies  
Copy No.1: III/I. Department  
Copy No.2: Archive  
Made by: IH

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<sup>142</sup>Translator's note: Stamped and handwritten text

<sup>143</sup>Translator's note: Handwritten note on the document.

<sup>144</sup>Translator's note: Palestinian Liberation Organization

<sup>145</sup>Translator's note: Department of International Relations

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/257/1983

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>146</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>147</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 257

30 December 1983, Budapest

Other events, information

According to data received from a friendly state security organ, members of the Committee for Revolutionary Justice lead by ABU NIDAL and the Carlos-led groups were transferred to Syria. The mission of the various terrorist groups was to seek contact with the Secret Armenian Army, which has moved headquarters from Beirut to Syria.

Based on the secret agreement in force between Turkey and Syria, joint measures are taken against the Armenian terrorists. Most likely the Syrian special services use Abu Nidal's forces and "Carlos's" groups for the physical destruction of Yasser Arafat and other persons regarded by them as "undesirable".

Leaders of the two organizations are now considering how they could establish bases in Czechoslovakia, following the example of the PLO security service. Furthermore, Abu Nidal's group recently has shown interest in establishing relations with Czechoslovakian party organs.

The source of the information is reliable, verified, its content is not verified.

Measures: The MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.  
(III/I)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>148</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 5 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>146</sup>Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>147</sup>Translator's note: Police

<sup>148</sup>Translator's note: Police

Copy No.1

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>149</sup>

**Daily operations information report**

No. 3

5 January 1984, Budapest

TERRORISM

As a result of processing work performed in the framework of confidential investigation code-named "C-79", the III/II-8. Department found that the New Year's Eve terrorist acts in Southern France and the outrage against the French embassy in Beirut were implemented, with Syrian and Libyan inducements and support, by the international terrorist organization called the "Arm of the World Revolution" lead by "Carlos", as retaliation for French bombings of the Lebanon progressive forces.

Among participants in the attack the group members Steve', 'Ali' [and] 'Tarek' travelled to the scene of the action via the territory of Hungary, paying careful attention to comply with the rules of conspiracy. Their visit in Hungary is not traceable by the western security services.

One-sided data show that the group also has ties to the Madrid attacks.

On the 1st , 2nd, 3rd of the current month the group member code-named 'Steve' was staying in Budapest and travelled to Tripoli in Libya on 04. 01. 1984. No one of the group members is currently staying in Hungary.

There are operational data indicating that the organization has a base in Yugoslavia, that operates with the knowledge and support of the Yugoslavian organs. This information confirms similar data previously generated.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>149</sup>Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>150</sup>Translator's note: The page ends here.

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>151</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>152</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 4

5 January 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

9./ On the 3rd of the current month we reported the information of the MOI III/II Directorate concerning that on the 1st of the current month terrorist code-named 'Steve' arrived in Budapest, who participated in the terrorist acts carried out in Southern France by the group called 'The Arm of the World Revolution'. (The group allegedly also has ties to the Madrid attacks)

According to new – not verified – information 'Steve', as well as 'Ali' and 'Tarek' travelled to the scene of the action via Hungary. They have paid careful attention to comply with the rules of conspiracy, their visit in Hungary is not traceable by the western security services.

On the 4th of the current month 'Steve' travelled from Budapest to Tripoli in Libya. None of the group members is currently staying in Hungary.

There are operational data indicating that the organization has a base in Yugoslavia, that operates with the knowledge and support of the Yugoslavian organs. This information confirms similar data previously generated.

Measure: inspection of the terrorist group is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>153</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 6 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>151</sup>Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>152</sup>Translator's note: Police

<sup>153</sup>Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/6/1984.

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>154</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>155</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 6

9 January 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

4./ Hostile intelligence organs obtained information that representatives of several Western, as well as Near and Middle Eastern terrorist organizations held a meeting in Sophia between 15-20 September 1983. The international terrorist organization called "Arm of the World Revolution" was represented by "Carlos", as well as the group members code-named "Ali" and "Steve".

The participating terrorist organizations agreed that their attacks would be directed mainly against Turkish and French targets.

In the meeting possibilities of cooperation between various terrorist organizations were also discussed. It has been suggested that the Armenian ASALA (currently UPALA) and the terrorist organization called the "Black June", together with the Iranian revolutionary guards should participate in the activities. Their primary mission will be to attack American, Israeli and Jordan targets.

The information is not verified.

Measures: - the information will be verified by means of a friendly ss<sup>156</sup> organ  
- measures will be taken to restrict the activities of some members of the terrorist organization "Arm of the World Revolution" temporarily staying in Hungary.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>157</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 5 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>154</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>155</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>156</sup> Translator's note: State security

<sup>157</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/48/1984.

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>158</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>159</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 48

7 March 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

10./ On the 2nd of the current month Swiss citizen BERNHARD RAMBERT arrived in Budapest. He is the lawyer of international terrorist organization member code-named "Lili" under confidential investigation code-named "C-79", who is serving the sentence in Paris. French citizen JAKUES VERGES also entered the country with him.

Two days later "Carlos" also arrived in Budapest from Tripoli, via Sofia, to negotiate with the lawyer.

Rambert's attendant departed from Hungary on the 5th. According to new information on the 7<sup>th</sup> of the current month also "Ali" arrives in Budapest, who is currently staying in Damascus. Group members now staying in Budapest depart within a few days.

The information is verified.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.

Report to me any information that comes into our possession immediately.<sup>160</sup>

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>161</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretaria

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>158</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>159</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>160</sup> Translator's note: Handwritten text

<sup>161</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10/58/1984.

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>162</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>163</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 58

21 March 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

12./ The following, not verified, information arrived from a friendly state security organ:

- Carlos, the known terrorist, is conducting negotiations in Syria and coordinating actions planned in France with representatives of the Syrian reconnaissance. According to the statement of the Syrian security services the French special services have built up agent positions in the Palestinian movement and their aim is, inter alia, to liquidate Carlos.

Therefore, Carlos travels amid stringent security measures, in which he and his group is backed by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, that also provides them with passports. Carlos allegedly complains that he gets no support from the socialist countries, that even restrict his and his colleagues' travel. For example, in Budapest he did not have a telephone and he was kept under observation.

- One of Carlos's colleagues is allegedly staying in Budapest, he is known as HALIM but in reality he is an FRG<sup>164</sup> citizen called STEFAN.

Measures: The MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.  
(III/I)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>165</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 8 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>162</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>163</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>164</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>165</sup> Translator's note: Police

**MOI III/I. Directorate**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

67/52-1-59/84.

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>166</sup>

Subject: OPERATIONAL INFORMATION

**MEMORANDUM**

22 March 1984, Budapest

2. BC-12-14

According to the communication of a friendly state security organ<sup>167</sup>, the Carlos and Abu Nidal groups would like to establish organizations in the socialist countries, where the rules concerning the residence of foreigners are safer in terms of their activities. There are indications that the Abu Nidal group has a 10-12-person unit in Bucharest. Mariam al Najig ( a woman born ca. 1939, alias Olmul Mahmud), who looks 10 years younger than her actual age, is member of the group. Her husband was colonel of the FATAH organization and was allegedly killed by Arafat's colleagues 3 years ago.

Measures: The MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed in detail<sup>168</sup>.

(III/I)<sup>169</sup>

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>170</sup> Major General János Böggye  
Deputy Chief Director

Made: 7 copies by Mrs. K/ST  
Received: according to distribution

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<sup>166</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document  
<sup>167</sup> Translator's note: An insertion in handwriting  
<sup>168</sup> Translator's note: The last word is in handwriting  
<sup>169</sup> Translator's note: In handwriting  
<sup>170</sup> Translator's note: Police



**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/64/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>171</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>172</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 64

29 March 1984, Budapest

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL DIVERSIONARY ACTIVITIES

6./ The following has been reported by our Washington embassy to the MFA<sup>173</sup>:

US State Department director PALMER has stated that he considers our answer to the American warning to cease intelligence activities constructive, but he pointed out that we should cooperate in the fight against terrorism.

He stated that, according to verified information, Carlos has recently visited Budapest, although their understanding is that he was not an official guest. They have knowledge that Abu Nidal also stayed in Eastern Europe. In this respect Palmer noted that Assistant Secretary of State [Richard R.] Burt not inadvertently raised to Secretary of State János Nagy the question of the cooperation against terrorism.

On his brief visit home Ambassador [Nicolas M.] SALGO explained to our embassy that the action is backed by the Pentagon, namely the notoriously extreme right Assistant Secretary of Defense [Richard N.] PERLE, who is against treating the socialist countries differentially. According to Salgo the American services have part data concerning the activity of several East European countries, but the evidence is not convincing enough.

---

<sup>171</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>172</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>173</sup> Translator's note: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ambassadors of the socialist countries have coordinated the answer that is to be given to the above American step. The Soviet part emphasized the importance of uniform action, against which the American action was precisely directed.

Measures: The MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I)

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>174</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 15 pages  
Photocopied: 8 copies  
Submitted to: Comrade Minister  
                    Comrade Secretary of State  
Received: according to distribution

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/88/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>175</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>176</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 88

7 May 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

10./ The member of the terrorist organization “Arm of the World Revolution”, code-named “Steve”, arrived in Budapest from Damascus, where he had a discussion with “Carlos”. According to multilateral, reliable information, “Steve” wants to hold meetings with other group members. Therefore, the group member code-named “Tarek” arrived in Budapest from Moscow on 2<sup>nd</sup> of the current month, and at present he is staying at “Ali's” place. Around the 10<sup>th</sup> of the current month the member code-named “Tina” is expected to arrive in Budapest from the FRG<sup>177</sup>, in all probability via the GDR<sup>178</sup>.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>179</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>175</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>176</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>177</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>178</sup> Translator's note: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

<sup>179</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/88/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>180</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>181</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 88

7 May 1984, Budapest

11./ On 1st May the London television reported that the international terrorist called 'Carlos', who is paid by the Libyans, regularly visits Berlin, Prague, Budapest and Sofia.

Measures: The MOI III/II. Directorate will be informed.

(III/I)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>182</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>180</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>181</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>182</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/90/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>183</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>184</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 90

9 May 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

10./ On the 5<sup>th</sup> of the current month “Carlos”, the leader of the terrorist organization “Arm of the World Revolution”, arrived in Budapest, with a Yemeni diplomatic passport issued under the name “SALEH ABDULLAH SULAIMAN”, via Moscow for a week.

He has a discussion with group members called “Steve” and “Tarek” already staying in Budapest and with “Tina”, a member of the terrorist organisation “Revoluzioneren Zellen”, [sic] who is also expected to Budapest.

Measures: Based on an approved proposal, steps are taken to restrict the travels of the persons [sic].

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>185</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 6 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>183</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>184</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>185</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/94/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>186</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>187</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 94

15 May 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

3./ As a result of the operational action performed by the MOI III/II. Directorate on the 11<sup>th</sup> of the current month, valuable information has been gathered concerning the situation and supporters of the terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution”, as well as target countries of its actions. “Carlos's” contacts and their telephone number were documented. It was determined that members of the organization store explosive and arms (machine guns, guns and hand grenades) in their temporary accommodation in Budapest.

The information is verified.

Measures: A report on the implementation of the action and the evaluation of the material is to be presented.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>188</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 4 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>186</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>187</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>188</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/138/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>189</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>190</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 138

16 July 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

14./ New information has emerged concerning the terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution”:

- “Carlos” is staying in Damascus at present, from where he is planning to implement terrorist acts against West European targets.

- “Steve” travels to Bucharest on the 17<sup>th</sup> of the current month, after one of their contacts has arrived from the FRG<sup>191</sup>.

The information is verified.

Measures: Based on an approved proposal, the confidential investigation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>192</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 7 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>189</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>190</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>191</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>192</sup> Translator's note: Police

45/78/10/150/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>193</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>194</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 150

1 August 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

16./ “Carlos”, the leader of the international terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution”, with a Yemeni diplomatic passport arrived by plane in Budapest from Damascus on 29 July; he is expected to spend only a few days in Budapest.

The most likely purpose of his travel is to have a discussion with group members staying in Budapest, code-named “Steve” and ‘Ali”.

The source of the information is verified, its content is not verified.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>195</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 10 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>193</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>194</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>195</sup> Translator's note: Police



45/78/10/155/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>196</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>197</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 155

8 August 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

9./ Between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of the current month the Swiss citizen member code-named “Sally” of the international terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution” was staying in Budapest in order to have a discussion with the leader of the organization and with board members code-named “Ali” and “Steve”. She departed for Berlin on the 5<sup>th</sup>.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of the current month JACQUES VERGES, the 59-year-old French lawyer of “Lily” and “Luca”, serving their sentence in Paris, arrived in Budapest. Verges has had a discussion with three leaders of the terrorist organisation staying in Budapest and he is expected to leave on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the current month. (According to data of the organ, Verges also provides legal protection for war criminal KLAUS BARBIE, who is in custody in France.)

“Steve” travelled to Berlin on the 7<sup>th</sup> of the current month, “Carlos” is expected to leave this week.

The information is verified.

Measures: - Verges's operational supervision will be organized;  
- the inspection of the organisation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>198</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>196</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>197</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>198</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45-78/10-157/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>199</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>200</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 157

10 August 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

11./ The French lawyer of the confidentially investigated international terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution” called JACQUES VERGES, who has been staying in Budapest since the 5th of the current month, has held talks with “Carlos” on several occasions. “Carlos” told the lawyer that he would have to achieve the release of “Lily” and “Luca” by the end of this year, and that they would have to be able to leave for a neutral country, rather than being handed over by the French authorities to the security organs of the FRG<sup>201</sup>. J. Verges left Hungary for Zürich on the 8th of the current month.

Of the group members “Carlos”, “Ali” and “Steve” are staying in our capital city at present.

The source of the information is verified, its content is not verified.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>202</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 6 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

<sup>199</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>200</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>201</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>202</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/205/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>203</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>204</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 205

18 October 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

12./ “Carlos”, the leader of the international terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution”, arrived in Iraq on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the current month, he is staying in Baghdad at present. His visit is presumably related to the cooperation with the Iraqi organs.

None of the group members are staying in our country at present.

The information is verified.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>205</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 7 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>203</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>204</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>205</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/211/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>206</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*  
Jenő Földesi  
P.<sup>207</sup> Lieutenant General  
Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 211

26 October 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

12./ The terrorist code-named “Carlos”, who was staying in Budapest between 20 July and 22 September, said that they stick to Budapest and they do not intend to leave the country permanently. According to his account, they could live in the capital of any socialist country, but Budapest suits them best.

According to his evaluation, the Hungarian security organs today are not that hostile towards his group. Before he left he ordered “Ali” and “Steve” to avoid all confrontation with the Hungarian organs and to implement their measures immediately.

Regarding their intentions “Carlos” remarked that their present tasks are focused on the Near East, and where there is “need to act against the USA”.

The source and content of the information is verified.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.  
(III/II)

Comrade Minister's instruction on the extract: “Comrade Földesi, Let’s discuss it.”<sup>208</sup>

Comrade Deputy Minister's instruction on the extract: “Comrade Rédei, please report on the meeting.”<sup>209</sup>

*(signature)*  
P.<sup>210</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky  
Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 8 pages  
Photocopied: 7 copies  
Submitted to: Comrade Secretary of State  
Received: according to distribution

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<sup>206</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document  
<sup>207</sup> Translator's note: Police  
<sup>208</sup> Translator's note: Handwritten note  
<sup>209</sup> Translator's note: Handwritten note  
<sup>210</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Ministry of the Interior  
Secretariat of the Deputy Minister of State Security**

*Top secret!  
Particularly important!*

45/78/10/218/1984

Classification cancelled  
(signature)<sup>211</sup>

I approve:

*(signature)*

Jenő Földesi

P.<sup>212</sup> Lieutenant General

Deputy Minister

**Daily operations information report**

No. 218

6 October 1984, Budapest

Other events, information

12./ “Carlos”, the leader of the international terrorist organisation “Arm of the World Revolution”, after a short stay in Budapest, travelled to Damascus on 3<sup>rd</sup> of the current month.

At present “Steve”, “Ali” and “Liza” are staying in Budapest, but during the week they leave Hungary.

The information is reliable, verified.

Measures: The confidential investigation is continued.

(III/II)

*(signature)*

P.<sup>213</sup> Colonel Béla Vagyóczky

Head of Secretariat

Made: 1 copy 9 pages

Photocopied: 8 copies

Submitted to: Comrade Minister

Comrade Secretary of State

Received: according to distribution

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<sup>211</sup> Translator's note: Stamped on the document

<sup>212</sup> Translator's note: Police

<sup>213</sup> Translator's note: Police

**Manifestations of the international terrorism and  
experiences of counteracting it in the Hungarian People's Republic**

Published in the Information Bulletin of the MOI III/II. Directorate No. 22, 6 May 1988

In the last one and a half decade, especially in some developed capitalist countries and in several countries of the third world, terrorist attacks on various targets have significantly increased. Between 1968 and 1987 more than five thousand terrorist acts have been committed, every fifth of which was targeted directly at physical integrity of persons. The number of the dead and seriously wounded has now exceeded four and a half thousand. The material and moral damage caused by terrorism is almost inestimable, and also the political damage cannot be underestimated that is caused by these acts, as the majority of the terrorist organizations declare themselves to be “leftist”.

Our experience is that the secret service organs of some countries (USA, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Syria, Iran, etc.) strive to infiltrate into the terrorist organizations in order to manipulate international terrorism. They aim to achieve that the actions should not be targeted at their interests, on the one hand and on the other, that the effect of the [terrorist] activities should be favourable for them.

We also found that some Arab and other countries provide direct support to these extremist organizations. This support is realized by actual financial aid and providing diplomatic passports and other documents, but there is also evidence that the secret service organs of the above countries closely cooperate and are interwoven with some terrorist organizations.

### **Hungarian evaluation of international terrorism**

The government of the HPR<sup>214</sup> – in accordance with appropriate political decisions – distances itself from the international terrorist organizations, their aims and activity, and declares that nothing can be solved by terrorist means, that rather cause harm and political damage especially to the progressive political movements.

In Hungarian politics, however, the national liberation movements and their struggles are not listed in the category of terrorism, as they are in imperialist politics.

The experiences of recent years have confirmed that the activities of international terrorist organizations revive, decline and then are reactivated again and again in consequence of the recurring and growing tensions based on inherent contradictions of imperialism (discriminatory repressive measures directed against people, groups of people, or whole peoples, creating regional trouble spots, etc.), and in general, the deepening crisis of imperialism.

We are facing a dangerous phenomenon that has a rich breeding ground and deep roots. The imperialism gave and is giving birth to terrorism, which has nothing to do with the struggle of the two world systems, to the socialist countries or the communist and progressive movements. It is important to emphasize all this, for the imperialist propaganda wants to prove at all costs that it is the communist movement that encourages and generates terrorism.

Of course, this is not the case. Quite the contrary, the political system of the socialist countries objectively excludes any antagonistic class contradictions that serve as a breeding ground for terrorism. The upswing in international terrorism perceptible in the world has a negative effect also on the countries of the socialist community.

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<sup>214</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian People's Republic

Six-eight years ago international terrorism posed merely a potential risk to the Hungarian People's Republic. Today, however, it is realistic to reckon with the fact that our country, our citizens, our national interests are directly threatened by terrorism, and even actual signs of this dangerous situation became perceptible.

At present the interests of the HPR<sup>215</sup> are jeopardized primarily by extremist organizations functioning in the Near and Middle East. Most of these organizations are characterized by intense fanaticism, in some cases motivated by religious or anti-communist background. Their existence and operating conditions are basically provided by the acute trouble spots developed in the region (the Palestinian issue, the aggressive, expansive policy of Israel, the complex situation developed in Lebanon, the protracted war of Iraq and Iran, the vulnerability of the Persian Gulf). Every steps and measures that negatively affect their interests are assessed as hostile, to which they react threateningly.

As yet there is no information suggesting that the terrorist organizations functioning in Western Europe would plan actions in other regions outside Western Europe. According to our current data, no socialist countries are included among their targets. Primarily their occasional travels in the socialist countries are expected. The activities of other, right-wing, fascist, nationalist, and extremist religious organizations also pose a threat to the socialist countries.

The concerted action initiated by the USA and the NATO allies against international terrorism increases the risk of some terrorist organizations turning towards our country. The territory of the socialist countries is more likely attempted to be used for hiding, resting, arranging meetings and organizing actions than earlier.

NATO countries have concluded that the methods and tools used in the field of counter-terrorism so far have not had the desired effect. In this area further progress will be ensured by the implementation of cooperation with the socialist countries, they say. It cannot be excluded that, if necessarily, they will even try to enforce willingness to cooperate by inspiring a terrorist organization to actions detrimental to the interests of the socialist countries, or by manipulating it in order to achieve this goal. Our country has taken the position of limited cooperation.

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<sup>215</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian People's Republic



## **Terrorist activity towards the HPR<sup>216</sup>**

In the past three years there have been more than twenty attempts at terrorist attacks or terrorist threats against installations of the HPR<sup>217</sup> in capitalist foreign [countries] or to the prejudice of our citizens working there. Such as:

- In 1985 unknown perpetrators carried out a bombing at the building of the partly Hungarian-owned Central Weschel Bank [sic] in Vienna.
- In 1986 the Peruvian terrorist organization called “MRTA”<sup>218</sup> placed a home-made explosive on the fence of the Hungarian commercial branch office in Lima. The device did not explode due to technical problems, but the intent to bomb was evident.
- In 1986 the “Abu Nidal” group threatened also our country in a leaflet because of the expanding relations with the state of Israel.
- In January 1987 our embassy in Bayreuth had to be closed, as the fanatic religious organisation called “Hezbollah” prepared to implement an action against it.
- In January 1987 an unknown person shot at our embassy in Aden.
- In May 1987 unknown perpetrators exploded a bomb in the office building housing the MALÉV agency in Kuwait.

There was also a terrorist attack implemented in the territory of our country:

- 13 January 1987 was carried out against the Budapest ambassador to the Republic of Colombia.

The territory of the HPR<sup>219</sup> has been used on several occasions by certain extremist groups and individuals to gain access to the scene of terrorist campaigns or to flee. For example:

- In 1983 two members of the Armenian terrorist group called “ASALA” travelled to Yugoslavia via our country, where they killed the Belgrade ambassador to Turkey.
- Two Arab assassins participating in the terrorist attack in the Vienna airport in December 1985 reached Vienna via our country as well.
- Abou Abbas, leader of the group that carried out the terrorist attack on the Italian luxury liner “Achille Lauro”, attempted to hide in our country from calling to account.

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<sup>216</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian People's Republic

<sup>217</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian People's Republic

<sup>218</sup> Translator's note: Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement

<sup>219</sup> Translator's note: Hungarian People's Republic

Today the international terrorist organizations, taking advantage of the mass tourism and the openness of our country, use our territory primarily for

- transit purposes
- conducting meetings
- searching for potential agents
- resting and receiving treatments
- establishing bases
- preparing for actions
- deploying long-term contingent

### **Domestic terrorism**

Past experience shows that domestic terrorism (launched by Hungarian citizens) has no social basis, and thus the conditions of organic functioning could not develop, either. However, it is realistic to take into account that terrorist actions carried out by international terrorist organizations can serve as a model and can encourage some of our citizens to prepare, attempt at or implement terrorist attacks.

The following seem to support this:

- According to data collected so far, international crime try to build relations with the criminal circles of our country.
- The increase in the number of marginalized people, drug addicts, offenders of ordinary crimes, extremist, hostile opposition elements and malcontents may widen the range of those who has to be taken into account as potential perpetrators.

The following facts indicate that the danger is real:

- The number of anonymous threats has doubled in three years.
- The number of crimes that was specifically motivated by the acquisition of firearms or explosive has also increased.
- The number of high-value robberies representing serious social hazard has increased. The perpetrators used guns as a coercive tool, and occasionally were not even deterred from the most serious offence.

### **State security activity related to terrorist organizations**

Home affairs organs, recognizing in time the danger inherent in the activity of international terrorist organizations, have taken the necessary measures.

## The major terrorist organizations

### AKTIONSFRONT NATIONALER SOZIALISTEN (ANS)

Ger.<sup>220</sup>

Action Front of National Socialists. Right-wing terrorist organisation in the FRG<sup>221</sup>.

### ANTIFASCHISTISCHER KAMPF (ANTIFA)

Antifascist Struggle. Pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation in the FRG<sup>222</sup>.

### ALPHA-66

A terrorist organisation functioning in the USA that consists of Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

### ASOCIACIÓN DE REPÚBLICA NACIONAL (ARENA)

Sp.<sup>223</sup>

National Republican Association. Extreme right-wing terrorist organisation in San Salvador. The notorious death brigades functioned under its direction.

### AUTONOMIA

Pseudo-left-wing Italian terrorist organisation.

### AVANGUARDIA NAZIONALE

National Vanguard. Neo-fascist terrorist organisation in Italy.

### AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA

Revolutionary Action. Neo-fascist terrorist organisation in Italy.

### ARDITI

Stormtroopers. Neo-fascist terrorist organisation in Italy.

### ALIANZA ANTICOMMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL (AAI)

International Anti-Communist Alliance. International terrorist organisation including Spanish, Portugal and Belgian neo-fascists.

### ALIANZA ANTICOMMUNISTA ARGENTINA

Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance. Neo-fascist terrorist organisation functioning in Argentina.

### ACHTUNG

Attention. International terrorist organisation including West German, Dutch and Belgian neo-fascists.

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<sup>220</sup> Translator's note: German

<sup>221</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>222</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>223</sup> Translator's note: Spanish

#### BRIGATE ROSSE

It.<sup>224</sup>

Red Brigades. Italian ultra left-wing terrorist organisation.

#### BRIGAD 88 [sic]

Fascist terrorist organisation in England, which became notorious for letter bombs. The 8 and 8 indicate the eighth letter of the alphabet, thus mean H.H., which refer to the greeting of the Nazis, "Heil Hitler".

#### ZIONIST MILITARY RESISTANCE

Illegal nationalist terrorist organisation, the cells of which function in various countries of the capitalist world.

#### COMMANDO NULLA

Terrorist organisation that consists of Cuban counter-revolutionary emigrés.

#### COMITATO ANTICOMUNISTA PER LA DIFESA DEL POPOLO

Anti-Communist Committee for the Defence of the People. Neo-fascist terrorist organisation in Italy.

#### CIRCULO ESPANOL [sic] DE AMIGOS DE EUROPA (CEDADE)

[Spanish] Circle of Friends of Europe. Spanish fascist terrorist organisation.

#### COORDINATION COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION

The umbrella organisation of the Cuban counter-revolutionary terrorist organizations in the USA.

#### ETA

Basque nationalist-terrorist organisation, which functions in Spain and France.

#### EXERCITO DA LIBERACAO PORTUGUÉS [sic]

Portuguese Liberation Army. Fascist terrorist organisation functioning in Portugal.

#### WHITE HAND

Right-wing Brazilian terrorist organisation, which killed some 3000 left-wing people between 1964 and 1976.

#### FP-25

Terrorist organisation in Portugal established in 1980.

#### FRATELLANZA ARIANA

Aryan Brotherhood. Italian neo-fascist, racist terrorist organisation.

#### FRONT DE LA JEUNESSE

Fr.<sup>225</sup>

Front of Youth. Right-wing terrorist organisation in Belgium.

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<sup>224</sup> Translator's note: Italian  
<sup>225</sup> Translator's note: French

FRONT DE LIBERATION NATIONALE CORSE (FLNC)

Fr.<sup>226</sup>

Corsican National Liberation Front. Illegal nationalist-terrorist organisation, which wants to achieve autonomy or separation through terrorist methods.

FRONTE DELLA GIOVENTÙ

It.<sup>227</sup>

Youth Front. Italian neo-fascist terrorist organisation extensively linked with the South American military juntas.

GIUSTIZIERI D'ITALIA

Executioners of Italy. Italian neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

GRUPPI ARMATI RIVOLUZIONARI

Revolutionary Armed Groups. Italian neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

GUARDIA DE FRANCO

Franco's Guard. Spanish fascist terrorist organisation.

GUERRILLEROS DE CRISTO REY

Guerrillas of Christ the King. Spanish fascist terrorist organisation.

GUSH EMUNIM

Isr.<sup>228</sup>

Bloc of the Faithful. Israeli radical ultra-orthodox illegal terrorist organisation.

GRAPO

Pseudo-left-wing Spanish terrorist organisation.

GRUPO DE LA RESISTENCIA ANTIFASCISTA PRIMERO DE OCTUBRE [sic]

1 October Anti-Fascist Resistance Group. Pseudo-left-wing Spanish terrorist organisation.

HERMANIDAD DE ALFÉRECES [sic]

Brotherhood of Ensigns. Spanish fascist terrorist organisation.

HIAS

Neo-fascist terrorist organisation in the FRG<sup>229</sup>.

HRR

Croatian Revolutionary Movement. Croatian nationalist terrorist organisation, which implement terrorist acts against Yugoslavia.

IRA – IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY [sic]

Eng.<sup>230</sup>

Irish nationalist terrorist organisation.

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<sup>226</sup> Translator's note: French

<sup>227</sup> Translator's note: Italian

<sup>228</sup> Translator's note: Israeli

<sup>229</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>230</sup> Translator's note: English

2 JUNE [sic]

West German pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation.

KOMMANDO SIGFRIED HAUSNER

West German pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation.

KAMPFGRUPPE GROSSDEUTSCHLAND

Battle Group Greater Germany. Fascist terrorist organisation in the FRG<sup>231</sup>.

SPECIAL FORCES OF ANTI-COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS

Counter-revolutionary terrorist organization in Nicaragua organized from Somozist guardsmen.

LEAGUE OF ST. GEORGE

Eng.<sup>232</sup>

League of Saint George. Extreme right-wing terrorist organisation in England.

MOVIMIENTO DE ACCIÓN REVOLUCIONARIA

Revolutionary Action Movement. Spanish Pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation.

MILICIA ANTICOMUNISTA ESPANOLA

Spanish Anti-Communist Militia. Spanish fascist terrorist organisation.

MOVIMIENTO NACIONAL DE CUBA (MNC)

Cuban National Movement. One of the terrorist organisations of the Cuban counter-revolutionary émigrés.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Right-wing terrorist organisation functioning on an orthodox religious basis in the Arab states

NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN ARBEITERPARTEI

Ger.<sup>233</sup>

National Socialist Democratic Workers' Party. Neo-fascist organisation functioning illegally in the FRG<sup>234</sup>, which also organize terrorist acts.

ALLIANCE OF NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARIES [sic]

Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation.

NICARAGUAN LIBERATION ARMY

Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation.

NIETSCHE

The terrorist organisation of Croatian and Greek fascists functioning in Western Europe.

NUCLEI ARMATI RIVOLUZIONARI (NAR)

Revolutionary Armed Cells. Italian pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation.

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<sup>231</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

<sup>232</sup> Translator's note: English

<sup>233</sup> Translator's note: German

<sup>234</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

OCCIDENT

Fr.<sup>235</sup>

Right-wing terrorist organisation in west Belgium.

ODESSA

West German neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

OMEGA-7

Cuban counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation.

ORDINE NUOVO

New Order. Italian neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

ORDINE NERO

Black Order. Italian neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

ORDRE NOUVEAU

New Order. French neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

ARMENIAN LIBERATION ARMY

Nationalist terrorist organisation that organize anti-Turkish actions worldwide.

POTERE OPERAIO

Workers' Power. Italian pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation.

PARTIDO ESPANOL NACIONALSOCIALISTA (PENS)

Spanish National Socialist Party. Spanish fascist organisation, which also organize terrorist acts.

REVOLUZIONAREN ZELLE (RE)

Revolutionary Cells. West German pseudo-left-wing terrorist organisation.

SERVICE D'ACTION CIVIQUE

Fr.<sup>236</sup>

Civic Action Service. Semi-fascist organisation established in 1958 that has bases mainly in the south of France and Corsica. Its terrorist acts are targeted against the Left.

SENDERO LUMINOSO

Shining Path. Ultra-left terrorist organisation established in Peru in the 1970s.

SCIA DELLA VANDEA

Followers of Vanée. Terrorist organisation that consists of Italian and French neo-fascists.

SQUADRE D'AZIONE MUSSOLINI

Mussolini Action Squads. Italian neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

GREY WOLVES

Turkish neo-fascist terrorist organisation, which has significant forces in the FRG<sup>237</sup>.

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<sup>235</sup> Translator's note: French

<sup>236</sup> Translator's note: French

#### TOUJOURS

Always. French neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

#### TURKISH-ISLAMIC UNION

Turkish neo-fascist terrorist organisation.

#### VOLKSOZIALISTISCHEN BEWEGUNG (VSB)

Peoples's Socialist Movement. Extreme right-wing terrorist organisation functioning in the FRG<sup>238</sup>, which carries out armed actions, eg. 24 December 1980 on the FRG<sup>239</sup>-Swiss border.

#### VOLKSSOZIALISTISCHE BEWEGUNG DEUTSCHLANDS (VSBd)

Ger.<sup>240</sup>

People's Socialist Movement of Germany. Right-wing terrorist organisation in the FRG<sup>241</sup>.

#### VOORPOST

Forward [sic]. Right-wing terrorist organisation in Belgium.

#### VLAAMSE MILITANTEN ORDE

Fr.<sup>242</sup> [sic]

Order of Flemish Militants. Neo-fascist terrorist organisation in Belgium.

#### WEHRSPORTGRUPPE HOFFMANN

Self-defensive Sports Group Hoffmann [sic]. Illegal neo-fascist paramilitary organisation functioning in the FRG<sup>243</sup>.

#### WHITE POWER

White Power. Racist, right-wing terrorist organisation functioning in the USA.

#### WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (WAL)

World Anti-Communist League. Extreme right-wing international terrorist organisation.

#### YUKO MISHIMO

International terrorist organisation including Japanese, Greek and Singaporean neo-fascists.

#### COMMITTEE OF 75

Cuban émigré terrorist organisation.

#### BRIGADE 2506

Cuban émigré terrorist organisation.

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<sup>237</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)  
<sup>238</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)  
<sup>239</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)  
<sup>240</sup> Translator's note: German  
<sup>241</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)  
<sup>242</sup> Translator's note: French  
<sup>243</sup> Translator's note: Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)



