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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
40761	MEMO	TO NICHOLAS PLATT RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON COUNTER TERRORISM <i>R 10/4/2016 M404/1</i>	2	7/10/1986	B1
40762	PAPER	RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON COUNTER TERRORISM (SAME TEXT AS 40695)	5	ND	B1
40763	MEMO	WALTER RAYMOND AND MANDEL TO POINDEXTER RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON LIBYA AND TERRORISM <i>R 10/4/2016 M404/1</i>	2	7/1/1986	B1
40764	MEMO	MARVIN STONE TO POINDEXTER RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY WORKING GROUP ON COUNTERING LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM (SAME AS 40513) <i>R 10/5/2016 M404/1</i>	1	ND	B1
40765	SUMMARY	OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN RE COUNTERING LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM (ATTACHMENT TO 40764) (SAME AS 40508) <i>R 10/5/2016 M404/1</i>	1	ND	B1
40767	PLAN	RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY RE COUNTERING LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM (SAME TEXT AS 40514) <i>R 10/5/2016 M404/1</i>	12	ND	B1

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40768	MEMO	MARVIN STONE TO POINDEXTER RE NSC MEMO OM MAY 19 <i>R 10/4/2016 M404/1</i>	2	6/20/1986	B1
40792	MEMO	WALTER RAYMOND TO POINDEXTER RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON COUNTER TERRORISM (SAME TEXT AS 40693) <i>R 10/5/2016 M404/1</i>	2	6/12/1986	B1
40793	MEMO	TO SECRETARY SHULTZ RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON COUNTER TERRORISM (ATTACHMENT TO 40792) (SAME TEXT AS 40694) <i>R 10/5/2016 M404/1</i>	2	ND	B1
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CURRENT NEWS SPECIAL EDITION



2 July 1986

TERRORISM

No. 1458

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A WARNING TO TERRORISTS

'WE'LL PROTECT OUR CITIZENS'

Retaliatory strikes against Libya demonstrate the United States will use force in response to unlawful acts of aggression, including terrorism. But are we safe on the home front? Vice President George Bush answers this and other questions in this exclusive interview.

American Legion Magazine: How can we deal with terrorism without dealing with the nations that support it—not only Libya, but also Syria and Iran, which surely aided in the bombing of the U.S. Marines' quarters in Lebanon?

Vice President Bush: Nations that practice terrorism or actively support it will not do so without consequence. If there is evidence that a nation is mounting or intends to conduct an act of terrorism against this country, the United States will take measures to protect its citizens, property and interests. U.S. military counter-terrorist forces are well-equipped, superbly trained and highly capable of responding, as we saw on April 14, 1986, if the President determines that a situation can and needs to be resolved by the expeditious and controlled use of our military.

There also are other ways besides force to battle terrorism. The United States can respond politically and economically. Political or economic sanctions directed against sponsoring nations offer the least direct danger to lives and property and are more likely to gain international support. Such sanctions could stimulate internal domestic opposition to a government's support for terrorists, particularly if other nations join in. Unfortunately, multilateral sanctions are difficult to organize and even then may not be effective. Since no two

Vice President George Bush recently directed a six-month-long task force on combating terrorism.

terrorist incidents are ever identical, in each case, the use of all the sanctions against sponsoring states must be carefully weighed against other foreign policy objectives. Sadly, there are no simple solutions.

Q. The President says terrorists can run but not hide—but it seems they are now doing both. What can the United States do to catch and punish these criminals?

A. Catching terrorists and bringing them to justice can be a very difficult and complex task. During the six-month-long Task Force on Combating Terrorism, we found that international cooperation is an important weapon in the fight against terrorism. International terrorism requires an international response. More and more nations recognize that unilateral programs for combating terrorism are not sufficient. Agreements with like-minded governments are critical if we are to achieve long-term success, and they must be accomplished through better cooperation. We recommend that the State Department continue to seek this cooperation in four ways: First, through general resolutions from the United

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BUSH...Continued

Nations and other specialized organizations. Second, by binding conventions on acts such as hijacking and hostage-taking. Third, by revising extradition treaties to close existing loopholes to ensure that terrorists can be brought to trial. And fourth, by taking additional measures to strengthen security at international airports and seaports. Violent terrorist acts are crimes. The United States will make every effort to investigate, apprehend and prosecute terrorists as the criminals that they are.

Q. How can our intelligence services do a better job of finding out and alerting us to terrorist attacks?

A. From the outset of the task force deliberations, we recognized the pivotal role played by intelligence in the national effort to combat terrorism. We found that the current intelligence produced on terrorism should be more predictive, with greater emphasis on the type of information needed by senior decision makers. Therefore, we recommended forming a consolidated intelligence center specializing in terrorism, where a cadre of experts from various government departments and agencies could routinely and continually analyze and process intelligence generic to the threat. We also recommended more exchanges of intelligence information with like-minded foreign governments, international law enforcement agencies and national-level police organizations. I believe that one of the real keys to beating terrorists lies in having good and timely intelligence.

Q. Why can't the United States train sympathetic indigenous peoples in underground war tactics and turn them loose on the Abu Nidal types, or on the fanatics holding Americans hostage somewhere in Lebanon?

A. The support of sympathetic groups in the fight against terrorism certainly remains one of our options. In this vein, the task force recommended an expansion of our efforts in the area of human intelligence collection, which is so vital in penetrating terrorist groups and their support systems. We also recommended that this effort should be directed against those states that are sponsoring these activities. While we usually associate terrorism with the Middle East, a very serious problem exists much closer to our borders. More terrorist acts were directed at U.S. citizens in Latin America last year than in any other region. Both Nicaragua and Cuba have been implicated in this activity. Our support of the Contra cause against the Sandinistas is, in part, to ensure that we are not going to have a terrorist beachhead right in our own hemisphere within a few hours' flying time of our nation.

Q. The U.S. Navy and its air arm have been placed on the front lines of this vicious war. Do you see any acceleration of this role?

A. The 6th Fleet carrier battle groups have conducted regularly scheduled exercises in the Mediterranean Sea and will continue to do so under our legal rights of freedom of navigation in international waters. Libya attempted to violate those rights by the use of force and we had to deal with it in kind. While I don't see any major acceleration of these

maneuvers I would like to clarify our policy regarding the use of force.

Our principles of justice will not permit random retaliation against groups and countries. However, when perpetrators of terrorism can be identified and located, our policy is to act against terrorism without surrendering our basic freedoms or endangering democratic values. We are prepared to act in concert with our friends, or alone when necessary, to prevent or respond to terrorist acts. While there are many ways to fight terrorism, we must be realistic; a successful deterrent strategy may sometimes require the occasional judicious use of military force to resolve an incident. The actions we took in Libya were taken in this vein.

Q. We in the West see Palestinian terrorist acts as barbaric and inhuman, but they seem to draw blanket support from all Arab nations. Why?

A. We must understand that the motivations of terrorists are many and varied, with activities spanning industrial societies and underdeveloped regions. Approximately 60 percent of the Third World population is under 20 years of age; half are 15 years or less. These population pressures create a volatile mixture of youthful aspirations that, when coupled with economic and political frustrations, help form a large group of potential terrorists. Many terrorists have a deep belief in the justice of their cause. Because of intense ethnic and religious ties, these groups often obtain some degree of support from the local population even though these people may not fully endorse their terrorist methods. The Arab world is one of intense regional loyalty. While Arab states publicly appear to support other Arab states involved in terrorism, they have themselves been the objects of terrorism and, as I found on my 10-day visit to the Arabian peninsula, they privately are very opposed to terrorism.

Q. Even while we wave the big stick of the Mediterranean 6th Fleet, what could or should the United States be doing to help correct the root causes of terrorism, such as the despair of the uprooted Palestinians?

A. Solving the root cause of terrorism occupies a prominent place in our strategy to contain this threat. Terrorism is motivated by a range of real and perceived injustices that span virtually every facet of human activity. These resulting grievances provide a base for recruitment and the terrorist's justification of violence. A cooperative international effort to mitigate the source of grievances, such as pursuing the peace process in the Middle East, is an essen-

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Portrait of terrorist combines daring, caution

By Edward Dufner
Staff Writer of The News

Terrorists favor bombs over guns, adhere to the teachings of Karl Marx and follow well-trained leaders who have been steeled by a decade or more of extremist violence. And when they launch an attack, they succeed about 90 percent of the time.

Risks International Inc., an Alexandria, Va.-based private intelligence firm, sketched this portrait of terrorism based on computer studies of more than 25,000 incidents worldwide from 1970 through the end of 1985.

From this data emerges a picture of a formidable, heavily armed foe that will select targets based on both their terror value and vulnerability to attack. Moreover, a number of groups now are flexing their muscles as never before, challenging the police and military in more brazen attacks, according to anti-terrorism experts.

"There's been a deliberate effort in the last three years to cause more casualties," said Robert B. Oakley,

acting U.S. ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism.

"We have to understand the meaning and power of hate," Howard R. Simpson, a retired Foreign Service officer and consultant on terrorism, warned last year in the *Foreign Service Journal*. "Only if we have some knowledge of what influences, impulses and emotions are affecting his or her thinking can we counter those actions."

Eugene Mastrangelo, senior analyst for Risks International, said his firm's study has found that the average terrorist is a young man, typically between the ages of 20 and 23, and single or separated.

The study examined terrorist incidents of both the right and left, but found that the ideology of most of the operatives could be classified as Marxist. This typical terrorist wasn't driven to political extremes by poverty; rather, he is the product of a middle- or upper-class family and has an average of 2½ years of university education.

Indeed, terrorists frequently recruit on college campuses, seeking

out student leaders whose activism can be channeled into extremism.

Other anti-terrorist experts, corporate security directors and State Department officials echoed the conclusions of the Risks International study. They stressed the importance of viewing terrorists as well-trained and as motivated by a specific policy goal.

Organized terrorist groups virtually without exception rely on training provided by sympathetic governments — Libya, Syria, Iran or South Yemen among them, according to private and government officials.

To guard against penetration by hostile intelligence services, the foot soldiers of terrorism generally are split into small cells, operating independently and often unaware of their comrades' identities.

Contrary to popular opinion, experts say, most terrorists are not suicidal, and their desire to survive can be seen in their weapons, choice of targets and tactics.

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BUSH...Continued

tial yet complicated and long-term objective. There is no easy fix, the issues are complex, highly emotional and seldom amenable to outside solutions. However, our efforts to support democratic societies that guarantee personal freedoms will continue to be the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy.

Q. The Soviet Union has often been accused of supporting terrorism, even though Soviet representatives recently fell victim to Moslem extremists in Lebanon. Do the Soviets really support terrorism? Or is this one area where the U.S. and USSR might eventually find ways to cooperate?

A. Direct Soviet control of terrorist groups has not been proven and, additionally, appears unlikely. However, a considerable body of evidence has been accumulated that indicates that the Soviets indirectly assist terrorism in many parts of the world. The majority of this support consists of training, weapons and operational assistance through Soviet surrogates

such as Cuba and Nicaragua. The recent hostage-taking of Soviet diplomats in Lebanon, coupled with the United Nations' first unequivocal resolution condemning terrorism, indicates a developing consensus among all nations, including the Soviets, that terrorism is unacceptable international behavior. The United States remains willing to cooperate with the Soviets in eradicating this threat.

Q. When will terrorism strike here in America? How can we act to prevent it or minimize the damage?

A. While the number of terrorist acts outside our borders increased dramatically in the past three years, incidents within the United States have declined. This can be attributed in part to the success of the Department of Justice, the FBI and local law enforcement agencies.

Reduced terrorism within the United States is also attributable to the apparent judgment of most international terrorist groups that it is easier and safer for them to target Americans overseas rather than within the United States.

Despite this outstanding track record in combating domestic terrorism, our vulnerability lies paradoxically in the very strength of our open society and highly sophisticated infrastructure. Transportation, energy, communications, finance, industry, defense and government itself rely on intricate inter-related networks. Given these inherent vulnerabilities, and the fact that Americans are increasingly the targets of terrorist attacks outside the United States, it is apparent that a potentially serious domestic threat could exist in the future. Incidents such as Qaddafi's statement that Libya will attack "American citizens in their own streets" and the establishment of a terrorist beachhead in Nicaragua only serve to underscore the potential danger.

International terrorism poses a complex, dangerous threat for which there is no quick or easy solution. The recommendations of our task force will significantly improve America's capability for combating this threat. As long as vicious attacks against our citizens continue, terrorism will remain a top priority in this country. □

PORTRAIT...Continued

In choosing targets, terrorists seek a balance between incidents sure to generate maximum publicity and fear, and chances for success. In recent years, as the U.S. government and American businesses have moved to defend their installations, this has meant a singling out of more unsuspecting American civilians, such as tourists.

"The hijacking of a planeload of vacationers can get the (public's) juices flowing much more vigorously than can a series of letter bombs or an occasional political assassination," psychologists Jeffrey Z. Rubin and Nehemia Friedland observed in the March issue of *Psychology Today*.

Bombs remain the weapon of choice, Mastrangelo said, because of their destructiveness and the safety available to the terrorists in the placement of the device hours or days before it detonates.

Assassinations, which generally involve a direct, up-close confrontation with the target to ensure accurate gunfire, are common but less numerous than bombings. Mastrangelo said terrorists rely less on kidnappings, and hijack planes only infrequently.

So-called facility attacks, involving the storming of an installation where the terrorists know they will encounter security forces, are perhaps the most daring assaults, because they require more firepower and personnel.

Experts say that care in selecting targets and tactics has produced success rates approaching 90 percent: The terrorists won't proceed with an attack unless they feel certain of success.

"At the attack site, it's already too late" to foil terrorists, said Gerald O. Smith, who teaches courses in evasive driving for BSR Inc. in Summit Point, W.Va.

These cautious, calculating methods, the experts added, have left most terrorist groups with a core of seasoned leaders in their 30s, who have been fighting for a decade or more.

"You're either in jail, you're dead or you're good," Mastrangelo said. "They don't have any alumni meetings."

Claude Watkins, a consultant

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH 23 Apr 86 Pg. B1

4 military bases get bomb threats

Times-Dispatch state staff

NORFOLK — Anonymous bomb threats have prompted at least three Hampton Roads area military installations and a fourth near Hopewell to increase security, authorities said.

Security was beefed up Monday night and yesterday at Fort Eustis in Newport News, Fort Story in Virginia Beach and at Langley Air Force Base in Hampton, and since the weekend at Fort Lee near Hopewell.

"It really wasn't an alert, [but] the responsible thing to do in a situation like this is to pass [word of the threat] on," Norfolk FBI agent Lee Quick said of a bomb threat received Monday.

"We learned about it from our Richmond office [Monday] night and

we notified all the military bases in our area that we had an anonymous, non-specific bomb threat."

Quick said the FBI was following standard procedure in calling the bases, and it was left to the individual commanders to determine an appropriate response.

"As you know, bomb threats are a dime a dozen," Quick said. "Perhaps this one took on a little added significance because of recent world events."

Increased security checks at Fort Eustis backed up rush-hour traffic yesterday morning for nearly five miles on Interstate 64.

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and retired Defense Department analyst who specializes in hostage situations, said terrorists also attach great importance to freeing captured comrades.

The belief that, even if captured, a terrorist may still escape prosecution combines with the high success rate to keep up morale.

"If they know that nine times out of 10 they're going to win . . . that's a fairly good motivating factor. I don't know that many military operations that have that kind of a success rate," Mastrangelo said.

Mastrangelo noted these tendencies among terrorists in praising the U.S. attack on Libya last week, saying that groups planning to strike Americans will have to factor in not only any immediate threat from security forces but the possibility of reprisals later.

"One of the most important things in this whole business of terrorism is being unpredictable," he said. "I am quite delighted that we've introduced a joker into the game. . . . The fact that we are now unpredictable, it's totally changed the rules of engagement."

PROFILE OF TERRORISM

TYPICAL TERRORIST

Age: 20 to 23

Sex: Male, although the number of women is rising

Marital status: Single or separated

Social origin: Middle- or upper-class urban family

Ideology: Marxist

Education: 2.5 years of college

Typical terrorist hit team: 3 members

Average number of victims: 2.4

TYPICAL VICTIMS:

Assassinations: Police officers, government officials, military personnel, diplomats, business executives

Bombings: Businesses, banks, utilities, government offices, military facilities

Kidnappings: Business executives, government officials

ATTACKS WORLDWIDE, 1985

Assassinations: 374

Bombings: 1,527

Facility attacks: 990

Hijackings: 10

Kidnappings: 109

■ Risks International says that a terrorist attack is any violent act, directed at innocent civilians, that is carried out by a group trying to attract attention to a particular cause.

Source: Risks International

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE

28 April 1986 Pg. 1

U.S. Businesses In West Europe Are Prime Target For Terrorists

BY EVANS JOHNSON
New York City Tribune Staff

The slogan painted in red on the walls of a building in Lyons, France, that was damaged in a terror bombing Saturday said it clearly: "Black & Decker, American Express, Control Data — U.S. Go Home."

Although there was some speculation that the incident might have been directed against Black & Decker because of its decision to prosecute a reputed organized crime figure for theft, the explosion was part of a series of terror strikes against Western businesses and personnel in the wake of the American bombing of Libya. The fact that terrorists have targeted American businesses in Europe, instead of in the volatile Middle East, is no surprise to those who make their living by studying terrorism.

Despite the identification of the Middle East with terror, and despite the

label Iran, Syria and Libya have earned as states that "sponsor" terrorism, the region has remained nearly terror-free for American businesses — except for Lebanon, where a state of near-anarchy reigns.

Last year, according to the State Department, there were 14 separate attacks on American businesses in Europe. In the Middle East, beyond Beirut, there were none. U.S. multinational firms operating in Spain and Belgium were the preferred targets. There were six attacks in Spain, three in Belgium, two in Greece (both against Citibank) and one each in Denmark, West Germany and Cyprus.

The bombings in Spain were claimed by Iraultza, a group the State Department, in its booklet *Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Businesses Abroad*, calls "little more than a bomb squad."

The attacks in Belgium, though, were claimed by a group in the front ranks of Europe's Marxist revolutionaries, the Fighting Communist Cells (FCC).

Experts say that European terrorists are spurred on by the appeal of the "inevitable victory" of dialectical materialism, which also dictates many of their targets, namely, political and economic symbols of "imperialism" and "capitalism."

"Running through the mentality" of

Western European terrorist groups "is this Marxist perception, which clearly tells them that free enterprise is an instrument being used by the United States and the Western bloc to prevent the Hegelian dialectic from being realized," said Eugene Mastrangelo, specialist on terrorism at Risks International. The Virginia-based firm is regularly consulted by American companies wishing to do business overseas.

"If they [terrorists] can destroy NATO and the significant U.S. presence in Western Europe," Mastrangelo said, "then things can move ahead as they have been ordained."

In Greece, the U.S. government publication says, "International terrorists have found . . . a relatively hospitable environment in which to operate in recent years. The government's ambivalence toward left-wing extremism and uneven performance in providing security for likely terrorist targets contribute to the terrorist problem."

The booklet cites concern with "the re-emergence of the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) after a hiatus of nearly 2 years. ELA claimed credit for the Sept. 13 bombing of a branch of Citibank in Athens. "The ELA — an anti-capitalistic, anti-imperialist, and pro-communist terrorist organization

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

THREATS...Continued

After being notified of the threat, post spokeswoman Nanse Grady said 5- and 10-ton trucks were parked at the front gate Monday night. Incoming cars were forced to slow and wind their way around the trucks, she said.

Yesterday morning, one truck was still blocking the visitor's traffic lane and random identification and vehicle searches were being made, she said.

Army units at the post are specialists in transporting supplies and equipment. Conditions were expected to be back to normal this morning, a base spokesman said.

Minor delays also occurred at Fort Story where identification checks were made. A caller, described as a man with a foreign accent, called the Hopewell News at about 4:50 p.m. Monday and said "there were four loads of explosives," editor Kit Weigel told news services.

"The caller said, 'You'd better warn them because they're going after the 32 that the U.S. took'" and then

hung up, Weigel said.

The caller did not specify which military installation was the target. Weigel said the newspaper notified Fort Lee and Hopewell police.

Fort Lee is in Prince George County. It is headquarters for the Army Logistics Management Center and the Army Quartermaster School.

Fort Lee "has been increasing security awareness" but not through means that would be obvious to visitors, an Army spokesman said.

On Friday morning, Summerville Hall, the main building for the logistics center, was evacuated for several hours after an unidentified man telephoned the fort and claimed a bomb was inside. A search turned up nothing.

At Langley, Sgt. John Campbell said yesterday that guards began checking delivery trucks Monday night after being alerted by a "law enforcement agency" about the threat of a possible terrorist attack. He said the checks were not delaying traffic going onto the base, which is the headquarters of the Tactical Air

Command.

A spokesman at Fort Monroe said security had been increased, though it may not be obvious. The post is headquarters to the Army's Training and Doctrine Command. No identification checks are needed to get on Fort Monroe and the spokesman said that did not change yesterday.

At the Norfolk Naval Base, "we're already in a security alert," Navy Chief Troy Snead said. "We make random [vehicle and identification] checks all year long."

At the Oceana Naval Air Station in Virginia Beach, there were large traffic jams involving workers attempting to enter the base. But spokesman Ace Ewers said their identification and vehicle check was not related to the FBI's warning.

The Coast Guard center in Portsmouth was operating with "more [security] awareness," said Roger Friedt, senior special agent for the 5th Coast Guard District.

"Unfortunately, we can't take any of [the threats] as a hoax," he said.

BOSTON GLOBE 29 April 1986 Pg. 12

McFarlane says US, allies need clandestine antiterrorist network

By Robert Neer Jr.
Special to the Globe

The United States should develop a clandestine service to gather information on terrorists and take preemptive action against them in coordination with other governments, former national security adviser Robert McFarlane said last night in a speech at Harvard University.

"We need a truly clandestine service that is able to operate in foreign countries for the foremost purpose of gathering intelligence. But they must also, in cooperation with other governments, be able to move," McFarlane said.

He noted that there had been "intolerable abuses of such authority in past years." However, he said, congressional supervision could ensure that such activities were kept within proper bounds.

McFarlane said the United States was gripped by "a certain paralysis" on counter-terrorist policy and must consider its alternatives before an expected backlash to the US bombing raids against Libya materializes.

"A backlash will surely occur over the next few weeks. It must not occur in a policy vacuum," he said.

The remarks came just one day after Secretary of State George P. Shultz called for a more effective use of covert forces in counter-acting terrorism.

In his speech, McFarlane defended the US strike on Libya and compared the opposition of European allies to the action with appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s.

"A combination of greed and fear dominates terrorism policy in European capitals today and it's outrageous," he said.

McFarlane served as President Reagan's national security adviser from 1983 to 1985 and currently is a scholar at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies.

He is at Harvard for two days as a visiting fellow of the John F. Kennedy School of Government.

An effective response to terrorism must begin with education, McFarlane said. "The beginning of wisdom is to put aside the flaccid notion that there is a legitimate grievance in the vast majority of current terrorism," he said.

Perhaps 10 percent of the terrorist groups, McFarlane said, have demands that

BUSINESSES...Continued

— was most active in 1982, when it claimed responsibility for bombings at seven U.S. firms," the booklet says.

In West Germany last year, there was just a single anti-American strike — the bombing of an IBM office in West Berlin claimed by the Red Army Faction. However, terrorists hit several domestic banks, computer firms and automobile dealerships. The attacks have heightened concern for the security of Americans and U.S. facilities.

The situation is very different in the Middle East, because, Mastrangelo said, "the nature of the antagonists is different." In that region, where the word "assassin" originated, "with the exception of a few people who are still operating out of a Western framework, the Islamic fundamentalists — and those like [Moammar] Qaddafi who pay lip service to Islam, touching their heads to the rug five times a day and so forth — they are looking at a theocratic model [of society] where mullahs will control both the secular and the spiritual life.

"Businesses are so far down the line in terms of the perceived enemy, that they don't bother to go after them."

In fact, the businesses may be valued for their commercial activity, said Michael Kraft, assistant to Ambassador-at-Large for Counter-Terrorism Robert Oakley.

Rather than attack businesses that may actually be "helping their economies," Kraft said, "they're going after more spectacular things" — such as Western diplomatic military facilities and personnel.

As Mastrangelo put it, "Why trouble yourself knocking over a Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) restaurant, when

it's possible to destroy the American Embassy or a Marine barracks?" KFC franchises were a favored target last year in Peru.

Although terrorists in the Middle East "may not want to hurt the economic situation" now, Kraft said, this may change. "After the incidents in the Gulf of Sidra," he noted, "the Libyan news agency called for attacks on consultants and experts in the region.

"It occurred to me, they might hit people who are helping oil production and economies in some of Libya's rivals."

Mastrangelo concurred. Businesses may well become more attractive, he said, "as other targets diminish, as Western diplomatic staffs are pulled out" of nations such as Lebanon, Libya and Sudan.

Although they chose not to strike financial targets close to home last year, Middle Eastern terrorists struck in Europe, where they "increasingly endangered U.S. business interests in 1985," according to the State Department study.

The government recorded four separate incidents in Europe last year where Americans or U.S. firms were hurt by Middle Eastern terrorists:

- The hijacking of TWA Flight 847 out of Athens in June.
- The bombing of a TWA office in Spain in July.
- The destruction of a Northwest Orient Airlines office in Denmark in June.
- The twin massacres at TWA and Pan Am ticket counters in airports in Rome and Vienna in December.

The study does not mention the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship last summer, probably because it is Italian-owned.

contain "legitimate elements." He said that some of the demands of the Palestine Liberation Organization may arise from a "legitimate grievance."

Meese considers ousting Libyans

By John McCaslin
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Attorney General Edwin Meese III said yesterday he will discuss with the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the FBI whether the number of Libyans in the United States should be reduced.

Mr. Meese said if the review finds it is desirable to expel Libyans, the Justice Department "will take the necessary action."

"We have not discussed this yet, but we are planning to," Mr. Meese said at a news conference. He will discuss the matter with the two Justice Department agencies as early as next week, he said.

Mr. Meese returned last week from The Hague, Netherlands, where he held meetings on terrorism with law enforcement ministers from seven European Common Market countries.

FBI Director William H. Webster, who accompanied Mr. Meese to Europe, warned Feb. 28 that the large Libyan student population in the United States had "the potential to serve as an infrastructure to support terrorist activity."

Mr. Webster told a House Judiciary panel on civil and constitutional rights that planned violence by Libyan dissidents residing in the United States were among the 23 terrorist incidents the FBI prevented in 1985.

"Of the international groups active in the United States, we are most concerned about those associated with Libya and Iran. Both countries have large student populations in the United States.

"They are well organized through the medium of societies and clubs and we think elements of these groups have the potential to serve as an infrastructure to support terrorist activity," Mr. Webster said.

among European Economic Community ministers he met with was not only to reduce the staff at Libyan embassies in each of their countries, but "to see whether it might be desirable to reduce, generally, the Libyan population in their countries."

"It was indicated that this was a good idea for them, and I indicated we would be looking at it also," Mr. Meese said.

NEW YORK POST 29 April 1986 Pg. 58

RADICAL BOMBER GETS 53 YEARS

AN admitted revolutionary yesterday received a 53-year sentence in connection with a string of terrorist bombings.

Jaan Karl Laaman, 38, was sentenced to eight years in prison on each of five bombing counts, eight years for one attempted bombing and a maximum five years for conspiracy.

"All those terms will be consecutive," said U.S. District Judge I. Leo Glasser of Brooklyn in a quiet voice.

Laaman could have received up to 10 years on each of the bombing and attempted bombing counts.

Laaman and five other people, including his wife, Barbara Curzi, 28, were charged with conspiracy and 11 bombing counts stemming from 10 blasts and one bomb that did not explode between 1982 and 1984.

The targets were corporate offices and military installations in New York City, Westchester County and on Long Island.

No one was injured, but several sites sustained heavy damage.

The United Freedom Front, a shadowy underground group, claimed responsibility for the blasts to protest apartheid in South Africa and U.S. imperialism in Central America.

All six defendants, four men and two women, were convicted of conspiracy and the May 1983 bombings of an Army reserve center in Uniondale and a Navy reserve center in Queens. Several of the men also were convicted on other counts.

All six proclaimed their innocence but said they supported the United Freedom Front's aims.

Government officials from the 12 EEC countries decided last week to reduce the number of Libyan diplomats in their countries and to restrict the movements of remaining Libyans.

Britain was the first nation to take such action, ordering 360 Libyan students expelled last week, 22 of them for suspected revolutionary action. It ordered another 336 Libyan aviation students to leave upon expiration of their visas.

The U.S. government estimates that about 3,300 Libyans now reside in the United States, some 2,000 of them on student or business visas. The movements of many of them are monitored by local, state and federal law enforcement authorities.

Mr. Meese said yesterday that law

enforcement agencies have been put on a special state of alert since the April 15 U.S. bombing raid against Libya, but he declined to say whether surveillance of Libyan students had increased.

INS spokesman Verne Jervis said yesterday that any decision to deport Libyans would have to be made on a case-by-case basis. He said that a sweeping review was not now under consideration.

In a related development, Rep. Bobbi Fiedler, California Republican, announced yesterday that she has written President Reagan asking him to issue an executive order placing tighter control on Libyans residing in the United States on non-immigrant alien status.

WASHINGTON POST 30 April 1986 Pg. 16

Ex-Hostage Counsels Calm Amid World Terrorism

By Victoria Churchville
Washington Post Staff Writer

A State Department official who was held captive in Tehran during the Iranian hostage crisis said yesterday that Americans "must keep our cool" in the face of mounting terrorist attacks overseas and advised that not all foreign travel is dangerous.

L. Bruce Laingen, 63, who was charge d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran when 52 Americans were taken hostage in 1979 by the revolutionary government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, said yesterday that terrorism is "the scourge of our time and a continuing learning experience." Laingen told a luncheon meeting of the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Rotary Club, "There's no 100 percent protection, and it will continue."

He said that U.S. policy must center on the option of armed force but remain flexible enough to deal with a continued onslaught of terrorist attacks against Americans in a wide range of locations worldwide.

Laingen, who now serves as vice president of the National Defense University at Fort McNair, wore a yellow ribbon with a brass plaque embossed with "Free the Hostages" as a reminder of six Americans still held captive in Beirut.

Flexibility is needed, he said, because "every terrorist incident is going to be different in some way—in geography . . . in numbers of terrorists, in numbers of victims . . . We need a tool box of options," including the use of force, economic sanctions, diplomacy, third-party negotiators, the help of allies and strong intelligence.

A recent State Department survey of the economic cost of terrorism found that 1.8 million Americans out of 5.1 million expected to travel overseas this year have canceled their trips, Laingen said. The survey estimated that there would be a 25 percent drop in U.S. tourism in Western Europe, 50 percent decline in Greece and in Egypt, a 40 percent drop in West Germany and a 25 percent decline in France, he said.

"I would be the last one to cancel travel plans. I wouldn't go to Tripoli or Beirut and I would be careful in Cairo," Laingen said during an interview after the speech. "What the terrorists seek is to plant worry, concern and fear in the minds of all of us—they accomplish that to the extent that we cancel travel plans."

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NEW YORK DAILY NEWS 1 May 1986 Pg. 12

FBI stopped 3 Libyan plots

By JOSEPH VOLZ

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — FBI Director William Webster testified yesterday that the bureau had stopped three Libyan terrorist plots in the United States last year.

Appearing before a Senate terrorism subcommittee, Webster did not tell when and where the incidents had occurred.

Farhat Tobar, a Libyan diplomat at the United Nations, was expelled last June because the FBI believed he was leading a plot to kill Libyan dissidents here.

The plot purportedly involved 15 pro-Khadafy Libyans in Virginia, Colorado, Michigan and North Carolina planning to kill at least three dissidents.

Webster said three quarters of 2,000 Libyan students in the United States were "financed by Khadafy and might be incorporated into an infrastructure."

Potential cited

He said: "I don't think our intelligence indicates a student terrorist movement but they have the potential."

Webster said that until recently Libyan terrorist activity here had been aimed at "intimidating" anti-Khadafy Libyans but "now it goes beyond that and is channeled at U.S. targets."

Although he gave no details other sources said recent intelligence indicated Libyans might be planning moves against Americans and U.S. institutions.

Attorney General Edwin Meese said this week he had asked immigration officials to determine whether any Libyan students—or 1,500 other Libyans living in the U.S.—should be booted as security threats in action similar to that taken in Western Europe.

3 American targets

A spokesman for Abu Nidal, a terrorist supported by Moammar Khadafy, said in Paris Monday that the group was targeting three Americans, Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North, deputy director of the National Security Council; Dr. Edward Luttwak, Georgetown University defense consultant, and retired Army Gen. John Singlaub, who has been backing Nicaraguan contras.

Webster said some Libyans who had become naturalized American citizens had received terrorism training in the Mideast and had returned here.

He did not give a number but other sources said several hundred Libyans had been trained in the last few years in Libya, South Yemen, Iran and Lebanon and now live in the United States.

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WASHINGTON TIMES
1 May 1986 Pg. 7

Passport fraud fears mounting due to terrorism

By Bill Kritzberg
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The growing traffic in lost and stolen American passports — and the practice by some countries of selling citizenship to augment their treasuries — has heightened fears about the ability of terrorists to cross porous U.S. borders.

But the Reagan administration is doing nothing about it beyond a "closer scrutiny of documentation," according to Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesman Duane Austin.

"We're on a more vigilant status ... there is definitely a concern," he said.

Visa and passport fraud is growing by leaps and bounds, according to James Callahan of the State Department's Consular Bureau. "In terms of sheer volume, it is an increasing problem," he said.

The European passport and visa section of the State Department, which reports visa fraud at regular intervals, registered 14 passport fraud cases in recent weeks, including one possible terrorist suspect, an official said.

The official said the number of visa fraud cases is "uncounted."

Stolen American passports serve as another avenue of illegal entry to the United States. Last year, 20,000 American passports were lost by Americans traveling abroad. The State Department has no statistics on how many were retrieved.

The State Department has begun issuing machine-readable passports in selected areas in the United States. However, the INS does not have the machines to read the passports, and there is no money in current budget proposals to obtain them in the near future, an INS official said.

Illegal aliens have tried in the past to substitute photographs on passports, in efforts to enter the United States. But according to Mr. Callahan, this is a minor problem and usu-

ally is spotted by trained INS officials at ports of entry.

A potentially more serious threat is the sale by certain countries of citizenship, and hence passports, to raise cash. Belize has been engaged in selling "citizenship bonds" and the Dutch Liberal Conservative Party has protested the sale of Dutch passports for \$100,000 on the island of St. Martin. There have been reports of Libyans interested in buying the Dutch passports.

Because the State Department directs its main efforts at American "applications for foreign visas," according to Mr. Callahan, the department is stretched thin.

Currently there is no legal limit to the number of visitors allowed into the United States as tourists. The president, under Section 212F of the McCarran Immigration Act, could choose to bar any group of aliens from entering the United States on the grounds that they represent a threat to the public safety.

The INS conducts "secondary examination" of Libyans and Iranians when they enter the United States. Under this program, which has been in effect for several years, aliens from these countries entering the United States are taken aside and their credentials are checked on a computer to see if their documents are in order.

Because of the growing visa and passport fraud problem and the potential misuse of false documents by terrorists, the INS regularly exchanges information with various law enforcement and intelligence bodies, according to a State Department official.

The problem of false documents is particularly acute because Libyan-sponsored terrorists have been caught with stolen Moroccan and Tunisian passports. But accord-

FBI...Continued

A U.S. official said "they bear watching" and could be part of a terrorist infrastructure Khadafy was attempting to form here.

He said the FBI had foiled 23 terrorist plots last year and only seven terrorist incidents actually had taken place here.

He said the number of incidents had declined for a fourth consecutive year from a high of 51 in 1982.

CALM...Continued

Laingen's comments came as Fairfax County School Superintendent Robert R. Spillane canceled all school-sponsored summer trips to Europe yesterday, citing the threat to students posed by terrorism. The decision, which had been expected, followed cancellations of similar trips by other school districts and colleges in the region and around the country.

Spillane said in a news conference that the 100 students who had signed up for four trips to six European countries would be exposed to "unnecessary risks I'm not willing to take."

Fatal terrorist attacks against Americans overseas have steadily increased since 1982, according to figures released last week by the State Department. According to those figures, six Americans have died in three overseas attacks this year, 25 Americans died in 1985 and 16 died in 1984.

ing to Mr. Callahan, it is difficult for terrorists to enter the United States on false passports because they are screened by visa officers in U.S. embassies abroad and then by INS officials at ports of entry.

Terrorists could easily hide, however, among the flood of illegal aliens crossing both U.S. borders. The INS expects to detain 1.8 million illegals this year — up 42 to 43 percent over last year, when the INS interdicted 1.2 million people, according to Mr. Austin.

In 1984, the INS bolstered the southern border with an additional 800 INS officers. But budget constraints under the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget amendment will prevent any further increase in the border force.

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BALTIMORE SUN
1 May 1986

Naval Academy tightens security against terrorists

Visitors to the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis will find tighter security measures in place because of increased incidences of terrorism in the wake of the United States' bombing of Libya.

As a precautionary measure, visitors and all delivery vehicles will be allowed to enter the academy through Gate 1 only, at King George and Randall streets near the field house and visitors' center.

Only vehicles with Department of Defense stickers will be allowed entrance at all three gates — Gate 1, Gate 3 on Maryland Avenue and Gate 8 at the intersection of Route 450 and Bowyer Road — spokesman Paul Brawley said.

"Although the academy has received no specific threats, security is being increased because the Naval Academy is a military facility as well as a National Historic Site," academy officials said yesterday in a prepared statement.

FRAUD...Continued

In fact, according to Mr. Austin, "there will be a slight reduction in the rate of replacement" of officers retiring from the force.

"In the best scenario, we catch one in two [illegal aliens]," Mr. Austin said. "In the worst, we catch one in three."

Terrorists have illegally crossed U.S. borders in the past. Three out of five Sikh terrorists arrested late last year in a plot to kill Indian leader Rajiv Gandhi crossed into the United States from Mexico. Four of the five Colombians who entered the United States to murder Drug Enforcement Administration undercover agent Adler (Barry) Seal also crossed from there.

So far, "We have not caught any Libyan nationals, although we have caught nationals from 81 different countries," Mr. Austin said.

He added that the INS was limited by a "finite number of resources," while the influx of illegal aliens has the INS "saturated."

WASHINGTON TIMES
1 May 1986 Pg. 6

Klinghoffer targeted for three reasons

MILAN, Italy (Reuters) — Palestinian hijackers of the Achille Lauro cruise liner killed passenger Leon Klinghoffer because he was American, Jewish and handicapped, according to a magistrate's report disclosed yesterday.

Hijack leader Majed Youssef Al-Molqi shot Mr. Klinghoffer in the chest and right temple then threw the retired New Yorker and his wheelchair overboard, the report by Genoa investigating magistrate Francesco Castellano said.

The influential daily newspaper *Il Corriere Della Sera* carried these previously unpublished details, quoting the report in which Mr. Castellano ordered the trial of 14 people on charges including murder and hijacking for purposes of terrorism.

Mr. Castellano confirmed to Reuters he had formally deposited the 120-page remand for trial order, but said he could not comment on its contents.

Il Corriere quoted Mr. Castellano as saying in the report that Al-Molqi, leader of the four hijackers, who are all detained, had picked on Mr. Klinghoffer "simply because he was American, Jewish and handicapped."

The report said Abu Abbas, leader of the Palestine Liberation Front, had organized the Oct. 7-9 hijacking to demonstrate the PLF's policy of direct action, in contrast with the negotiated Middle East settlement sought by the Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization.

The INS is primarily concerned with the Mexican border, he said, because "Canada is very circumspect about who they let in." Information exchange with the Canadians is good, and, "We think it's [the Canadian border] pretty secure."

An American official responsible for monitoring potential terrorist crossings into the United States said last week, "We can tighten up border control, but a determined terrorist has the odds with him. Complete security is incompatible with democratic institutions."

NEW YORK TIMES 2 May 1986 Pg. 1

New York Airports Subtly Gird for Terrorism

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

Leaning against the Citibank counter in the International Arrivals Building of Kennedy International Airport and wearing a dark three-piece suit and raincoat, he easily passed for a businessman waiting for a visitor.

Nearby, a confederate wearing a sweater vest and swinging an umbrella threaded his way through the crowd.

Neither man was what he seemed.

Each carried a concealed pistol and a detective's badge.

In contrast to many European airports, where police troops with submachine guns and sentry dogs serve as highly visible deterrents to terrorist attacks, the three airports of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey rely on an often invisible security shield, one of a host of generally unobtrusive measures that officials call more suited to conditions in the United States.

"Tactically, I don't know if it's a good idea to show the terrorists exactly where the 'enemy' is," said Henry I. DeGeneste, the authority's police superintendent who carries most of the responsibility for protecting the nearly 80 million air travelers who fly into and out of New York each year.

But one police union leader criticized a lack of preparedness and called for more and better trained officers.

Beyond increased plainclothes police surveillance, recent measures include stepped up police weaponry — kept, for the most part, discreetly out of sight — tamper-resistant employee identification cards, daily intelligence briefings and an alertness campaign backed by an employee-incentive reward program.

In addition, Kennedy Airport last fall put into service a new mobile X-ray van that can be dispatched quickly to the tarmac or other sites to examine suspicious packages.

La Guardia Airport is completing a new V.I.P. lounge in the police building where travelers requiring special protection can be guarded and escorted across the tarmac to their planes.

And Newark International Airport — which for the first time in recent history handled more passengers than Kennedy in a 12-month period — has begun using the nation's first computerized "watch list," storing the names of 40,000 people "of interest" to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and law-enforcement agencies.

Elsewhere in the region, smaller

commuter and general-aviation airports are also reassessing security, although passenger screening remains minimal. Westchester County Airport near White Plains, for example, has increased staff training for baggage inspection. And Teterboro Airport in Bergen County, N.J., which serves only private planes and therefore conducts no passenger checks, is nevertheless hiring a consultant to survey the airport perimeter to improve security there.

Absolute Security Considered Impossible

Port Authority officials acknowledge that although American airports so far have been largely spared terrorist attacks, there is no absolute way of securing them — or any other potential terrorist target, for that matter.

"Kennedy Airport is a city; can you protect Manhattan?" Mr. DeGeneste said.

A terrorist determined to die is virtually impossible to stop, whether at an airport or a military base, Mr. DeGeneste said. Also, he and airline officials said, there is a limit to the stringency of security measures that can be practically applied to a busy airport.

Moreover, Mr. DeGeneste said: "People are focusing on the airports, but look at department stores. Look at museums and hotels. That's what worries me."

An opposing view on the adequacy of airport security was offered by Sgt. Gennaro Aprile, president of the Port Authority Police Sergeants Benevolent Association. He said the authority was relying too heavily on overtime rather than hiring nearly 800 more officers to bring the total police force up to 2,000.

He also said that the authority had failed to maintain up-to-date airport maps and terminal floor plans for use in thwarting hijackings or other attacks, and that it lacked a ready mobile communications trailer for emergency operations.

Mr. DeGeneste acknowledged that the maps were not complete, although he said they were being updated now. He said that an operations trailer, while in disrepair, was usable and that the authority was expanding the police force to 1,500 by next year, a level he said studies found sufficient.

Some Schemes Have Been Foiled

In 1975, La Guardia Airport became the first American airport hit by a

major terrorist attack when a bomb, which a Croatian separatist group later said it had planted, exploded in a locker, killing 11 people and injuring 75.

In 1981, a bomb explosion in a men's room at the Pan American World Airways terminal at Kennedy Airport killed a worker, minutes after a telephoned warning by a man who said he represented a Puerto Rican independence group.

Since then, there have been many scares and some thwarted schemes, including an effort to place an incendiary device aboard an Air Haiti jet at Kennedy Airport last fall, but no successful attacks.

Several weeks ago, a telephone caller threatened to destroy Vice President Bush's plane at La Guardia. The threat unsettled security officials because, according to Capt. Stephen Brown of the Port Authority police at La Guardia, the arrival of the plane was not general knowledge at the time. For security reasons, Presidential and Vice-Presidential arrivals are shuffled among the three airports.

Like other airport managements and the Federal Aviation Administration, the Port Authority went through a major security reappraisal after the hijacking of a Trans World Airlines flight out of Athens last June and a subsequent rash of terrorist attacks, including massacres of travelers in the Rome and Vienna airports in December. Many tightened measures were mandated by the F.A.A.

Information Called The Best Protection

Every morning in Mr. DeGeneste's office, a detective sergeant who holds a national security clearance dials a special telephone number in Washington, recites a code word and receives the Government's latest terrorist intelligence update.

The officer also telephones the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Joint Terrorist Task Force of the F.B.I. and the New York City police, and Interpol, the international police intelligence agency. He also calls his counterparts at other airports in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Atlanta, Washington and Boston to exchange the latest reports on airport terrorism and crime.

According to Mr. DeGeneste and other officials, such intelligence, provided by informants and surveillance, remains the best protection against surprise attacks. A terrorist bomb

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AIRPORTS...Continued

maker might give himself away, for example, by approaching certain suppliers who might be monitored or infiltrated by the F.B.I.

From such intelligence data, a daily report is written for Mr. DeGeneste, who uses it to deploy about 600 Port Authority airport police officers. This force is matched by an almost equal number of Federal law-enforcement agents.

In addition, other Port Authority and airline employees at Kennedy alone total nearly 40,000. "That comes to about 80,000 eyes," said Allan H. Haack, Kennedy's assistant general manager. "They're the best protection we could have."

Employee areas have been plastered with signs saying: "Even a rattlesnake will warn you ahead of time. But a terrorist will not."

As an incentive to vigilance, the Port Authority recently expanded its "crime stoppers" program, giving out bonuses of \$25 to \$500 to employees who report security breaches, as well as criminal acts. No bonuses for security watchfulness have yet been awarded, although more than \$10,000 has been distributed for crime detection.

More Firepower And Technology

More tangible measures have also been adopted at all three airports.

Officers in radio-equipped cars have received armored vests and shotguns, which are carried in special, locked front-seat gunracks. Some officers now also carry automatic rifles. And 240 police officers this month will begin taking a two-day antiterrorism training seminar conducted by the F.B.I.

Access to the departure areas has been restricted to ticketed passengers. At the screening points, where all passengers must pass through metal detectors and submit bags for X-raying, silent alarm buttons can quickly summon guards — within 45 seconds in most cases.

Employee identification cards granting access to sensitive areas carry three-dimensional holographic images considered virtually impossible to counterfeit. Some cards may eventually carry the bearer's thumbprint as well. Vehicles with access to restricted ramp areas must be specially registered.

In addition, special measures have been adopted at each of the three airports.

Kennedy Airport

As the region's major international gateway, with nearly 30 million passengers a year, five-square-mile Kennedy International Airport has long been considered the most likely terrorist target. Since last year, baggage is no longer accepted for check-in at curbside but must be checked in at terminal

counters, where it can be matched to traveling passengers.

Kennedy also has the only mobile X-ray van that provides an instant paper image of the contents. The device is used routinely to double-check cargo or baggage before loading.

Recently, for example, a cargo pilot had what Mr. DeGeneste described as a "bad feeling" about boxes about to be loaded on his plane. On the basis on his hunch, the entire cargo was X-rayed in a hangar.

The van operator, John Ramirez, a Port Authority police officer, watched as box after box of video components, computer chips, barbecue utensils and party masks was revealed on his screen. In particular, he said, he was looking for telltale wires or blasting caps marking the "firing train" of any bomb. He found none, and the cargo was loaded without incident.

Crews of El Al Israel Airlines continue to be escorted between Kennedy and their hotels by New York City police teams. El Al and Air-India, moreover, each limit access to their terminals to ticketed passengers.

Also, a Port Authority armor-plated police van is often parked near the terminal shared by El Al and Air-India. The authority is also considering obtaining a light tank from West Germany.

El Al, furthermore, has its own steel chamber where baggage can be tested under low pressure to detonate any bomb designed to explode in flight under such conditions.

Newark Airport

For the 12 months that ended in January, Newark International Airport for the first time in decades handled more passengers than Kennedy — 28.8 million for Newark, compared with 28.7 million for Kennedy, according to Port Authority figures. The striking, but long predicted, shift in traffic — largely a function of the mounting domestic traffic of Newark-headquartered People Express Airlines — has imposed new security concerns on the 2,000-acre airport.

Terminal C, used for international arrivals, in March became the first in the nation to put the computerized immigration watch list into regular service. The list, the National Automated Immigration Lookout System, or NAILS, had until then been tested only in Baltimore. It replaces the cumbersome volumes of names that immigration agents elsewhere still leaf through to check each arriving passenger.

Also at the international terminal, travelers and visitors alike enter through a metal detector and must submit their bags for X-ray inspection.

"Who'd pick on People Express?" said Brussels-bound Stan Bracey of Charlotte, N.C., as he hoisted his 10-week-old daughter, Mary Clare, through the metal detector the other day.

La Guardia Airport

Security here is helped by the air-

Insight

5 May 1986 Pg. 38

Business Expenses

From Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurants in Peru to Citibank and Xerox branches in Spain, U.S. businesses are increasingly the terrorist targets of choice abroad. The State Department recorded 67 terrorist attacks last year involving U.S. business personnel and facilities overseas — one-third more than in each of the preceding two years.

A private firm, Mid-Atlantic Research Associates Inc., estimates the total number of business terrorist victims may have been even higher — close to 100 — out of a total of about 400 U.S. citizens victimized by terrorists last year.

"Kidnap ransom insurance alone for a large multinational can run as much as \$500,000 a year," the State Department says in an annual report on terrorism. "Terrorism also can have an adverse effect on efficiency and productivity, as companies are often reluctant to send advanced equipment or key people to areas of high risk."

Last year, at least two American businessmen were killed, one wounded and nine kidnapped in overseas attacks. The department says, "Property damage and ransom payments exceeded \$5 million."

As security is tightened at embassies and other government installations, businesses and their staffs become more inviting targets. "Companies that adopt a low profile, submerge their U.S. corporate identity in favor of a local image, maintain tight security and use a commonsense approach to personal security," says the department, "are likely to fare the best overseas."

port's compactness — its 600 acres could be tucked easily into the central terminal areas of either Kennedy or Newark. Still, concerns abound.

At the police building near the Butler Marine Terminal for general aviation, a new V.I.P. lounge is being completed that will allow closer guarding of visiting leaders and other celebrities. From there, they can be driven directly to their planes without going through terminal areas, according to Captain Brown.

Security for the traditionally casual Eastern Airlines shuttles to Washington and Boston has also been tightened, according to Jerry Crosley, an Eastern spokesman. Although the hourly service has long featured easy access without tickets, procedures have been "modified" in ways that Mr. Crosley

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NEW YORK TIMES 5 May 1986 Pg. 15

Ban on Plastic Guns Proposed by Lawmakers

Gun-control advocates and some members of Congress are trying to ban weapons that do not yet exist: all-plastic guns that could pass unnoticed through airport security devices.

"It is much more difficult to solve a problem after it becomes a reality than before," said Michael Beard, president of the National Coalition to Ban Handguns, "and for once in the history of this country we have the chance to stop a deadly weapon from being sold and not have to mop up afterwards."

Two bills, that were introduced in the House Judiciary Committee in February and are scheduled for a hearing before the panel's Subcommittee on Crime on May 15, would ban manufacturing, importing or selling any firearm that cannot be detected by standard security equipment such as X-ray devices or metal detectors.

One bill was sponsored by Representative Robert J. Mrazek, Democrat of Long Island, the second by Representative Mario Biaggi, Democrat of the Bronx. Both bills are opposed by the National Rifle Association.

Plastic Parts Evade Detection

The bills were drafted in response to tests conducted by airport police at Washington National Airport and Dulles International Airport in which the Glock 17, a 9-millimeter pistol that is two-thirds plastic by volume and 83 percent metal by weight, was smuggled past security personnel.

Although officials of the Federal Aviation Administration and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms say the Austrian-made pistol is just as detectable as any metal pistol and should have been identified by airport guards, proponents of the legislation like Mr. Beard say the test showed that plastic weapons pose a threat to security at airports.

The backers contend that the Glock 17 is a forerunner of all-plastic pistols that could easily be smuggled by terrorists. Such a weapon, they say, would pass quietly through metal detectors, and could pass unnoticed through a conventional X-ray machine because plastic is less dense than metal and would be much less visible on an X-ray

AIRPORTS...Continued

declined to specify, to conform to new security requirements, including the matching of luggage and passengers.

New York Air, which offers competing hourly service to Washington and Boston out of La Guardia, has also stepped up its vigilance, according to a spokesman, Bruce Hicks. The fact that many Government officials fly such flights, he acknowledged, "makes us more conscious of security."

WASHINGTON TIMES 6 May 1986 Pg. 3

Editors agree public needs more information on terror

By Don Kowet
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The senator wants reporters to start treating terrorists with the kind of contempt they now show politicians. The scholar wants the press to quit making myths about terrorists and the urges they think drive terrorists.

The editors from The Washington Times and The Washington Post agree with each other that the public relations man who wants to make it against the law for reporters to quote terrorists is all wrong — that the public needs more, not less, information about terrorists.

They all spoke yesterday at a Washington conference, sponsored by the National Forum Foundation, on how newspapers and television networks ought to deal with terrorists.

"If you don't like terrorists," Sen. Jeremiah Denton told the journalists in his audience, "report with bias."

"Don't publicize spectacles of

desperate relatives imploring the president to give in to the terrorists. Do publicize people threatening reprisal and punishment for terrorists.

"And do dig out evidence of future intent on the part of terrorists, so we in government may be jaggled into doing something about it."

The West still has not learned how to "play the game," said Mr. Denton, Alabama Republican, a one-time prisoner of war in North Vietnam who is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. "Government and peoples are being changed by terrorism."

Michael Ledeen, a senior fellow in international affairs at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, assailed the media's tendency to feed the public "delusions."

"The first delusion," said Mr. Ledeen, "is that you will not

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screen.

At Representative Mrazek's request, Congress's Office of Technology Assessment studied the state of plastics technology and, in a report published April 9, concluded that it was possible to make an all-plastic pistol.

The report said that plastic could be combined with glass, aramid, carbon fibers or reinforced with polymers with special properties to build a non-metal gun that could withstand the enormous pressure of an explosion within its chamber. Such materials are increasingly being used in the manufacture of high-pressure piping and in aircraft and spacecraft, said Peter Johnson, who helped draft the report.

Cost Is a Deterrent

Independent pistol experts say no American company has developed a totally non-metal pistol, and some manufacturers said there would be little incentive to produce one.

"It may be too costly," said Herbert Belin, of Smith & Wesson.

But some experts such as Andrew Molchon, president of the National Association of Federally Licensed Firearms Dealers Association, say there

would be a market for the guns, especially to police forces and the military. These weapons, specialists say, would be lighter, easier to maintain and more resistant to extreme temperatures than a metal gun.

Mr. Molchon said that at least one private weapons researcher, David Byron of Byron's Inc., in Casselberry Fla., is well on the way to producing an all-plastic gun.

Mr. Byron said in a telephone interview that he was working on a prototype. He also added that new scatter beam X-ray machines could detect a plastic gun.

In addition to banning certain weapons, Representative Biaggi's bill would require the Federal Aviation Administration to conduct research to improve security devices. Representative Mrazek's bill would ban weapons "that are found to evade detection by state-of-the-art security devices."

Andrew Kendzie of the National Rifle Association said both bills were so vague that they might result in the banning of other weapons simply because they had plastic parts.

EDITORS...Continued

eliminate terrorism until you eliminate its social and historical causes." The corollary, he said, is that "since the terrorist acts are generated, according to the media, by some deep moral outrage, you can't address them by fighting back."

This kind of reporting is "mythmaking," he said. State terrorism sponsored by Libya, Iran and Syria has less to do with removing the causes of Palestinian discontent, he said, than with "expanding their national power in the Middle East."

"With Libya and Iran, the explicit target is the Western world."

Bruce Fein, an executive with the public relations firm of Gray and Company, suggested that the answer lies in the law. "I do think the law has a role to play in holding the press accountable," said Mr. Fein, who served with both the Federal Communications Commission and the Justice Department before joining Gray.

He would make it against the law for "hostage-takers to get statements printed during" terrorist crises, and making it a crime to render "payments to those holding hostages, in order to elicit their statements or appearance."

Richard Harwood, deputy managing editor of The Post, objected that such laws raise "pretty serious constitutional issues of prior restraint."

Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor-in-chief of The Times, called Mr. Fein's proposal "a pipe dream." Jack Smith, vice president of CBS News, said such sanctions would "bear down on us much too hard."

These laws would reduce the data the public in a democracy needs to reach decisions, Mr. de Borchgrave said. "We need more information about international terrorism, not less."

"What we're asking for," he said, "is more information and less censorship [by the media itself] concerning facts that don't fit the conventional wisdom."

"We [the press] have to educate ourselves before we can raise the level of our readers' awareness."

Fred Barnes, senior editor of The New Republic magazine, suggested voluntary guidelines that major organs of the media could use:

- No coverage of terrorist-sponsored events, such as ABC's exclusive coverage of a terrorist pointing a gun at the pilot's head during the ordeal of TWA flight 847.
- No bargaining with terrorists for scoops.

USA TODAY 7 May 1986

Pg. 3

Webster says FBI beating terrorism

By Sam Meddis
USA TODAY

FBI Director William Webster, who has to back up the president's latest dare to terrorists, says the USA is ready to fight domestic terrorism.

There have been no terrorist incidents in the USA this year — compared with seven incidents and 23 thwarted attempts last year — Webster told the National District Attorneys Association in Washington, D.C. Tuesday.

"We're not just lucking out," Webster said.

He gave much of the credit to high-tech anti-terrorist tools, including computers that store information on suspected terrorists and more electronic surveillance of foreign agents.

• No negotiating by the press, acting as surrogate secretaries of state. Mr. Barnes cited David Hartman's asking Nabih Berri, on ABC's "Good Morning America," whether he "had a message" for President Reagan.

• Less coverage altogether.

Said Mr. Barnes: "That means that every morning you don't have on another hostage family."

Correspondent Jim Polk of NBC News conceded that his own network's guidelines for dealing with terrorists are "inadequate." He said correspondents should pay strict devotion to their "three unwritten rules": caution, common sense and concern for human life.

This "self-censorship," based on common sense, precludes the need for formal rules or government regulation, he said.

Charles Lewis, chief of the Washington bureau of the Associated Press, said that the inability of his colleagues to agree on a single set of guidelines "symbolizes the anarchy that prevails in terms of ever getting together and agreeing."

Webster's comments came after President Reagan — on his way to a Tokyo summit meeting Tuesday — was asked about a threat to strike against the USA, reportedly by Palestinian terrorist Abu Abbas.

"He's gonna strike out," Reagan said, adding, "Let him try."

But Webster cautioned that there can be "no blanket promises" that all incidents will be averted.

Another investigative plus: Three anti-terror task forces — in which FBI and local authorities share intelligence information — in New York City, Chicago and four New England states. A fourth starts soon in the Los Angeles area.

District attorneys want even more task forces. Said Washington County, Md.'s Ken Long: "If we don't keep on top of terrorism, we are going to suffer serious consequences."

WASHINGTON POST

9 May 1986

Pg. 28

Bomb-Sniffing Dog Offends S. Koreans

Agence France-Presse

SEOUL, May 8—A bomb-sniffing dog accompanying U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz in Seoul has raised the ire of South Koreans who regard the canine's poking around the Foreign Ministry as rank diplomatic discourtesy.

South Korean newspapers complained bitterly today after U.S. security officers brought the sheep dog to the eighth-floor office of Foreign Minister Lee Won-Kyung before his meeting with Shultz.

Foreign Ministry officials said they protested to the U.S. Embassy that they had not given permission for the dog to be brought in. They said the embassy apologized.

The ministry said it did not wish to play up the incident, but newspapers said South Korean protocol officials were stunned by what was seen here as a distinct lack of diplomatic etiquette.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 11 May 1986 Pg. 1

Policy made with eye on the polls

This is the first article in a three-part series.

By Nicholas M. Horrock
and James O'Shea

Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON—Last December, 106 Americans in five cities were asked their views about terrorism in a series of interviews conducted by Populus Inc., a public opinion research firm.

Although they couldn't have known it, these ordinary Americans interviewed in Des Moines, Ft. Worth, New York City, Van Nuys, Calif., and Trumbull, Conn., played a key role in setting the Reagan administration's policy on terrorism—a policy that last month sent American aircraft to bomb Libya, a sovereign nation in the volatile Middle East that was not formally at war with the United States.

"Americans would welcome actions against terrorists that are swift, forceful and aggressive ... even if inadvertent casualties result," a summary of the interviews said, as long as the retaliatory actions were wrapped in a policy that reflected U.S. respect for individual life and international law.

The survey was conducted for the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism, and what the 106 people told Populus convinced the administration that the American public finally was ready to support, even enthusiastically favor, military retaliation against terrorism.

Whether this poll directed President Reagan in his actions or simply reassured him may never be known, but four months later he would order an attack remarkably along the lines of what the survey said the people wanted.

It may be curiously symbolic of the Reagan presidency that as the crews of the F-111 attack bombers flew to their targets in Libya on the night of April 14-15, they were there in part because of a carefully honed public relations and consciousness-raising program.

Some bombs went astray into civilian areas, but, in terms of responding to

● Distinctions between making news and reporting it are becoming blurred. In Perspective.

the American public mood, Sen. Richard Lugar [R., Ind.] said, "the President hit it about right."

The raid, although subsequently overshadowed by the Soviet nuclear accident in Chernobyl and the economic summit meeting in Tokyo, represented a turning point in the American fight against terrorism. Even when the invasion of Grenada is considered, the attack on Libya was one of the most delicate and diplomatically dangerous decisions of Reagan's presidency.

It has resulted in an unofficial state of war between U.S. and Libyan leader Moammar Khadafy, a radical leader who has demonstrated his ability to strike Americans abroad. Further, Reagan has sent U.S. military forces against a state that has the support of the Soviet Union, in waters prowled by a Soviet fleet, and in the most volatile region of the world.

As they returned from Tokyo, top administration officials confidently said they had "Khadafy on the run" and that they planned in the next few weeks to increase the pressure further in hopes of doing what the bombing failed to accomplish, topple Khadafy. Secretary of State George Shultz, in a succinct remark directed at Khadafy, said: "You've had it, pal."

The President made his momentous decision after five years in office, after dozens of terrorist attacks in which Americans were killed, injured or humiliated and after thousands of words of threatening rhetoric.

He has said that he does not believe this raid alone will stop terrorism; indeed, he calls it one battle in a long war.

To measure how long this war may be, to speculate on its outcome, to understand what the bombing of Libya really will mean for Americans, is to trace the evolution of the Reagan administration policy on terrorism. If the Libyan raid more squarely than ever has put Americans on the front line in a war on terrorism, how did we get there?

In a series of interviews with senior administration officials, congressional leaders and intelligence and military experts, and a review of public and internal government documents, The Trib-

une found these salient elements in the formulation of the Reagan doctrine on terrorism:

● From the beginning, terrorism never has been solely a foreign policy or military problem. In the Reagan White House, it has been a domestic political question and no step has been taken without a sharp eye on its impact on the President's image and, before 1984, on his re-election.

● The 1983 bombing of the Marine Corps headquarters at Beirut airport, in which 241 Americans died, is the watershed of terrorism policy. From that moment on, a military counterstrike in response to terrorism was inevitable in the hearts and the minds of the Reagan leadership.

● In the next two years the administration conducted a systematic consciousness-raising program designed to persuade the American people that they were at war with terrorists. It branded certain countries and their leaders as supporters of terrorists.

● Unlike other policies where the President's role has been obscured, Reagan and his advisers concluded in 1985 that he would take command on terrorism. He himself is pitted against Khadafy as the personification of hundreds of faceless terrorists.

● The use of military force as an option always was conditioned by what many, including Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, thought was the fatal flaw of American leadership in Vietnam: no public commitment for military action. Part of the administration's program was to avoid that pitfall.

● The formation of a policy nearly was crippled between 1983 and late 1985 by angry struggle over the use of force between Weinberger and Shultz. This struggle spotlighted the fragmentation of command on the issue and the absence of a consensus of how to counter the terrorist threat.

● Fighting terrorism has been hampered further by the enormous limitations inherent to a great power: a military apparatus, designed to fight a

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POLICY...Continued

world war and unsuited for small, swift actions; a worldwide commercial, governmental and financial system that is impossible to defend against attack by terrorists and a population insulated by two oceans that has been largely untouched by terrorism.

In a sense the Reagan perspective was conditioned well before he entered the White House. He had criticized President Jimmy Carter's handling of the Iranian hostage crisis, and his political advisers were convinced that Carter's failure to be decisive with Tehran had won Reagan the White House.

The Reagan administration vowed not to make the same mistake, and its early rhetoric was filled with bellicose warnings of what it would do if challenged. In 1982 when jumpy American diplomats in Nicaragua thought the embassy might be seized by Sandinista mobs, the White House openly bristled.

"This won't be like it was with Carter," one administration official told a newsman after seeing a cable from Managua. "This administration will send in the marines and pronto." [The feared attack never materialized and the nervous State Department official who sent the cable was rebuked later by his superiors.]

But the astute handlers of the President soon discerned a different problem: By elevating terrorism to a top public concern, the administration inevitably raised public expectations for action and results, something officials doubted they could deliver.

As a result, the Reagan administration "turned down the volume" on the issue in late 1981, 1982 and early 1983. When Secretary of State Alexander Haig gave a tough speech on Libya and terrorism, he received a call that night in his hotel room from a White House aide, a senior administration official remembers. "The message was 'cool it,' and he cooled it," this insider said.

Remaining aloof from terrorism, moreover, was easy in those years. Although there were 11 terrorist attacks involving Americans in 1982, in which nine U.S. citizens died, terror had not yet moved to stage center.

In realistic terms neither the Middle East nor terrorism was a top priority in Washington. The President and most of his key advisers were preoccupied with Central America. They were convinced that the Soviet Union was posing a major test of wills in Nicaragua and they wanted to be, one senior official said, "the administration that stops communism in the Western Hemisphere."

Secretly, the Central Intelligence Agency launched a covert war against the Sandinistas by funding a group of

Nicaraguan expatriates trained by Argentine military advisers.

The best and the brightest of Reagan's early years spent all their time trying to win the war in El Salvador and promote the disintegration of the Sandinista control of Nicaragua.

In June, 1982, though, the Israelis took an action that would ultimately redefine the role of the U.S. in the Middle East and, indirectly, change the direction of terrorism. They invaded Lebanon.

Israel took this action to end the most severe aspect of its terrorist problem, to remove from a nearby sanctuary the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which had been mounting hundreds of raids and rocket attacks onto Israeli territory.

Four years later a senior American official would agree to the notion, even though simplistic, that "Israel settled its worse terrorist problem and created ours."

The story of what happened in Lebanon is crucial to understanding the terrorist dilemma. In 1982 the U.S. role in the Middle East was that of an "honest broker," essentially a stance it had maintained since World War II. The U.S. was considered a nation with sufficient detachment to be a force for peace in the troubled region.

Though known to favor Israel, America still had succeeded in operating the famous "two-track diplomacy," which allowed it to act as a mediator between Israel and Arab states.

The U.S., clearly thrown off balance by the Israeli invasion, agreed to land marines in Lebanon, first to assist in the peaceful removal of the PLO and, after the massacres at the Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps in Beirut, to try to forestall total anarchy in the anguished little country. The second marine deployment was part of a multinational force, involving troops from France, Italy and Britain.

Shultz devised a policy that saw American troops providing stability to permit the withdrawal of the Israeli forces and the restoration of a Lebanon with a Lebanese Christian and Moslem government.

Both marine deployments consistently were opposed by Weinberger and many in the Defense Department, yet in the first months of 1983 it seemed to be working.

The marines and the British troops provided a buffer between Israeli occupation forces south of Beirut and their Moslem adversaries and attempted to bring some sense of security to the crowded Moslem neighborhoods of West Beirut. It was in these ghettos where Israeli gunfire and the private militia of Lebanon's Christian community had spread terror.

At the same time the American government sought to strengthen the Lebanese army so it could hold the country together when the multinational force pulled out. The army, unfortunately, was dominated by the Christians and had no historic role as an even-handed national force.

It is not clear at which moment the marines moved from the sidelines in Lebanon to become combatants, nor for that matter, exactly why. It is clear that the Moslems distrusted a plan to give the Lebanese army the power, equipment and training that America was pouring in. They wanted America out of Lebanon.

The first real trouble came on April 18, 1983, when a car bomb destroyed a large portion of the U.S. Embassy on Beirut's promenade by the sea. The bomb killed 86 people and wounded 100. Among those killed were several of the CIA's most informed Middle East intelligence officers who had been in Beirut for a meeting.

In the next weeks the marines began to take sniper fire and grenade attacks, apparently from Moslem militia posts surrounding their outpost at Beirut's airport.

Over the spring and summer of the 1983, the U.S. escalated retaliation for these attacks, first by marine fire, then naval gunfire from escort vessels and finally the giant 16-inch guns of the USS New Jersey. To those who have studied the trauma in Beirut, it is in these months that Americans moved into the target range of Arab terrorists in the Middle East.

As Beirut became increasingly dangerous for Americans, the attention in Washington still was riveted on Central America and the Caribbean. The President and his top military and civilian advisers were engaged in putting the final touches on the plan to invade Grenada.

On Oct. 23, 1983, as the Grenada invasion got underway, a lone Moslem terrorist drove a truckload of explosives, packed tightly around a propane gas cylinder, into the marines' headquarters at the Beirut airport. The loss of 241 servicemen's lives was greater than the marines had faced in a single day on a battlefield since World War II.

Rage and grief swept the American people and their President. "Those who directed this atrocity must be dealt justice," Reagan warned. But whom could they hit? The attack was claimed by a shadowy group calling itself Islamic Jihad, about which little or nothing then was known. The CIA, severely hampered by the loss of some of its best Mideast experts in the April bombing of the embassy, came to believe that Islamic Jihad was the *nom de guerre*

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POLICY...Continued

re of radical, fundamentalist Moslems, trained and backed by members of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Iranian Revolutionary Guards.

The administration groped with the tragedy, but nothing really was done. Reagan authorized an air strike against an alleged terrorist training center in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon only to find that the French already had planned to bomb it.

During those weeks, Reagan learned the same lesson that Carter had learned in Iran, the limitations of power. The mysterious terrorists with no known location provided nothing that America could hit back at.

Moreover, the administration shied away from the Israeli tactic of launching an immediate, indiscriminate attack even though it did not know the source of the incident. "Israel is in a state of war with virtually everyone around it," one senior administration official said in a recent interview. "We can't operate like that."

Shultz, his policy for peace and stability in Lebanon in the rubble of the marines' headquarters, first introduced what would become a key factor in forming the Reagan administration's policy: "state-sponsored terrorism." The U.S. had known for a long time that the PLO received financial support from wealthy Arab oil states, a form of "protection payment," one intelligence officer said, designed to keep the PLO from turning on the moderate Arabs.

Many in the Reagan administration also believed that the Soviet Union, though not directing or controlling terrorism in the Middle East, stood to gain from it because it kept the region unstable and harassed Americans.

Neither the Arab oil states nor the Soviet Union could serve as an "address" where America could deliver retribution for terrorist acts. But in the intelligence reports that emerged from the Beirut tragedies, and a later attack on the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait, the administration found evidence that Syrian and Iranian intelligence agents had fur-

thered the missions.

Later they also would find the traces of the Libyan government. The sponsorship was a new definition; it painted a picture that the three governments used their diplomatic channels and other assets to assist terrorists in an attack.

Khadafy was to push his country to the top of that list very quickly. He was the only leader of the three countries to threaten terrorist acts publicly and to urge more of them. The Syrian government studiously denied involvement in terrorism and Khomeini, engaged in a desperate war with Iraq, was too distracted to pose much problem.

The United States had found a suitable address for terrorism in the Middle East: Libya.

Tribune correspondents Timothy McNulty, George de Lama, Dorothy Collin and Terry Atlas contributed to this report.

MONDAY: Limited options.

Small poll may reflect big picture

The report prepared last December for a Reagan administration task force on terror was entitled, "Terrorism: Viewpoint of the American People." But whether it legitimately reflects national public opinion is a matter of debate.

Although it played an important role in setting the administration's policy on terrorism, the report was based on "focus interviews" with only 106 Americans, ranging in age from 18 to 64 years of age, in five American cities.

Members of the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism, for which the report by the Connecticut-based market-research firm Populus Inc. was prepared, said the survey was balanced for "political ideology" and adequately reflected the opinions held by the public at large.

But polling experts such as Lee Miringoff of the Maris Institute for Public Opinion in New York say a true national opinion poll would require a sample of 700 to 1,400 Americans

nationwide.

Moreover, he said, focus group interviews, although helpful in measuring opinion, normally are used by American corporations to test the public appeal of advertising campaigns for everything from toothpaste to deodorants.

Few think, however, that a more extensive survey would produce any different results than the findings obtained by the task force. It found that those interviewed thought terrorism was reducing America's status to a powerless "pawn" and that "something should be done" by the man responsible for fighting terrorism: the President.

The 106 Americans were shown videos of terrorist incidents, such as the hijacking of the Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro, and were asked questions such as, "What action should be taken by whom?" and "What were you feeling when this happened?"

The results then were placed in a re-

port designed to determine what terrorism means to the people of the U.S., to "identify people's wants and expectations from Washington and to understand the principles underlying desirable U.S. policy."

"We knew that American attitudes were important and that there are great pressures being brought by the public on the White House that have to be considered," said retired Adm. J.L. Holloway III, executive director of the task force.

In an age of instant communications, the public had become a key participant in terrorist attacks, Holloway said.

"He [the President] doesn't necessarily have to do what the public wants," Holloway said. "But he really ought to know how strongly the public feels and where it is getting its background and knowledge. It is very important to understand what the public thinks, why it thinks it, where it is ignorant and where it's important that the public understand the real issues."

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Reagan turned to military responses as the range of options grew narrower

By James O'Shea
and Terry Atlas
Chicago Tribune

FACING TERRORISM

This is the second article of a three-part series.

WASHINGTON—Soon after President Reagan took office in 1981, he and his advisers decided that terrorists weren't going to have the United States to kick around anymore.

When Col. Moammar Khadafy, Libya's flamboyant and radical leader, sent hit squads around the world to kill dissidents and backed an invasion of Chad, Reagan slapped political and economic sanctions on the North African nation.

Five years later Khadafy would become the target of the administration's first full-scale military attack against terrorism.

Although Reagan cut off American imports of Libyan crude oil, running at 700,000 barrels a day, the sanctions didn't faze Libya's oil industry, which accounts for the bulk of nation's gross national product and most of its merchandise exports.

Khadafy's oil wells kept pumping 1.1 million barrels a day but instead of selling the crude oil to the U.S., Libya sold it to America's allies in Western Europe, who were eager to buy.

Indeed, the sanctions actually had the opposite effect from what was intended—they strengthened Libya's economic ties to Europe and hardened resistance to the U.S. goal of isolating Libya because of its support of terrorism.

That early experience with sanctions became a graphic example for the Reagan administration on the limited range of options it had for fighting international terrorism.

When Reagan first took office, his tough statements about dealing with terrorists looked good in headlines and sounded good on the evening news.

But when it came to tools that the U.S. actually could use to strike back, the new administration soon found out that backing words with deeds was no easy undertaking.

The terrorists, and the Khadafy gov-

ernment, seemed oblivious to the administration's early counterterrorist menu of threats, revoked passports, closed embassies and one-way tickets home for the desert country's diplomats.

As terrorism became a critical problem in 1983, the administration learned that the United States military and intelligence agencies were inadequately prepared to deal with terrorists. Despite the movie scenarios of American secret agents conducting deft assassinations and daring commando rescues, administration policymakers found the intelligence agencies had severe liabilities.

American intelligence had only limited success in infiltrating the Palestine Liberation Organization and Middle East terrorist groups, and the CIA's covert operations directorate was straining to conduct the thinly disguised secret war in Nicaragua.

The intelligence resources were ill-suited to tracking down skilled terrorists. Cooperation with European and other intelligence and police agencies was limited.

From the beginning a sophisticated international network of eavesdropping and satellite surveillance devices created by U.S. technology has served U.S. intelligence best.

Time and time again, it has proved the most valuable resource in coping with terrorism. It is this extraordinary advantage that enabled U.S. intelligence to begin to trace the international network of terrorists and the secret communications of the countries that support them.

But the hit-team, kidnap-squad tactics of the Mossad, Israel's intelligence service, are denied to American intelligence by law, experience and lack of resources.

The Reagan administration also found few tools to fight terrorists in the \$300 billion-a-year Defense Depart-

ment. The American military structure, built to defend the nation in a global nuclear war, was unsuited for battling terrorists or fighting small wars.

Moreover, American military leaders in the early 1980s were hesitant to take on the job. Over the next four years, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger repeatedly would oppose the use of U.S. combat forces to strike back at terrorism because of the "post-Vietnam syndrome:" a fear within the Pentagon that a show of military force would lead to a lengthy involvement, like the Vietnam War, that would soon lose public support.

"The military was burned badly in Vietnam," said retired Adm. Daniel Murphy, who was chief of staff to Vice President George Bush during much of the time the nation was grappling with a policy on terrorism. "They remember the reception we got after coming home from Vietnam and they are convinced not to try to use force when the people are not in favor of it."

But the terrorist who drove the truckful of explosives into the Marine Corps headquarters in Lebanon in late 1983 and killed 241 U.S. servicemen made terrorism an issue that would force the Reagan administration to overcome these internal barriers.

Frustrated and angry at his inability to retaliate, Reagan ordered a sweeping review of America's ability to counter terrorism. In April, 1984, the President, for the first time, received a "complete scan" of the nation's options, ranging from economic and political sanctions to military strikes.

A mobilized bureaucracy moved to increase security at U.S. Embassies, making them less accessible targets, and looked at ways to head off potential attacks, such as improving intelligence and bettering cooperation with allied police and intelligence services.

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Secretary of State George Shultz named a blue ribbon panel, headed by former CIA Deputy Director Bobby Inman, to review the state of security for American diplomats abroad. In its final report, issued in April, 1985, the panel recommended major improvements in the State Department's protective intelligence, threat analysis and alerting procedures.

Most dramatically, it found many American embassies were vulnerable to terrorist attack and urged that many be rebuilt or relocated to make them less-inviting targets. In response, the administration has asked Congress to fund a five-year, \$4.4 billion program to upgrade diplomatic security abroad.

Administration officials now suggest that the President and several of his key aides wanted to use military force from the earliest days and were skeptical that the nonviolent options would succeed in stopping terrorist attacks.

Throughout 1984 and early 1985, the administration grappled with the difficulty of pinning blame for the terrorist attacks on one nation or group. "There was frustration at not being able to pinpoint a target," recalled John Hughes, former State Department spokesman.

At this stage, practically everyone opposed indiscriminate retaliatory strikes because the American public would not tolerate the casualties among innocent civilians.

"The innocent-bystander problem is an important one to the U.S. and its citizens, in a moral sense," said Sen. Richard Lugar [R., Ind.], chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Moreover, 1984 was an election year; a military mission that failed would be a catastrophe for a president seeking reelection.

In January, 1985, Reagan stepped up the sanctions against Libya from the level he had imposed in 1981, but again the Western European allies refused to go along.

In retrospect, the administration's economic and political sanctions against nations that sponsor or assist terrorists were unrealistic and doomed to fail. It was a step long on symbolism but short on bite, especially when Western allies wouldn't join in the effort.

Clement Miller, an oil analyst at Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, said there was little incentive for the Europeans to join the effort. Libyan crude oil has a high gravity, he said, making it ideal for refining into the more valuable fuels such as gasoline. Libyan oil also is the most economical feedstock for high-technology refineries being built in Europe.

There were other economic factors working against the sanctions, too.

Mobil Oil Co. and Exxon, for example, left Libya partially because of U.S. pressure, Miller said, although their operations there had proved not to be particularly profitable.

Both had provided the Libyan government with crucial know-how needed to produce its crude oil. In their absence, other European oil companies—ENI of Italy and Veba Oil of West Germany—picked up the business and benefited from the situation.

By 1985, Miller said, Italy was producing 257,000 barrels of oil a day for the Libyans—trade that was worth \$2.85 billion to Italy at official prices.

Libya now supplies one-fifth of Italy's total crude-oil imports; one-sixth of West Germany's requirements; one-third of Switzerland's imports; 13 percent of Austria's; and even 6 percent of the imports for the Netherlands, which borders the North Sea.

Moreover, even in its current depressed state, Miller said, the Libyan market "represents one of the most active markets for European goods and services" that will undoubtedly improve once the slump in oil prices ends.

In 1984, Italy exported \$1.66 billion worth of goods to Libya; Germany, \$804 million; the United Kingdom, \$328 million; and France, \$212 million. Overall, European countries exported \$4.3 billion worth of merchandise to Libya in 1984.

"Economic interrelations between Libya and Western Europe are reinforced by a two-way trade of goods, services and labor," Miller said. "Libya also has enough foreign exchange liquidity to partly satisfy its development ambitions and provide an employment-generating market for European contractors. These strong ties are the major reasons for the European nations' refusal to go along with U.S. economic sanctions against Libya."

Despite repeated efforts to rally support for the sanctions, the U.S. was unable to forge an allied partnership to isolate Libya economically and politically, and the military option became increasingly attractive.

"It came after an exhaustive search for any support from anybody," Lugar argued.

The first call for military action came from Shultz. He began to urge Western nations to consider "pre-emptive actions against known terrorist groups" soon after the Marine headquarters in Beirut was bombed.

In June, 1984, he made the first of two key speeches, advocating a tough line on Middle East terrorism before Jewish groups, a key voting bloc that the administration also was courting for the November election.

Citing Iran, Syria and Libya as a "league of terror," Shultz then said ter-

rorism was a "threat to the democracies."

"From a purely practical standpoint," he said, "a purely passive defense does not provide enough of a deterrent to terrorism and the states that sponsor it. It is time to think long and hard and seriously about more active means of defense—defense through appropriate preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike."

On Oct. 25, 1984, Shultz stepped up his attack in a speech at the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York. He said the U.S. must be willing to retaliate against terrorists even though some "innocent people" may die. "We cannot allow ourselves to become a Hamlet of nations, worrying endlessly over whether and how to respond," Shultz said.

He called for a "broad public consensus on the moral and strategic necessity" of striking back at terrorists, whom he called "depraved opponents of civilization itself."

"A great nation cannot afford to be hamstrung by confusion and indecisiveness. Fighting terrorism will not be a clean or pleasant contest but we have no choice but to play it," he said.

There was one big problem, though. Shultz's call to arms was addressed to the Western allies of the U.S. but he couldn't even get the U.S. Defense Department to go along.

Just more than a month after Shultz delivered his widely published "Hamlet of Nations" speech, Weinberger, in what the Pentagon billed as a major speech, said U.S. forces should be committed to combat only as a last resort when vital U.S. national interests are at stake and when there is "reasonable assurance of support by Congress and the public."

Weinberger, who was well aware of the military's shortcomings in dealing with terrorists, said the speech was designed to introduce a note of caution into the argument over sending U.S. troops into combat.

"Employing our forces almost indiscriminately and as a regular and customary part of our diplomatic efforts would surely plunge us headlong into the sort of domestic turmoil we experienced during the Vietnam War," he said, "without accomplishing the goal for which we committed our forces."

The debate over the use of force continued into 1985 as various officials from all levels of the government joined in. It was both a legitimate disagreement on public policy and a major bureaucratic struggle.

Shultz and Weinberger had long been rivals from their Nixon administration

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days. After the Marine headquarters explosion, Shultz had tried to make the State Department the power center for the war on terrorism.

But he had no power to order U.S. forces into action or even deploy the forces that his policy of retaliation called for. That power lay with Ronald Reagan, and, by direction, Weinberger. Weinberger and the military leaders wanted Reagan to step in and take leadership as the commander-in-chief of the war on terrorism, which would place the direction of the crisis entirely in the White House.

This also meant that defeat in the war on terrorism would be laid at Reagan's door and would unequivocally mar his presidency.

The debate itself also had the effect of a making a U.S. retaliatory military strike inevitable. One after another, terrorist acts were followed by an official U.S. statement promising retaliation. Each unfulfilled threat eroded American credibility.

"We talked too much," one administration official said. The rhetoric not only eroded credibility among the terrorists, it raised and shattered expectations among the American people.

On Dec. 4, 1984, for example, a Kuwaiti airliner carrying 166 people, including 6 Americans, was hijacked to Tehran by four terrorists believed to be Lebanese who demanded the release of prisoners held by Kuwait.

Two U.S. Agency for International Development employees, Charles Hegna and William Stanford, were killed by the hijackers. U.S. officials concerned with the geopolitics of the situation easily could have played down the incident by claiming that the Americans merely were caught up in a fight not of their own making.

But Shultz, five days later, publicly attacked terrorism in a speech at Yeshiva University in New York and warned of the danger of not using military force "when other means of influence have proven inadequate."

He also hinted at the concern within parts of the administration over the public acceptability of a military reprisal, saying that there "is no such thing as guaranteed public support in advance" when discussing the use of force.

While Shultz and Weinberger were jousting, CIA Director William Casey, acting with Reagan's explicit authority, was trying to develop covert responses to terrorism. But the one venture that became public was inauspicious.

In March, 1985, a Lebanese counter-terrorist group allegedly linked to the CIA killed 80 people in Beirut with a car bomb but missed its intended target—a radical Shiite Moslem cleric.

American officials denied that they had anything to do with the bombing but acknowledged that the CIA had trained some Lebanese in the Christian-dominated military intelligence service in covert counterterrorism techniques.

By this time, the U.S. officials who had publicly vowed to retaliate on several occasions found themselves with fewer and fewer options.

At this point, the White House jumped into the fray. Robert McFarlane, then the President's national security adviser, told the National Strategy Information Center that the U.S. "must be free to consider an armed strike against terrorists or those who support them when elimination or moderation does not appear feasible by other means.

"We need not insist on absolute evidence," McFarlane said, adding: "Nor should we need to prove beyond all reasonable doubt the tie between terrorists' actions and their supporters."

A week later Reagan said the U.S. would "go to the source" if foreign governments were found to sponsor terrorists acts. Meanwhile, press reports surfaced saying that the U.S. privately had warned Iran and Libya, two states that had been publicly identified as sponsoring terrorism, that they would be held responsible for any attacks on Americans.

The President and the White House had now become the power center in the war on terrorism.

But the attacks continued. On April 12, 1985, 18 people were killed and 82 were wounded, including 14 Americans, when a bomb destroyed a family restaurant in Madrid near an American air base. Islamic Jihad, radical fundamentalist Moslems believed to be trained and backed by members of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Iranian Revolutionary Guards, claimed responsibility for the attack.

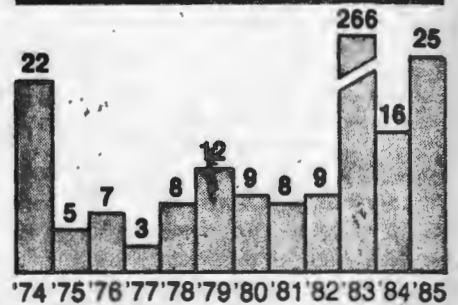
Two months later, on June 14, TWA Flight No. 847 was hijacked by Shiite terrorists minutes after it took off from Athens International Airport. During the 17-day ordeal 145 passengers, including 104 Americans, were held hostage, and one American, Robert Stetham, a 23-year-old Navy diver, was murdered by the hijackers.

By the time the last hostage was released June 30, Reagan said the terrorists who hijacked the plane should be held accountable for Stetham's death. Shultz vowed the U.S. would go after those guilty.

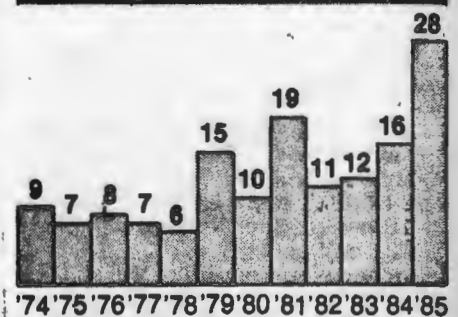
Behind the scenes, one senior White House official said, McFarlane had urged the President to order air strikes against terrorist bases in Lebanon, Iran and Syria in retaliation for the attacks.

But the President didn't order the strikes, the senior official said, because

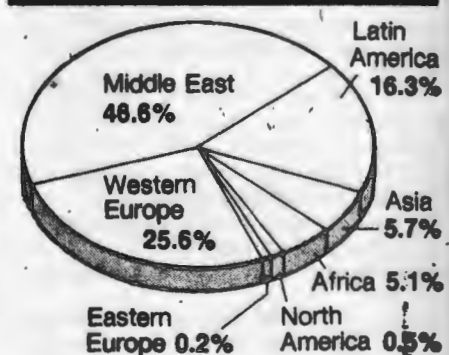
Americans killed overseas in terrorist attacks



Lethal incidents involving Americans



Locations of 1985 terrorist incidents



Chicago Tribune Graphic; Sources: U.S. State Department and Vice President's Task Force on Combating Terrorism

of the difficulty in establishing precise responsibility for the hijacking and fears that large numbers of innocent civilians would be harmed.

The official said the proposed air strike was backed by Shultz and Vice Adm. John Poindexter, then McFarlane's deputy and now his successor as the President's adviser on national security, but it was opposed by Weinberger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Just days after the TWA hijack hostages were released, the President established the vice presidential task force that eventually authorized a poll sug-

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Terrorism dictates foreign policy process

By Terry Atlas
and James O'Shea
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON—It was half-past three in the afternoon when the White House summoned Rep. Robert Michel [R., Ill.] and other congressional leaders to an urgent meeting with President Reagan.

There had been rumors for days that the President intended to take a military swipe at Libya's troublesome leader Moammar Khadafy, fueled by the positioning of two American aircraft carriers and a flotilla of escort ships within striking range.

But there had been such talk in the past, and until that moment Michel, the House Republican leader, didn't know that the death of an American serviceman in the terrorist bombing of a West Berlin disco 10 days earlier would be the act that finally provoked the "swift and effective retribution"—a retribution against terrorists pledged by Reagan in his inaugural address five years before.

As he hurried across town, Michel was unaware that three hours earlier 24 American F-111 fighter-bombers had taken off from their bases in Britain under orders from President Reagan to join carrier-based Navy war-

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Last of three articles

planes to bomb key Libyan targets, including Khadafy's headquarters, the Aziziyah barracks in Tripoli.

"I've never blown a confidence around here," Michel later recalled. "It would have been nice if they would have told me something ahead of time."

As Michel's comments reflect, Congress, which was given a role in declaring war under the Constitution and the disputed War Powers Act, was essentially excluded from the mid-April decision to undertake the biggest American bombing mission since the Vietnam War, a dangerous and unpredictable escalation in the war of nerves with Khadafy.

And, amid the applause from lawmakers and the American public following the raid, there is at least some restiveness among Capitol Hill leaders, even such administration stalwarts as Michel, who believe the White House has an obligation to in-

form them more than three hours before American bombs start falling on a foreign country.

"Congress will have to be brought into the decision," Michel said. "We can't just stand placidly by."

Just as terrorism has made concrete barricades around government offices part of the landscape here, it has left a mark on the way foreign policy is made, further widening the gap between Congress and the White House that emerged from Vietnam.

The use of American military force against a Third World country that Reagan has singled out as a sort of terrorist Public Enemy No. 1 is arguably the most important foreign policy decision made by the Reagan administration, which has anguished in public and private over how to deal with terrorist attacks.

But the need to move swiftly and protect the element of surprise, administration officials argue, has made any fuller consultation in advance with congressional leaders problematic. That view, too, has some support in Congress, where Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole [R., Kan.] and some conservative colleagues are pushing legislation that would give the President almost unlimited authority to deal with terrorists.

The decision to launch the retaliatory strike ended the administration impasse over the use of military force, a debate that Secretary of State George Shultz at one point said threatened to turn the

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gesting that the public supported a military retaliatory strike against terrorists.

This special task force was the catalyst for marshaling a real war on terrorism. At almost the same time, Adm. William Crowe, commander of American forces in the Pacific, became the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to succeed Gen. John Vessey.

As a Navy officer Crowe had little identification with the war in Vietnam and many in the Pentagon believed he was selected and Vessey's term cut short because he would be more willing to "project American military power."

Over the next several months, the administration kept up its verbal assault on terrorism, threatening "appropriate action" against an array of isolated ter-

rorist attacks throughout the world.

On Oct. 7, though, the course of events was dramatically changed when the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro was hijacked by Palestinian terrorists. They killed and threw overboard a crippled 69-year-old American named Leon Klinghoffer.

The U.S. took action. After the terrorists had left the ship and were being flown to safety, U.S. Navy jets deftly intercepted the Egyptian airliner carrying them and forced it to land at Sigonella, Sicily, on Oct. 11.

They were seized there by Italian authorities, and five of the hijackers are now in custody. On Thursday, an appeals court in Genoa, Italy, overturned the conviction of the youngest gunman on grounds he was a minor at the time and reduced the sentences for two of the three other gunmen and a convicted

accomplice. The young gunman will now stand trial as a juvenile, while his accomplices will serve terms ranging from 4 to 7 years in prison.

But Abul Abbas, the alleged mastermind of the attack, was allowed to go free.

U.S. officials subsequently obtained a complaint and arrest warrant charging Abbas with piracy, hostage taking and conspiracy. The U.S. also offered a reward of up to \$250,000 for information leading to the apprehension of Abbas, who Italian authorities say is living now in Tunis.

Tribune correspondents Timothy McNulty, George de Lama, Dorothy Collin and Glen Elsasser contributed to this story.

Tuesday: The Raid

TERRORISM...Continued

country into an indecisive "Hamlet of nations."

The action reflected administration frustration that simply defensive measures, such as improving embassy security, were inadequate and that the "soft options," such as economic and diplomatic sanctions, had proved ineffective. There was a sense that military action was necessary to give more credibility to the administration's campaign against terrorism.

"The handwringers say, 'Gee, we shouldn't have done that [bombed Libya]; we should have used another option.' Well, there wasn't any other option left to use that was effective," said Adm. J.L. Holloway [ret.], executive director of the Vice President's Task Force on Combating Terrorism.

"You know what people say: Policy doesn't mean anything unless people believe it. We have been saying we wouldn't sit back while people or nations attack the U.S. We've said it very clearly and Khadafy didn't believe it. Now I think he believes it," Holloway said.

For the near term, the fight against terrorism has upstaged and pushed aside American efforts to seek a political settlement between Israel on one side and Jordan and Palestinians on the other.

Even foreign policy experts who otherwise support the President's decision to bomb Libya, such as former President Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, worry that it jeopardizes the U.S.' ability to resume its traditional role of mediator in the region.

For its part, the administration draws a clear distinction between terrorism and settlement of the Palestinian problem in the Middle East: "Hijacking an Italian ship [Achille Lauro], murdering an American, torturing and holding a bunch of other Americans, is not justified by any cause I know of," Shultz

said last December. "It has no connection with any cause."

But there is an undeniable link between Arab terrorism, both against other Arabs and against Americans, and the troubled situation on the ground in the Middle East, where young, radicalized Palestinians provide a pool of potential terrorists for political leaders to use in their own designs on the region.

"Terrorism is in the Middle East because it is part of the Middle East problem," said Rep. Henry Hyde [R., Ill.], a member of the House Foreign Affairs and Intelligence Committees.

"There are people in the Middle East who are angry and unhappy about the situation there and have no outlet for their anger. If anybody says there is no connection, then they are part of the problem."

The evidence isn't at all clear about whether movement in the "peace process" reduces terrorism by dissipating some of the Palestinian frustrations, or whether it increases terrorism as radical Arab leaders such as Khadafy and Syrian President Hafez Assad use terrorism to undermine any potential movement toward resolving fundamental issues such as the Israeli occupation of the predominantly Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But, such considerations were at most secondary in Reagan's decision, which was very much tied to the mood of Americans. A survey conducted for the White House found that most of them were tired of feeling victimized by the terrorist threat.

While Reagan rides high in American public opinion polls in the aftermath of the April 15 strike against Libya, the lessons of the fight against terrorism are that such victories are often regrettably short-lived.

The initial glow from the American interception of the plane carrying the hijackers of the Achille Lauro cruise ship last October, for instance, faded when Italy and then Yugoslavia ducked

a formal American request to turn over to the United States Abul Abbas, the Palestinian described as the mastermind of the ship hijacking.

Abbas was unexpectedly found aboard the aircraft forced down in Sicily by U.S. Navy jets. U.S. officials since then have posted a reward of up to \$250,000 for information on Abbas, who briefly surfaced last week at an undisclosed location for a television interview with NBC News.

That incident highlighted the difficulty that the U.S. was having, and would continue to have, in getting visible cooperation from the Western European allies for measures that could preclude the need for military reprisals.

At the same time, terrorism expert Brian Jenkins of the Rand Corp. research group observed prophetically that the growing frequency of terrorist attacks involving Americans made it "increasingly likely that the United States will be compelled to respond with military power."

The risks of military action were tragically highlighted by the botched rescue attempt by elite Egyptian commandos who stormed a hijacked EgyptAir jet in Malta last November after an American passenger was murdered.

Fifty-seven passengers and two hijackers died in the shooting; and so did administration plans for a joint military operation with Egypt to topple Khadafy.

In a sense the botched Malta rescue underscored the real difficulties of united military action as well as the limitations of the paramilitary commando raid.

Some weeks earlier, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak had suggested to a U.S. delegation headed by Vice Adm. John Poindexter, now Reagan's national security adviser, that "something had to be done about Khadafy."

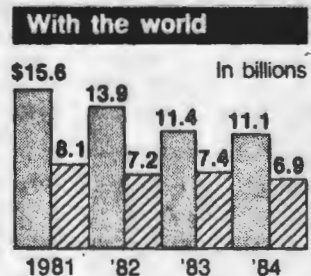
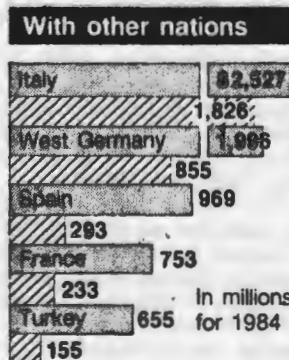
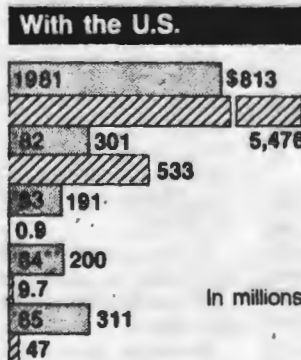
The Mubarak overture, said an American intelligence officer, "made some

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Libyan trade:

Why U.S. allies let Reagan go it alone

Exports Imports



Chicago Tribune Graphic; Sources: International Monetary Fund, U.S. Department of Commerce

TERRORISM...Continued

people around here very excited" and initiated planning for the U.S. to provide air, logistical and communications support to an Egyptian ground force.

It's not clear that Mubarak would have followed through, but it became a moot point as far as the U.S. was concerned after what seemed to be a poorly planned and tragically executed mission against the EgyptAir hijackers.

Military planners concluded that even if Mubarak's enthusiasm for the invasion remained high, the ability of his forces to carry it out and the dubious loyalty of conservative Moslems in the Egyptian military doomed the plan.

Then, two days after Christmas, came the event that set the U.S. firmly on the course of military confrontation with Libya.

In twin raids, Arab terrorists staged bloody attacks at airports in Rome and Vienna.

Reagan, reportedly beside himself with anger and disgust over the murder of 11-year-old American Natasha Simpson in the Rome airport attack, ordered the Pentagon to begin final preparation of contingency plans for military action against Libya.

The North African nation was suspected to be the base of another Palestinian terror master, Abu Nidal, from which the raids were thought to have been staged.

Subsequently, evidence pointed to Syria as possibly playing a key role in the raids. But the die had been cast for the Reagan administration. Libya was the target and Khadafy was the culprit in an orchestrated confrontation with America's President.

In public, Reagan has said the U.S. would take on others in the Middle East linked to terrorism, namely Syria and Iran.

In private, though, senior officials acknowledge a reluctance to confront Syria, a close Soviet client and truly powerful player in Middle East politics. Libya, in many ways, is the safer and easier target.

Reagan ordered a total U.S. economic boycott against Libya, but was unable for the most part to persuade the Western Europeans to join in. Without their participation, U.S. officials acknowledged, the American sanctions would have little bite.

The administration also ordered Americans to leave the desert nation, hoping to avoid a possible replay of the Iran hostage drama as tensions escalated toward military confrontation.

Importantly, though little-noticed at the time, Reagan laid out what the administration would subsequently use as legal justification for a military strike at Libya.

By providing aid to terrorist groups,

Reagan said, "Libya had engaged in armed aggression against the United States under established principles of international law, just as if he had used its own armed forces."

Two months later, the administration would return to that statement, to defend the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi as a legitimate act of self-defense permitted under Article 51 of the United Nations charter.

If there was any confusion, Shultz bluntly spelled out where the U.S. now stood, "It must be clearly and unequivocally the policy of the United States to fight back."

That was embodied in a new National Security Decision Directive on Jan. 20. It adopted the recommendations of the Bush task force on terrorism and was the only official U.S. public statement outlining American's policy on terrorism.

In all, the task force report made 44 recommendations. Many of the suggestions merely restated administration policies already in effect, such as calling for better exchange of intelligence between the U.S. and its allies.

One section urged Congress to make murder of American citizens outside of the U.S. a federal crime. But the task force's main message, Holloway said, was to warn other nations not to practice or support terrorist attacks on the U.S. or its citizens.

It was part of a consciousness-raising campaign designed to galvanize support for retaliatory strikes and test the public's appetite for commitment of military forces against terrorism.

In retrospect, the task force report's February statement that the American public would support "swift, forceful and even aggressive" actions against terrorists even if "inadvertent casualties result" signaled that sentiment within the administration had swung toward a military strike.

Behind the scenes, the pace of activity already had quickened at the National Security Council, Defense Department and State Department as plans were scrutinized to "raise the stakes" for Libya.

Reagan gave his approval, after extensive discussion with his top advisers, for new American naval maneuvers in Libya's disputed Gulf of Sidra. It was decided that the maneuvers, to be conducted in February, would be sold publicly as merely the exercise of freedom of navigation in international waters.

But the private discussion among the President's top advisers centered on setting the military rules of engagement, anticipating that the exercise was almost certain to provoke a military response from Khadafy.

Despite the expectation of a military clash, Reagan gave his approval without

consulting in advance with congressional leaders, as he would do again weeks later in ordering the bombing raid. As predicted, Libyan forces fired on American jets, triggering brief American counterattacks against two Libyan naval ships and against land-based radar sites.

The clash left the administration and the President visibly emboldened. Public opinion polls suggested the Americans overwhelmingly favored the attack; the Soviet Union didn't rush to the rescue of Libya, and the Navy attack planes from the U.S. 6th Fleet easily defeated Libya's smaller and technologically inferior armed forces.

On April 5, a bomb exploded in a West Berlin disco frequented by off-duty American servicemen, killing an American soldier and a Turkish woman and injuring 230 others. Communications between Tripoli and its embassy in East Berlin, intercepted by U.S. intelligence, led American officials to conclude that this attack was carried out under the direction of Libya.

From that point, a counterterrorism official said, the administration was both compelled to respond in some way and finally ready to take military action that would "match the rhetoric with action."

The supersonic American warplanes were just more than three hours from their targets as Michel and his congressional colleagues anxiously assembled at the Cordell Hull Room in the Old Executive Office Building adjoining the White House, which served as an auxiliary "situation room" for the National Security Council. On the wall, a map of Libya was displayed, showing the bombing targets.

The President already was waiting with his top foreign policy advisers, National Security Adviser Poindexter, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, William J. Crowe. "The President kicked it off," recalls one participant. "Then came Poindexter; he called on Weinberger; then came Crowe, and then Shultz, who came in late."

As the crucial minutes ticked by, Reagan described the dramatic mission and, meeting the barest definition of "consultation," told the congressional leaders that there was still time to recall the planes if they had strong objections. But he gave the impression that the offer was a courtesy that he didn't expect the lawmakers to take up.

"I don't know what I could have done if I had objections," said one of those called to the meeting. "The general impression was, 'This is what we are going to do, period.'"

In any event, no one at the meeting sought to test the President's sincerity.

The congressional leaders did have

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BOSTON GLOBE 13 May 1986 Pg. 7

Little support seen for Shultz aid request

By Adam Pertman
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State George P. Shultz is likely to get a chilly reception on Capitol Hill when he asks for more money for foreign aid, particularly to beef up security at US embassies, congressional officials said yesterday.

Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said through a spokesman that the committee's staff had found the administration's \$4.4 billion, five-year request for security enhancement "contains too much evidence of gold-plating rather than armor-plating."

He cited State Department plans to purchase 40 acres of land for a new embassy in Uganda, at \$250,000 an acre. "Clearly you don't need to spend that kind of money to get reasonable security," said the spokesman.

In addition, a Foreign Relations Committee source said that "you have to question their priorities when they're asking for hun-

dreds of thousands of dollars" to open an office of embassy security in Washington, "while they're not asking for any new Marine guards anywhere. Marine guards do a hell of a lot more for security than an office in Washington ever could."

Sen. John Kerry, a member of Lugar's committee, also questioned the administration request for "priority reasons." He said the \$33 million sought for an embassy in Belize constituted 20 percent of that nation's gross national product, "and there isn't much of anything to protect Americans from in Belize."

A State Department spokesman, asked about the critics' assertions, said he could not comment beyond statements made by Shultz on Sunday and by a senior department spokesman earlier yesterday.

Lobby for increase

Shultz, during a flight back to Washington after a trip to the Far East, said that neither the Senate nor the House had budgeted enough money for foreign aid, and that he planned to devote himself to lobbying for increases. He said the levels of assistance to other countries would be a "tragedy for United States foreign policy."

Shultz showed particular displeasure when the question of embassy security came up.

"One of these days, there'll be another tragedy at some embassy," he said, his voice rising in anger. "Then they'll come around and say, you're derelict in your duty because all these people got killed, and I'm going to say, I'm not derelict in my duty, because you wouldn't appropriate the money to provide for the security of people who are living constantly under threat."

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TERRORISM...Continued

questions, for instance, about the risks to American pilots and innocent civilians in Libya. One asked whether the evidence was in hand to support a military strike or whether the pressure of American public opinion was behind the decision.

"We know we've got them nailed," a confident Poindexter said. "Cold turkey."

After the raid, the President went on national television and, to the distress of some intelligence officials, disclosed that the U.S. had intercepted communications from Libya to its embassy in East Berlin directing the attack on the West Berlin disco. Khadafy, as Shultz said, was "his own smoking gun."

Administration officials had hoped the bombing raid would trigger a successful coup against Khadafy, and if he had been killed in the American raid, Reagan said last week, "I don't think any of us would have shed tears."

Although Khadafy survived the air raid and remains in power, the Presi-

dent and his top advisers now believe that their anti-Khadafy measures have put the Libyan leader on the defensive within his own nation.

One official, speaking on the condition he not be named, said U.S. intelligence reports suggest that Khadafy is no longer the sole, undisputed ruler of Libya, apparently being forced to share power within a ruling clique.

"We're certainly going to keep the heat on him now," the official said.

The administration, having won a pledge of cooperation from allied leaders at last week's Tokyo economic summit, also intends to keep the pressure on major allies to take steps against Libya, which was singled out in the allies' joint communique as a source of state-sponsored terrorism.

There have been 11 terrorist attacks or attempted attacks aimed at Americans or Britons since the American warplanes returned from the mission to their British bases and Navy carriers. On those, the administration has watched its language and bided its time.

One counterterrorism official said the administration isn't compelled to use force again against Libya, although "a lot of people" advocate it. "You could do it again," he said. "There are a few targets we missed."

But the President and his top aides have offered little more than cryptic hints to Congress and the American public about whether they have altered permanently the way the U.S. fights terrorism, becoming more ready now to strike back with military force.

"We did what we had to do . . ." Reagan said last week, telling Japanese journalists that he acted reluctantly after economic and diplomatic sanctions failed. "I hope this action will have been enough to convince Khadafy to change his policies."

"If not," he warned, "I will not hesitate to act again."

Tribune correspondents George de Lama, Timothy J. McNulty, Dorothy Collin and Glen Elsasser contributed to this report.

SHULTZ...Continued

Early yesterday, Charles Redman, a senior State Department spokesman, read a statement to reporters that made much the same point. He added that, if Congress was not more forthcoming, important parts of the security program would be halted or delayed.

Panel to work on bill

The administration asked for \$1.4 billion for security measures in fiscal 1987; the budget resolution passed by the Senate last week recommends cutting that to \$591 million, and the budget resolution to be taken up by the House tomorrow recommends \$702 million.

The Foreign Relations Committee is to begin work tomorrow on a bill that would increase the security funding to perhaps \$1 billion combined for fiscal 1986 and '87, as well as increase the aid level to the Philippines by a yet-undetermined amount.

Among Shultz's complaints was that the overall foreign-aid budgets in both houses were too small to allow reasonable assistance to countries such as the Philippines, Haiti or South Korea. The Senate budget calls for \$17.8 billion, compared to \$17 billion in the House measure. The administration asked for \$22.6 billion.

Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, yesterday began lobbying House members - particularly Republicans - to try to get bipartisan support for an increase in foreign aid. But a key committee staffer said Fascell was frustrated and pessimistic, because the administration was entering the fray so late.

"We needed them to fight for this a month ago, but they were nowhere to be found," said the aide. "Now Shultz is going to jump in when it's probably too late. Where was he when the budget was being written in committee?"

The Senate majority leader, Robert Dole (R-Kan.), agreed yesterday that Shultz would have problems getting more money. One reason, he and others agreed, are the budgetary constraints im-

NEW YORK TIMES 18 May 86 Pg. 56

The New Security: Fences to Flowerpots

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17 — A week ago, the shopping concourse inside the Pentagon became officially off-limits to the public.

At the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum on the Mall, guards now check the purses and briefcases of all visitors and staff. "Even though I'm the deputy director of the museum and the guards know me, they look through my briefcase every morning," said Don Lopez.

Some of the blossoms that bloomed here this spring did so in huge concrete flowerpots used as barriers to vehicles around such buildings as the Capitol and the Pentagon.

The signs are sometimes subtle, sometimes as obvious as a few flowers poking from a mass of concrete whose function is as forboding as its form. Washington, long a city of comparatively free and easy access, has become preoccupied with security and the threat of terrorism.

Few people here are willing to question the need for stepped-up security, particularly in the aftermath of the United States raid on Libya and the terrorist attacks abroad in recent years. But officials can face troublesome questions as they try to protect the capital without putting off the American people, who flock to this city with a justifiably proprietary air.

That dilemma is evident on Capitol Hill, where members of Congress are discussing a proposal to install a fence around the Capitol. "It's very hard," said Representative James J. Howard, the New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee. "Here, you've got all the politicians. They want people to seem welcome. I want to do something, but I don't want to go too far."

"The real frustration," Mr. Howard added, "is that it's very difficult to really secure a place without pushing the people around."

This is, after all, not just a seat of government, but a tourist attraction, a kind of theme park for democracy. And 1986 is shaping up as a healthy year for tourism in the capital, in part because fear of terrorism abroad is expected to prompt many American vacations at home, officials say.

In the days after the bombing attack on Libya, a few school groups canceled tours they had scheduled at some of the 12 Smithsonian museums here, officials said. But the vacancies were quickly filled, and the number of visitors is running well above last year's level.

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posed by the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction law.

Another, Dole said, was that "foreign aid is not a big seller" in Congress at a time when "we're taking the guts out of a lot of social programs here."

He also criticized the administration's funding request for security, saying it contained "things like furniture that don't have much to do with security - unless you're lying down."

WASHINGTON TIMES 21 May 1986 Pg. 2

Terrorists said to have safe houses in U.S.

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Terrorists trying to strike at the United States would find a network of safe houses and sympathizers waiting for them, a former FBI counterintelligence chief said yesterday.

"A terrorist could enter this country with memorized information that could take him to a chain of safe houses and sympathizers," said W. Raymond Wannall. "Sympathizers could provide [terrorists] with money, documents, intelligence information and even a battery of defense lawyers, if required. They are pretty well set up to give terrorists whatever help they would need here."

He said among the "infrastructures" that could support terrorist operations is the large Libyan community scattered throughout the United States.

Terrorists also could find logistical support in the United States from Iranians, Syrian-backed Armenians and Palestinians, and assorted Hispanic terrorists supported by Cuba and Nicaragua, said Mr. Wannall, who spent 25 years in FBI domestic intelligence operations before retiring in 1976.

His remarks were made during a panel discussion on Capitol Hill held by the National Committee to Restore Internal Security.

Terrorists could rely on support cells among the approximately 6,500 Libyans who have taken up residence in the United States since Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi came to power in 1969 and about 2,000 Libyans studying here, he said.

Several years ago two Libyan terrorists posed as students in attempting to purchase three .45-caliber handguns and two bullet-proof vests, Mr. Wannall said. They were arrested by FBI agents.

American radicals who traveled to Cuba in the 1970s with the "Venceremos Brigades" were trained by the Cuban DGI intelligence service in terrorist tactics, Mr. Wannall said, and "veterans of the brigades now are the support networks for Central American, South American and Caribbean revolutionary movements."

U.S. and Western security officials say Nicaragua since 1979 has become a major sanctuary for terrorists, including PLO terrorists and elements of Italy's Red Brigade terrorists.

Mr. Wannall noted that Sen. Jeremiah Denton of Alabama, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on security and terrorism, had testified before the committee that the Soviet KGB intelligence service "had instructed the Cuban DGI... to focus whatever acts of terrorism it undertakes in the entire Western hemisphere on the United States."

Groups that could be recruited by Cuba for terrorism in the United States, Mr. Wannall said, include the Socialist Workers' Party — whose support for Cuba he described as "intensive for many, many years" — and the pro-Moscow Communist Party USA, which "operates a number of solidarity fronts for Soviet support of terrorists."

Radical Iranian Shi'ite terrorists would find active support from several Iranian political groups, including the estimated 500 members of the pro-Ayatollah Khomeini Moslem Students Association, he said.

The Marxist Palestinian terrorist group, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has received significant support from U.S. radicals and has succeeded in recruiting supporters on U.S. college campuses, Mr. Wannall said.

SECURITY...Continued

George Berkley, a National Park Service spokesman, reports that the agency's "security sensitivity" has been heightened. He added, "The parkland in the nation's capital is quite safe, in our judgment."

The Smithsonian museums have imposed new security procedures, including tighter checks at the doors for both visitors and staff. "Everybody seems to be taking it with good grace," said Mary Combs, a spokesman for the Smithsonian. "It's sort of like airport checks. People are happy to know you're taking these steps."

Visitors to the capital can still take tours of the Pentagon, but a variety of new security measures have been added at that sprawling complex.

The decision to restrict the 16 stores in the Pentagon's shopping concourse to Pentagon employees and others with Defense Department passes was made some time ago, well before the raid on Libya, a spokesman said. And most customers were already Pentagon employees, he added.

The State Department plans to spend \$4 million on security improvements at its main building. In the past two years, the department has increased the number of guards, installed barriers to vehicles and expanded use of metal detectors and closed-circuit television monitors, an official recently told a Congressional panel.

The White House acquired concrete barriers around its fence after the 1983 truck-bombing of the Marine compound in Beirut. Now, workers are converting East Executive Avenue, between the White House and the Treasury Building, into a pedestrian mall. Security was a factor, officials say.

Out in suburban Virginia, at the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency, more gates and metal barriers have been installed at entrances. Huge boulders have been scattered in one area to deny access to any intruding vehicle, though at first glance they seem to be nothing more than part of a huge rock garden.

The new security consciousness is not confined to governmental Washington. Kastle Systems Inc., a company that provides electronic security systems to commercial office buildings, has experienced a sharp increase in business in the Washington area over the past year, an official said. "The perception in the market is, 'Let's get more security,'" said Jeff Kolodin, national sales manager.

The security issue is a cause for some sadness among longtime Washingtonians who remember more innocent times when a flowerpot was just a flowerpot. "There is no doubt we have to prepare ourselves a little bit better than we have in regard to possible terrorist attacks," Mr. Howard said.

Still, he said he wonders: "If we start doing these things, have the terrorists won? And how do we do it without separating people from their Capitol?"

LOS ANGELES TIMES
25 May 86 Pg. 1

Arms Transport Security Risks Alarm Military

By GAYLORD SHAW,
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Army and Navy investigators warned in classified reports prepared last year that thousands of commercial shipments of military munitions—everything from crates of hand grenades to shoulder-fired Stinger anti-aircraft missiles—were “extremely vulnerable” to being hijacked by terrorists.

And, said one official, munitions shipments moving on the nation's highways are still “a terrorist's dream.”

The Defense Department's response to that risk, a low-budget plan to increase the number of munitions shipments protected by armed guards, falls far short of meeting the threat and could even pose a danger to civilians, critics in Congress and elsewhere charge.

Drivers as Guards

The Pentagon plan calls for a tenfold increase in the number of truck shipments protected by armed guards, to 4,000 from 400 annually, effective June 1. But it would permit the truck drivers to be issued guns and counted as guards rather than adding trained security personnel to go along on munitions shipments.

Giving shotguns to civilian truck drivers and telling them to resist hijackers “insofar as humanly possible,” as the Pentagon has put it, will not help security and could endanger innocent people, Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), chairman of a House transportation subcommittee, said.

Trucking companies that haul munitions also are unhappy about the directive, but they “don't have any choice” but to abide by it, an industry spokesman said.

Concern over in-transit security of ammunition, explosives and weapons—especially small missiles and other portable munitions—has

WASHINGTON POST 25 May 86 Pg. 16

Justice Dept. Seeks Access to NBC Tapes

Discussions Concern Abbas Interview

Associated Press

The Justice Department has been holding discussions for more than a week with NBC in an attempt to persuade the network to turn over unused videotape from its interview with Abul Abbas, the suspected mastermind of the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship, sources said.

The latest meeting was held Thursday between Floyd Abrams, a First Amendment attorney hired by NBC, and lawyers for the Justice Department's criminal division who are investigating the Abbas case, according to sources familiar with the discussions, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Justice Department attorneys hope to persuade NBC to provide the material without a subpoena, thus avoiding a potential public furor in the matter, the sources said. Discussions are continuing.

The Justice Department is especially interested in a portion of the report by NBC correspondent Henry Champ that said Abbas “freely admits responsibility for the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship, the Achille Lauro.” No videotape was shown of any such remarks by Abbas, and federal lawyers would like to know whether it exists.

It could not be determined whether the department is in-

terested in any written notes that might have been taken by NBC during the Abbas interview. It also could not be determined whether the Justice Department wants to interview the NBC crew members who attended the Abbas interview.

Justice Department spokesman Patrick Korten refused to confirm that any discussions were held between the department and NBC on the Abbas story.

NBC refused to comment on whether the Justice Department had asked for its tapes. “Any such request, if it came, would be referred to counsel,” said Andrew Friedman, a spokesman for the NBC “Nightly News.”

In the interview, broadcast May 4, Abbas said President Reagan has become “enemy No. 1” and said terrorist operations on American soil are envisioned.

NBC said at the time that it had agreed not to reveal the location of the interview, but it was later learned from government sources that Abbas was in Algeria at the time.

Sources said the State Department complained to Algeria for not turning the renegade Palestinian over to Italian or U.S. authorities for prosecution for his role in the hijacking of the cruise ship and the death of Leon Klinghoffer, a disabled American passenger, the sources said.

risen with the tide of international terrorism, according to documents obtained by The Times. And the secret Army and Navy investigations are finding a problem of alarming dimensions:

—“Commercial transportation of ammunition is extremely vulnerable to theft,” said an Army inspector general's report last September.

—“Naval ordnance shipments

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TRANSPORT...Continued

are vulnerable to threats of espionage, terrorism and carelessness," said a Navy report issued last May.

"We have become too cavalier" about safeguarding sensitive shipments, the head of the Naval Sea Systems Command said in a memo several months earlier.

Some Armaments Missing

At about the same time, the Defense Department's inspector general found serious security flaws in the method of transporting Stinger missiles, the portable, surface-to-air weapons that President Reagan last week dropped from a proposed arms deal with Saudi Arabia because of congressional concern that they might fall into the hands of Arab terrorists.

Disclosure of official worries over the vulnerability of munitions shipments follows other revelations of weaknesses in military supply and logistics operations. The Times reported earlier this month, for instance, that the Army cannot account for the apparent disappearance of huge quantities of ammunition and explosives from its far-flung supply system. Last year, The Times gave details of how Iranian agents had illegally tapped into the Navy's supply system to obtain sophisticated warplane and missile parts for the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's war against Iraq.

The discovery of serious flaws in the munitions transportation system has stirred concern inside the Pentagon, however, because the particular weapons involved are so directly applicable to terrorism and because shipments move across the country in such great numbers.

Stinger missiles and other ready-to-fire missiles and rockets—Hamlet, Redeye, Dragon, LAW, Viper—are grouped in Category 1—munitions so sensitive that commercial shipments must be made under the constant surveillance of armed guards, must have dual drivers with security clearances, and, starting June 1, must be escorted by security vehicles.

There have been no known instances of terrorists' hijacking of munitions shipments on America's highways, but investigators said in a "quick reaction" report dated Dec. 26, 1984, that "in-transit security of ready-to-fire missiles is not adequate."

The inspectors found that "several drivers and guards were not armed . . . some drivers and guards that were armed with weapons, but no ammunition . . . some drivers and/or guards had no training with their weapons . . . many drivers had no instruction on how to resist a hijacking . . . many drivers had no means of communication; and . . . drivers did not make use of convoy procedures or escort vehicles."

Pentagon officials said that aggressive action was taken to correct the flaws found 18 months ago. Officials of the Military Traffic Management Command, the agency in charge of shipping "everything from beans and bullets" for all branches of the service, said in interviews that they were moving to strengthen security before the investigators made their reports.

"None of us have our heads in the sand," Col. George R. Kaine, the command's chief spokesman, said in reference to the risk of terrorist action.

Three-Way Conferences

"We don't work in a vacuum," added Col. Rodger L. Hoff, the command's deputy chief of staff for safety, security and intelligence. He said that a series of conferences with military and civilian investigators and industry representatives, begun in 1984, has been part of a "continuous evaluation . . . so we could make fixes."

Nonetheless, problems persist. In March, for instance, when Hoff's office began covert surveillance of shipments to see if trucking companies were complying with security requirements, it quickly found what he calls a "horror story."

The first truck selected at random for surveillance was carrying Category 1 munitions from the Red River Army Depot in Texas to Camp Pendleton in California. The truck was supposed to be watched at all times by one of its armed drivers but, records show, it was left unattended at two truck stops within a 300-mile stretch on the first day of its westward journey. Both drivers were fired by the trucking company, whose brief suspension from Pentagon contracts was lifted when it instituted security reforms.

There are about 400 shipments of Category 1 munitions annually, and 10 times that many of Category II munitions—which include light

automatic weapons, high explosives and phosphorus grenades, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, plastic explosives, military dynamite and TNT.

Two Drivers on Duty

Category II shipments for several years have been subject to "dual driver protective service"—each truck must have two qualified but unarmed drivers, one of whom must be awake and within 10 feet of the truck at all times. Starting June 1, security of these shipments will be upgraded to "armed guard surveillance service (AGS)," one of the requirements long applied to Category 1 shipments.

The Pentagon directive dated last February defines armed guard surveillance service as "a service that provides two drivers, at least one of whom is armed, to remain with the shipment at all times."

Rep. Collins complained in a letter to Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger in March that it was a "somewhat bizarre course of action" to allow sensitive munitions to be hauled by "non-cleared drivers with shotguns and instructions to 'protect their loads' in the interest of national security."

Misgivings about the effectiveness of the new directive also were expressed by W. J. Burns, managing director of the Munitions Carriers Conference Inc. "These guys are professional drivers, not law enforcement officers," Burns said, and they may be unwilling to risk their lives to fight off "a band of terrorists."

In referring to Pentagon officials who award the contracts for munitions shipments, Burns added: "We'll go along with what they think best . . . we don't have any choice. We have to live with these people."

Professionally trained guards and drivers, as well as specially built government trucks equipped with elaborate communications gear to keep track of the cargoes, are used for the highly secret shipments of nuclear weapons, which are handled by the Energy Department, not the Pentagon.

Such precautions are considered prohibitively expensive for the 40,000 shipments of all types of military munitions that are made each year. Besides, the Pentagon feels compelled to use commercial

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TRANSPORT...Continued

trucking firms because, one official said, the law prohibits government competition with private-sector transportation.

According to a veteran Defense Department official, Pentagon procedures for shipping conventional munitions are deliberately intended to "keep a low profile," apparently in the hope that such shipments will be virtually indistinguishable from other civilian cargoes on the nation's highways. "It would be counterproductive to have everything move in military convoys," he said.

But sometimes the movement of conventional munitions becomes very visible. In 1984, the interchange of Interstates 70 and 25 in the heart of Denver was closed for 12 hours, after a truck carrying six torpedoes from Washington state to Connecticut overturned. The torpedoes did not explode and the only people injured were the two truck drivers, but the accident led to a Navy inquiry that produced scathing criticism of procedures governing munitions shipments.

"Naval ordnance has become just another commodity to be transported, and, although grouped with a wide range of 'hazardous materials,' it is treated no differently than other commercial goods," said Vice Adm. E. B. Fowler, now retired as commander of the Naval Sea Systems Command, in a memo endorsing the inquiry's findings.

"The critical aspects associated with . . . the security of the sophisticated weapons involved have been either lost entirely or badly eroded," Fowler said.

An even sterner warning came last September, when the Army inspector general declared in a report classified "for official use only" that munitions shipments were "extremely vulnerable" because procedures do "not always provide adequate protection."

Pentagon records indicate about two dozen instances in the last two years of truck companies being disciplined for offenses such as "abandonment of shipment" or "security service failure" or "loss of classified shipment."

Officials said that the screening of drivers for Category I shipments was tightened after a Dec. 2, 1982, accident near Los Banos, Calif., involving a truck loaded with 18 surface-to-air missiles.

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE 29 May 86 Pg. 7

AID Advisory Offers Anti-Terrorist Tips

By FRANK GREVE

Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Avoid aisle seats on aircraft, the U.S. Agency for International Development advises its personnel traveling overseas, and don't fly first class.

Aisle seat occupants usually suffer the most harassment when a plane is hijacked, AID's security specialists said. Moreover, "If weapons are discharged, the angle of fire will probably be up and down the aisle, with the aisle seats being the most exposed," a recent AID travel advisory warned.

Because hijackers "invariably use the first-class cabin as a convenient command post," AID's security office urges travelers to fly coach or tourist class.

The advice comes as part of an intensified counter-terrorist campaign by the State Department,

AID's parent agency, which has lost 72 personnel to terrorism since 1967.

In a training film, "Tips for Travelers," State suggests that parents take separate flights. It advises personnel to take a minimum of carry-on luggage, including medications.

To "keep as low a profile as possible," only credit cards, passport and cash should be carried aboard an aircraft. Wallets, security badges and the like should be put in checked luggage, in line with AID's advice, "Carry nothing you cannot explain."

State's personnel are urged to "develop an international appearance," avoiding such items as U.S.-flag lapel pins and "religious jewelry." They are advised against carrying liquor or "magazines that might be considered provocative" to conservative Moslems.

According to National Transportation Safety Board documents, "the truck driver admitted to drinking alcoholic beverages prior to the accident . . . had been convicted on 14 previous traffic violations . . . was convicted on one count of burglary and two counts of theft of property (and) at the time of the accident, robbery charges were pending."

As for Category II shipments—such as machine guns, grenades and mines—"we are going to institute some kind of clearance . . . They (drivers) will come under some kind of scrutiny to ensure they are not felons or foreign nationals," said Ken Stombaugh, acting deputy director of inland freight for the military command.

Hoff, the security chief, agreed. "It wouldn't make sense to allow an Iranian national or a Libyan national" to be driving a truck hauling such munitions, he said.

FEDERAL TIMES 26 May 1986 Pg. 16

Security for Weapons Criticized

Senator Says Protection at National Guard Armories Inadequate

By Rick Maze and
P.J. Budahn

Security procedures of National Guard armories, weapons manufacturers and civilian truckers hauling ammunition and weapons for the military have come under increased scrutiny because of the terrorist threat.

Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala., chairman of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on security and terrorism, said armories are "weapons warehouses" for terrorists, and that many computer firms have more elaborate security measures than weapons manufacturers.

"The apparent lack of security that exists to protect against possible thefts from these facilities should be a concern to all of us," Denton said during a subcommittee hearing on the FBI's fiscal 1987 budget.

Denton has asked the FBI to alert weapons manufacturing plants to the potential threat of terrorism and has asked the military to improve security at armories.

Weapons manufacturers are not required to take specific security measures, Denton said. "It is apparent that many high-tech companies have better security systems and personnel training in security techniques than a number of arms and ammunition manufacturers," he said.

Security for 4,000 annual truck shipments of light automatic weapons, hand grenades and explosives for demolitions will be beefed up June 1. But officials of the Military Traffic Management Command, which oversees the commercial shipments, say the security improvements aren't part of a counter-terrorism program.

"If it [the improvement] deters terrorists, so much the better. But the biggest threat is from criminals," an MTMC official said.

For about a decade, military guidelines have required two-man crews armed with a shotgun for shipments of non-nuclear, ready-to-fire missiles like the Red-Eye and Stinger. About 400-500 shipments annually fall into this grouping, called Category 1 by the shippers under their four-step system for grading types of ammunition and weapons cargoes.

The security upgrade will put a shotgun in the driver's cab for another estimated 4,000 commercial shipments annually, called Category 2. The remaining two categories, accounting for about 40,000 shipments yearly, have two unarmed drivers.

The security procedures for these shipments have come under fire, both internally and from Capitol Hill.

A Navy study in October 1984 criticized the service for becoming "too cavalier in our respect for and treatment of ordnance" shipped by commercial haulers on the nation's highways.

NEW YORK TIMES 30 May 1986 Pg. 1

8 INDICTED BY U.S. IN TERRORIST ACTS

9-Year Series of Violent Crimes on East Coast Described

By RICHARD L. MADDEN

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, May 29 — Five men and three women were accused by the Federal authorities today of taking part in a nine-year pattern of bombings, murder and bank robberies by two terrorist groups.

Federal officials said that the eight people had committed 19 bombings or attempted bombings in Massachusetts and New York; 10 bank robberies in Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, New York and Virginia; two attempted murders, and the murder in 1981 of a New Jersey state trooper, Philip Lamomaco.

All eight indicted today have been convicted previously of other Federal charges related to some of the latest accusations and all are in various Federal prisons, the officials said. Prosecutors said the violence grew out of a radical left-wing movement to overthrow the Government.

'Paints the Full Picture'

The new charges will give the authorities additional grounds to hold any of the defendants who might be near release on earlier and lesser charges, according to one Federal official.

"This is the case that paints the full picture in terms of the range of geo-

graphic activity from the tip of New England down through the Mid-Atlantic states," William F. Weld, the United States Attorney for Massachusetts, said of the indictment.

The indictment, handed up Wednesday by a Federal grand jury here and announced today, links the defendants for the first time to bombings in Massachusetts and to most of the bank robberies, Mr. Weld said.

"The purposes of the group allegedly were to bomb corporate, government and military buildings, to issue communiqués after each bombing expressing the purpose of the bombing and inciting others to similar acts of violence, and to rob banks in order to finance the group's activities," the Federal authorities said in a prepared statement.

According to the indictment, members of the groups carried out the bombings from 1976 to 1984 using two names — "The Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit," or the "United Freedom Front."

Prosecutors have said previously that the group took its names from Mr. Melville, a left-wing radical killed in the 1971 uprising at the Attica state prison in upstate New York, and from Mr. Jackson, who was killed in a shootout at a California courthouse while trying to kidnap a judge.

They said the Melville-Jackson Unit, whose purpose was to overthrow the Government, evolved in the early 1980's into the United Freedom Front, which has expressed opposition to United States foreign policy, racial injustice in this country and South Africa's racist policies.

The indictment today said that the group was responsible for the bombing in 1976 of the Suffolk County Courthouse in Boston, in which 22 people were injured, two seriously, and for the

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

At least one key congressman agrees.

"The Defense Department has let this important area of security slip. Now that we are worried about Libyan terrorism, the Defense Department's inaction is more deplorable than ever," said Rep. Cardiss Collins, D-Ill., chairman of the House Government Operations subcommittee on Transportation.

DoD officials say they are matching the security measures taken to the threat.

NEW YORK POST
19 May 1986 Pg. 10

STRIKE BACK HARD, URGES EX-HOSTAGE

PETER Hill talks with smoldering anger about terrorism and with good reason — he was a hostage in last summer's hijacking of TWA Flight 847 by Shiite Moslems.

He speaks with certain experience when he says the only way to deal terrorism a death blow is to destroy its spirit through military strikes.

Hill is one of the panelists slated for the May 29 Post Forum on world terrorism at the Sheraton Centre.

The others are Israeli UN Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu and National Security Council Adviser Michael Ledeen.

Netanyahu is the brother of Jonathan Netanyahu, the architect of the successful commando raid on Entebbe airport in 1976 and the lone Israeli to die as a result of it.

Ledeen has written a book and many articles on terrorism and is considered a leading authority on the subject.

They will be questioned by Post editors and reporters before 1000 invited guests.

Hill, a travel tour operator out of Chicago, had made more than 100 trips to the Mideast.

Last summer, however, he endured a terrifying and unscheduled stopover in Lebanon as a hostage.

"What we did to Libya was the only viable avenue open to us," said Hill.

"That's the only way to deal with people like Khadafy. You see that coward hasn't done much since we paid him back for being a terrorist state."

Hill believes that terrorists attack because they don't fear retribution.

"The way Israel treats terrorism is the way to go," said Hill, who has a forest named for him in the Jewish state.

"There is no way to stop terrorism as long as people are willing to die, but you can stop them from trying it on you. That's the greatest lesson to be learned from the Israelis."

During last year's horror in the hands of the hijackers, Hill never gave in to them. He forced them to respect him by not listening to their propo-

INDICTED...Continued

bombing two months later of the Middlesex Superior Courthouse in Lowell, Mass., in which one person was injured.

Earlier charges had linked six of the defendants to 11 bombings in New York State, the most recent of which was in 1984 at the offices of the Union Carbide Corporation in Tarrytown, in Westchester County, Federal officials said.

Mr. Weld identified the eight people named in the latest indictment as Raymond Luc Levasseur, 39 years old, and Patricia Helen Gros, 31, both of Calais, Me.; Thomas William Manning, 39, and Carol Ann Manning, 31, of Sanford, Me.; Jaan Karl Laaman, 38, of East Boston, Mass.; Barbara J. Curzi, 28, of Cambridge, Mass.; Richard Charles Williams, 38, of Boston, and Christopher Everett King, 36, of Cambridge.

Each was charged with two counts under the Federal racketeering statutes and one count of conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force.

The maximum penalties are 20 years imprisonment and a \$25,000 fine for each of the racketeering counts, and 20 years imprisonment and a \$20,000 fine for the conspiracy count.

Five of those charged today were arrested by Federal agents near Deerfield, Ohio, in 1984 in connection with the slaying in 1981 of Trooper Lamona-co. He was shot to death on an isolated stretch of Interstate 80 near the Pennsylvania border, apparently after stopping a car for a routine check.

Mr. Williams and Mr. Manning, who previously have been charged with murder in the slaying, are awaiting trial in New Jersey.

ganda.

"I showed them strength and gained their respect and their fear," he said.

"They didn't know what to do with me so they left me alone after a while."

The New York Post Forum has been acclaimed as the city's premier platform for important local, national and international issues.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1 June 1986 Pg. 4

Warns Senators of 'Damage' to U.S.**President Calls Revisions
in Extradition Treaty Vital**By DON IRWIN, *Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON — President Reagan warned Saturday that "irreparable damage" to this country's ability to hunt down terrorists will be done if "a handful of United States senators" succeed in blocking a revised treaty that would simplify extradition of accused Irish terrorists to Britain.

Holding that "terrorists are always the enemies of democracy," Reagan said during his weekly radio talk that failure to approve the treaty, which has been before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee since last July, would "undermine our ability to pressure other countries to extradite terrorists who have murdered our citizens."

Called Affront to Thatcher

"And rejection of this treaty would be an affront to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, one European leader who, at great political risk, stood shoulder to shoulder with us during our operations against (Libyan leader Moammar) Kadafi's terrorism," said Reagan, who is of Irish descent.

The revised treaty would narrow language in the existing agreement with Britain that prohibits extradition for crimes of a "political nature." The amended wording would exclude violent crimes, such as murder and hijacking, from the category of political acts, thus making it easier for Britain to

recapture fugitives, frequently members of the outlawed Irish Republican Army, who are accused of terrorist acts in Northern Ireland's continuing civil strife.

Recalling that leaders of the Western democracies agreed on anti-terrorist policies at their Tokyo summit last month, Reagan said that progress had been imperiled by Senate resistance to the revised treaty.

"This agreement," he said, "would prevent terrorists who have kidnaped, killed or maimed people in Britain from finding refuge in our country. Today, these killers are able to do just that, by labeling their vile acts 'political.'"

Reagan said enactment of a substitute version that would exempt people who kill or injure uniformed personnel from the extradition, which has been proposed by Democratic members of the Foreign Relations Committee, is not a compromise, but rather "would be a victory for terrorism and a defeat for all we've been trying to do to stop this evil."

The Foreign Relations Committee is controlled, 9 to 8, by Republicans, but the draft treaty has been stymied ever since arch-conservative Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) joined the eight Democrats in opposition, tipping the balance to 9 to 8 in favor of the opposition.

As is often the case, Helms took an individualistic stand, opposing the draft on the grounds that it could end the traditional role of the

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NEW YORK TIMES 4 June 1986 Pg. 4

Extradition Pact Gains in Senate

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 3 — A revised extradition treaty between the United States and Britain gained momentum today when the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee offered to amend it to meet objections that have kept it stalled in the committee since last fall.

The chairman, Richard G. Lugar, an Indiana Republican, scheduled a committee vote for Friday morning. He initially set the vote for Wednesday, but postponed it after the committee's Democrats, who hold eight of the 17 seats, asked for more time.

The Democrats were making no public promises today. But several key Democrats are said to be as eager as Senator Lugar to find a way out of the impasse, which has become a source of tension not only within the committee but between the United States and Britain.

'Working on a Compromise'

Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Is-

land, the ranking Democrat on the committee, said this afternoon that "we are working on a compromise." The Democrats have scheduled a caucus for Wednesday afternoon.

Senator Lugar himself is under considerable pressure to bring the treaty to the Senate floor. President Reagan said in his weekly radio address last Saturday that the Senate's continued failure to approve the treaty would undermine the nation's efforts to combat terrorism.

The treaty is aimed at making it easier for Irish Republican Army fugitives to be extradited to Britain. It limits the availability of the "political offense" exception to extradition contained in the current treaty. Four I.R.A. fugitives have escaped extradition in the last several years by persuading Federal courts that their crimes were politically motivated.

Senator Lugar is proposing four changes in the negotiated treaty. One would eliminate "possession of fire-

arms" from the list of offenses for which the political exception could no longer be claimed. That list includes crimes of violence such as murder, kidnapping, hostage taking, use of explosives and inflicting "grievous bodily harm." Some of the treaty's opponents had argued that mere possession of firearms did not belong on the list.

A second amendment specifies that Federal courts are to review each extradition request and reject those for which the evidence is "manifestly ill-founded." The language in the negotiated treaty left open the possibility that American courts might have to order extradition automatically without reviewing the evidence.

A third amendment permits the President to deny extradition on "humanitarian" grounds if he finds that the individual could not get a fair trial or was being prosecuted on account of race, religion, nationality or political opinion.

WASHINGTON TIMES 4 June 1986 Pg. 6

U.S. bristles at statements on terrorism by Papandreou

By Bill Kritzberg
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Reacting harshly to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's assertion that the United States was engaged in "terrorism," a State Department spokesman said yesterday his remarks were "baseless, unhelpful and indeed harmful."

State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said Mr. Papandreou's statement last Friday hurts "international and Western efforts to achieve a focused, effective response to international terrorism."

"We find these remarks all the more surprising in view of the threat that terrorism has posed to Greek national interests," Mr. Kalb said. "We're communicating privately with the Greek government to urge a more responsible approach to this grave international problem."

In a speech to the Greek Parliament, Mr. Papandreou compared the American bombing raid against Libya last April and the Reagan administration's support for Nicaraguan rebels fighting the Marxist Sandanista government to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Mr. Papandreou said political violence was being used "to destabilize governments through intervention in Libya, Nicaragua and Afghanistan." He said, "For many decades, Greece has been a satellite of the United States" and asserted that the American government was trying to "conceal an attempt by the United States to use force as a form of world policing."

A State Department official said, "We find it incredible that a responsible head of a nation which is a member of NATO would say these sorts of things." He added, "We certainly resent the fact that he said Greece has been a satellite of the United States."

Sources at the State Department said the unusually strong language was intended to express U.S. "irritation" but would not lead to a rupture in relations with Greece.

For the past year Greece has been trying to improve relations with the United States. The policy, dubbed "calmer wa-

ters" by Mr. Papandreou, was prompted by Greece's economic difficulties and what the official called "a realization that Greece's interests lie with the West."

The Reagan administration has asked for \$500 million in aid for Greece next year. Although the country does not receive payment for American bases there, the Greek government asked that aid be increased from the \$450 million it is receiving this year under the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement "as a quid pro quo" for consideration of extending American base rights.

The official said the United States was generally "impressed with the progress in relations [with Greece] over the past year," but added: "We have been disappointed in the last month or so in the Greek attitude on Libyan terrorism."

Mr. Papandreou has said that there "is not a shred of evidence linking Libya to terrorism." Greece was the only member of the European Community not to implement economic sanctions against Libya after being presented with evidence of Libyan involvement in several terrorist attacks.

During the North Atlantic Council meeting in Canada last week, Secretary of State George Shultz received assurances from Greek Foreign Minister Carolos Papoulias that the Athens government was taking steps to combat terrorism. But when Mr. Shultz demanded to know what measures had been implemented, Mr. Papoulias said he could not divulge them for security reasons.

A State Department official said the Greek government had not taken any action against the Libyan Peoples Bureau in Athens, which has more than 50 members and is the largest such bureau outside Libya.

U.S. and European investigators have found evidence that the people's bureaus, which serve as Libyan embassies, sometimes offer sanctuary to terrorists, smuggle arms to them in diplomatic pouches and relay communications to terrorist bases in Libya.

PRESIDENT...Continued

United States as a refuge for political dissidents and set a precedent for other treaties that could permit extradition of rebels against tyranny, among them Nicaraguan *contras*.

Helms has thus far remained deaf to Administration arguments that no apparent precedents have been set by new extradition treaties with anti-terrorist clauses already concluded with Mexico, Colombia and the Netherlands, as well as an understanding to the same effect reached with West Germany.

See U.S. Taking Sides

The committee's Democrats, four of whom represent states in the East with large Irish-American voting blocs, have argued that the United States would be taking sides between the British government and the IRA if it went along with the treaty revision. They have sought to amend a \$250-million aid package—\$230 million in credits and \$20 million in grants proposed by the Administration for Northern Ireland—into a straight \$250 million grant program. Some have proposed linking the extradition treaty to the aid package.

Up to now, the committee's chairman, Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), has avoided bringing the treaty to a vote as he strives with representatives of the Administration, including Reagan, to persuade one or more of the Democrats to switch position. The committee's next meeting is set for Tuesday..

WASHINGTON TIMES 6 June 1986 Pg. 8D

Weinberger urges new rules to tear shield of diplomacy from terrorists

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE
9 June 1986 Pg. 1

Terrorism Held Overreported And Overrated

BY GUDRUN HASSINEN
New York City Tribune Correspondent

BONN, June 5 — An international terrorism expert says that while terrorism poses a certain danger to the world, its significance is exaggerated by coverage in the media.

Dr. Walter Laqueur, a professor of government at Georgetown University and chairman of the research board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., gave his opinion at a gathering of experts here this week, invited by the conservative Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Laqueur said terrorism is not expanding continuously, as is often claimed, and that he would not give it first place in a list of world problems.

He called it a mistake of the media to focus on terrorist acts — so that Libyan leader Moammar Qaddafi was heavily overestimated and politicians were concentrating on terrorism as the worst evil.

Laqueur is also the director of the Institute of Contemporary History and the Wiener Library in London, and publisher of the *Journal of Contemporary History*, the *Washington Papers* and *Washington Quarterly* in the U.S. capital.

There are two cases where, in his opinion, terrorism could become a danger to the world.

One may be referred to as the "Sarajevo complex" — terrorist activities that escalate into war between two or more small countries, drawing the global powers to intervene.

The U.S. and Soviet Union should make an agreement so that it never

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger yesterday called for new international standards to thwart the use of embassies to shelter or support terrorists, saying "diplomatic title must not confer a license to murder."

"There is . . . important legal work to be done on the issue of state-sponsored terrorism," Mr. Weinberger said in remarks prepared for an American Bar Association meeting last night. "Embassies are used as terrorist arsenals and planning centers, and so-called 'diplomats' actually plan and orchestrate murders and bombings in the nations hosting them.

"Yet, under the prevailing law of diplomatic immunity," said Mr. Weinberger, "the embassy is a sanctuary; there is no recourse against the so-called diplomat except expulsion.

"I think we should examine very carefully the whole idea of diplomatic privilege extending to support of terrorism," he said in the keynote address to the ABA's conference on terrorism.

Mr. Weinberger did not advance any specific proposals on that score, saying, "The task remains for our diplomats with the assistance of the legal profession." But he added, "Diplomatic title must not confer a license to murder.

"The governments of Libya, Syria, Iran, Cuba and Nicaragua, not to mention the Soviet Union," said Mr. Weinberger, "have from time to time allied themselves with terrorist fanatics as a means of spreading their influence, or to destabilize Western society.

comes to such an escalation, Laqueur said.

The second case is when the terrorists' strategy of provocation succeeds in turning democracies into dictatorships — as happened in Argentina and Turkey, where martial law was implemented as a first step to counter terrorists, and dictatorship subsequently evolved.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

"These governments provide everything from funds, weapons and terrorist training to open political support and sanctuary. International terrorism has reached new levels of destructiveness through this symbiotic relationship of terrorists with established government authorities," he said.

"Surely we can preserve the good purposes of the doctrines of sovereign and diplomatic immunity without cloaking terrorists in those privileges," Mr. Weinberger continued.

"We should remember the 1984 incident, when Libya dispatched its emissaries to London to execute Libyan exiles there. The murderers barricaded themselves in the Libyan Embassy, and, from inside the embassy, they machine-gunned anti-Qaddafi protesters, wounding 10. They also killed a British police-woman," he noted.

While British authorities considered what action to take, "[Libyan leader Muammar] Qaddafi's thugs surrounded the British Embassy in Tripoli," Mr. Weinberger recounted. "Thus Qaddafi not only used his diplomatic privileges in service of terrorism, but also enforced those privileges by terrorism. The Libyan murderers were accorded sanctuary from arrest . . . and ultimately were given free passage to Tripoli."

Mr. Weinberger called on Congress to enact legislation to expand federal jurisdiction to prosecute terrorists who attack Americans anywhere abroad, and to bolster extradition agreements with the United Kingdom. "At the very least," he said, "terrorists should be forced to hide in the embrace of the wretched regimes that collude with them."

Mr. Weinberger said the U.S. government reserves the right to strike, as a last resort, against terrorists, noting that right was exercised against Libya.

But "we must never reflexively resort to a military option," he said. "Our response to terrorism is carefully crafted to take account of particular circumstances."

NEW YORK TIMES 6 May 1986 Pg. 3

U.S. Post in Europe Bombed

KIRCHHEIMBOLANDEN, West Germany, May 5 (AP) — A bomb attached to a military truck exploded early today at a United States Army barracks, destroying the vehicle and three nearby fuel storage tanks but causing no injuries, an Army spokesman said.

The explosion occurred at about 3 A.M. at the Haide barracks near Kirchheimbolanden, 35 miles southwest of Frankfurt, according to the spokesman, George Grimes of the 21st Support Command in Kaiserslautern.

There were no suspects, and no one had taken responsibility for the attack, the spokesman said.

Mr. Grimes said the installation, which is normally locked and unguarded, was used as a storage compound for

fuel and a few vehicles.

"It was unguarded and unmanned when the bombing took place, but it's guarded now," Mr. Grimes said.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Grimes said the three fuel tanks had a capacity of 600 gallons each, "but we don't know how much fuel was actually in them at the time."

West German television quoted police as saying the explosion and fire caused about \$45,000 in damage.

Mr. Grimes said the police found a triangular hole cut in the chain-link fence surrounding the barracks. "German police investigating the incident found a clock and battery mechanism near the site of the blast," he said, adding that United States officials were also involved in the investigation.

OVERRATED...Continued

With the interdependent Western societies so susceptible to sabotage and vulnerable in many areas, Laqueur sees non-violent activities employed by terrorists in future.

The recent paralysis of Tokyo's subway system caused by some terrorists breaking into the central computer system showed the innovative ways in which terrorists can paralyze or bring great damage to society, Laqueur said.

The interception of technological, computer or financial systems are likely targets, and all that is needed are people who understand such systems, he said.

Neither terrorism nor state-sponsored terrorism is a new or modern phenomena, he added. The distinction of today's state terrorism from that of earlier times is that it takes place on a higher level and leaders involved do not try to hide, but openly boast of their criminal activity.

Through states supporting terrorism and through narco-terrorism networks — which can supply them with hundreds of millions of dollars — terrorists are no longer poor people fighting against oppression and for more wealth or rights, Laqueur said.

"This is a dangerous change, because this money helps terrorist groups survive which would never have had been able to survive, say, 15 years ago," Laqueur said.

The ideal way to counter terrorism is by applying the same tactics as the terrorists, i.e., covert action, he said.

Since in a democracy one cannot simply go and kill people, using the "same weapon" could include propaganda, or helping emigrants of a country that supports terrorism. Maybe such means would not work, but on the other hand, no one has yet tried them out, he said.

Applying military action to fight terrorism is like trying to catch a mouse with a tank instead of sending a cat, Laqueur said.

However, he argued, with small countries using terrorism in order to fulfill their goals by tactics beyond the level of war — which they could not count on winning — a military action like the one by President Reagan against Libya could after all be successful.

That is because a small country like Libya fears escalation, Laqueur said.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 24 April 1986 Pg. 1

West Germany Takes Steps to Protect Americans

By WILLIAM TUOHY,
Times Staff Writer

BONN—The West German government revealed additional security plans Wednesday to protect American servicemen and civilians from possible terrorist attacks on its territory.

The government will issue standard German auto license plates to Americans, instead of the distinctive U.S. armed forces plates, to help the servicemen keep a lower profile when off duty. It is also considering closing certain streets in American residential neighborhoods.

The announcement came as the Cabinet of Chancellor Helmut Kohl confirmed that the Libyan Embassy in Bonn has been ordered to cut its staff by more than half.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Libyan mission was notified that 22 people out of its staff of 41 must leave West Germany within seven days. Further, Libyan officials are now barred from traveling beyond the city limits of the capital.

Officials here also said they will examine the credentials of the estimated 1,200 Libyans studying or working in West Germany and that some of these will probably be ordered to leave.

The government action came in response to a decision by the European Communities to cut back on the activities of Libyan diplomats in Western Europe, many of whom are thought to be secret agents willing to participate in terrorist activities.

Libyan leader Moammar Kadafi has warned that Libyans may attack Western European and American targets in retaliation for last week's U.S. air attack on Tripoli and Benghazi.

In Madrid, according to news agencies, a spokeswoman for the Spanish Foreign Ministry said an undetermined number of Libyans will be expelled but could not say whether the expulsions will be carried out to comply with the European agreement or on the basis of evidence of involvement with terrorist attacks.

The Libyan Embassy in Madrid is staffed by five diplomats and eight officials without diplomatic status. Last December, Spain expelled three embassy clerks for activities incompatible with their status. Intelligence sources said

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ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT
1 May 1986 Pg. 1

Terrorists training Americans

By John Bennett

Scraps Howard News Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. citizens aligned with foreign governments are being trained in terrorist tactics in the Middle East, FBI Director William H. Webster said Wednesday.

He made the statement in response to a question by Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala., during a Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing on terrorism.

Denton said that for 10 years, Americans and legal aliens — most of Arab background — have been traveling to the Middle East on false passports for terrorist training. He asked what the FBI has learned about them.

Webster acknowledged that the FBI is aware of the problem, but declined to be specific, refusing to say how many people are involved. "I'd rather not quantify (the number) in a public session," he said.

CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES said an estimated 200 Americans and foreigners who have legal papers allowing them to live in the United States have received terrorist training in Iran, Libya, South Yemen and Lebanon since 1977. Many of the trainees live in Michigan, the sources said.

Officials said some are being trained in Iran or Libya after getting false passports from another Middle East country. After training, they return to the Middle East country where they received the passport, then fly back to the United States.

The sources declined to say whether those trained have actually been involved in terrorism in the United States or Europe.

ON A RELATED TOPIC, Webster said Wednesday that Libyans were involved in three of 23 attempted terrorist acts thwarted by the FBI in the United States last year. Neither their names nor the incidents were divulged.

Webster and Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., co-chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, cautioned Americans against developing a "siege mentality" about terrorism.

Webster said if Americans begin building barricades to protect

WEST GERMANY...Cont.

they were preparing an attack against an exiled opponent of Kadafi.

However, Austrian Chancellor Fred Sinowatz said his government has no plans to expel Libyan diplomats or take other diplomatic sanctions against Libya. Austria is not a member of the 12-nation European Communities.

No Airport Links Seen

Sinowatz, speaking at a news conference after addressing the 21-nation Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg, France, also said he is sure that Libyans were not involved in the terrorist attack at Vienna airport last December in which four people died and 46 were injured.

Sinowatz did not say who his government believes was behind the attack. He said U.S. intelligence allegedly linking Libya to other terrorist acts in Europe "has not been given to us."

In Bonn, government spokesman Friedhelm Ost said Wednesday that West German security forces have been placed on a status of high alert to prevent terrorists attacks like the bombing of the West Berlin discotheque April 5 that killed two people, one of them a U.S. Army sergeant, and injured more than 200 other people. President Reagan, blaming Kadafi's regime, cited the bombing as justification for the air raid.

Police and plainclothes forces have been beefed up, Ost said, particularly in those areas frequented by Americans and in neighborhoods where U.S. service personnel and their dependents live.

There are about 250,000 U.S. servicemen stationed in West Germany, along with another 200,000 dependents. They are scattered throughout the country, in clusters ranging from about 70,000 in the Kaiserslautern area to tiny units of a dozen or so.

In addition to changing the license plates issued to Americans,

everything from terrorist attacks, they will have allowed terrorists to "win on the cheap."

"I do not happen to belong to the school of thought that Middle East terrorism will come to the United States," Webster said. "The risk is substantial, however."

the Bonn authorities are considering a plan to close off streets in U.S. military housing areas near the main American bases.

Many of the American residential subdivisions have had no particular protection. Schools are on main streets, with playgrounds on side streets open to all vehicular traffic.

Visible Around Schools

American schools in the capital and other cities have been casual about security until recently, but this week, green and white police cars and armed German policemen have become highly visible around the school grounds.

German newspapers interviewing U.S. servicemen's dependents have reported heightened tension among them because of the Libyan threat, which is seen as potentially more serious than previous attacks on U.S. military installations by the Red Army Faction, the extreme-leftist West German urban terrorist organization.

Some U.S. soldiers have volunteered to guard American playgrounds and churches while off duty, according to the Hamburg newspaper Bild Zeitung.

Pubs Nearly Empty

Recently, many of the pubs and discos frequented by American GIs have been almost empty, particularly those in West Berlin.

In some areas, American servicemen have been instructed to wear civilian clothes when off duty, and some commanders have advised their troops against being in downtown areas in the evenings. U.S. soldiers throughout the country have been instructed not to visit West Berlin unless on official business.

In Karlsruhe, the mayor and local U.S. military commander decided to cancel a German-American fair that had been expected to draw 50,000 people. And in Frankfurt, headquarters of many U.S. firms doing business in West Germany, American banks and other companies are maintaining appointment-only security, with visitors welcomed only after displaying their passports and undergoing a search of hand baggage.

British armed forces radio also is warning troops in West Germany to check cars and mail for explosives. The 55,000 British service-

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Libyans reportedly told to attack unprotected US targets

By William Beecher
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON - Libyan agents in the field are being told to continue efforts to kill Americans but to concentrate on targets in unguarded situations, including officials driving alone and tourists and others at large gatherings, administration officials said yesterday.

The agents have been cautioned that US embassies and military bases are now so well-protected they would be hard to attack successfully, the officials said.

"We do not rule out that the soul-searching under way in Libya will not result in a decision to call off anti-American terrorism, for the time being at least, in order to avoid another air attack," one official said. "But so far the signs point the other way."

The official noted that while reports continue to indicate efforts to scout out potential terrorist targets in Western Europe, there has been greater emphasis lately on activity in Africa, the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent, particularly Pakistan.

Officials say one of the reasons that tactical surprise was achieved in the US air strike against Libya on April 15 is that Libyan leaders seemed convinced the United States would threaten action but would not actually carry out an attack.

"That perception seems to have changed," one source said. "We gather they now are persuaded that, given provocation, we will strike again."

While conceding that clear-cut intelligence information is hard to come by on what is happening in Libya, analysts nonetheless say there is reason to believe some armed forces commanders are urging caution both about provocations in places such as Chad and Sudan and in continuing anti-American actions for fear this will bring consequences disproportionate to hoped for gains.

Even some members of the inner circle of Col. Moammar Khadafy are believed to be questioning whether the current campaign of terrorism is counterproductive. But, so far, analysts say Khadafy appears to remain very much in control and has not changed the course of his recent policies.

A Soviet air defense team is in Tripoli presumably attempting to assess what went wrong in the failure to shoot down the attacking US aircraft, sources say. The Russians are believed to be blaming the Libyans for ineptitude when some Libyan officers are blaming the Soviet-made equipment. Analysts believe the missing US F-111 was shot down in a curtain of randomly aimed antiaircraft artillery fire rather than by a missile.

STEPS...Continued

men in Germany are also being warned to vary their routes to and from work and to be wary of unexpected mail with unfamiliar postmarks.

British sources said that because some of the attacking U.S. planes used in last week's raid on Libya were allowed to take off from British bases, Arab terrorists and radical urban guerrilla groups that had mainly attacked U.S. forces in West Germany in the past may now turn on British troops, too.

In Tripoli, Libya, wire services reported, Information Minister Sharifeddin Faturri accused the United States and Israel of planning terrorists attacks in Europe for which Libya would be blamed to justify additional bombing raids.

From 'Friendly States'

He told reporters that he based his statement on reports from in-

telligence sources in "friendly states, including European countries." He gave no further indication of who his sources were, or when or where the alleged planned attacks were to be carried out.

Asked how many attacks were planned, Faturri said, "You may ask Mossad (Israeli intelligence) and American intelligence. They know the number."

Asked the type of attacks allegedly planned, the information minister replied, "Operations similar to the West Berlin nightclub bombing."

In The Hague, meanwhile, U.S. Atty. Gen. Edwin Meese III and FBI Director William H. Webster discussed terrorism and other "issues of mutual interest" with officials of the European Communities, a U.S. Embassy spokesman said. One issue, he added, "is obviously terrorism." But neither U.S. nor Dutch officials would discuss details of the talks.

"Moscow was so embarrassed at the failure of its surface-to-air missiles in both the last Gulf of Sidra operation and in the April 15 air attack that they claimed five [US] planes were downed," one official said. "Besides tactical advice, we wouldn't be surprised if they promise more sophisticated weapons. We also wouldn't be surprised if some Libyan officers get purged as a result of their poor showing."

[Libyan television, monitored in London, said the helmet of a crewman of the missing plane washed ashore yesterday near Zawiyah, about 25 miles west of Tripoli, the Associated Press reported. The Pentagon has identified the two crewmen as Capt. Fernando L. Ribas-Dominici, 33, of Puerto Rico, the pilot, and Capt. Paul L. Lorence, 31, of San Francisco, the weapons officer.]

Kidnapings of French, Americans OK: Shiites

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
14 May 1986 Pg. 5

BEIRUT [AP]—The country's most militant Shiite Moslem group said Tuesday that the kidnaping of American and most French hostages was justifiable, but condemned all other "mobish abductions" in Beirut.

"We did not condemn the kidnaping of Americans and Frenchmen because that happened in certain specific conditions when America and France tried to corner the oppressed, confiscate their freedom and their right to self-determination," said the statement from Hezbollah, which was published in Beirut's leading daily newspapers.

"So they [the oppressed] had no other alternative but this method and we found it justifiable," said the statement.

"But this position of ours should not be construed to cover the rest of mobish abductions that have lately jolted West Beirut, involving an invalid Frenchman, a professor or a doctor or a journalist or Lebanese or foreign students," it said.

Hezbollah is made up of Shiite fundamentalists advocating the creation of an Islamic republic in Lebanon patterned after Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolutionary Iran.

The statement was the first time the party has tried publicly to justify the kidnapings, and followed an uproar among Moslem politicians and university students over last week's abductions of an 85-year-old Frenchman and 36-year-old Christian Lebanese professor in Moslem West Beirut.

No group has claimed responsibility for either abduction.

Classes have been suspended at the American University of Beirut since Thursday to protest the professor's abduction.

Professors and students have been staging protest marches in town and sit-ins on campus, demanding an end to terrorist attacks against AUB's faculty, staff and students.

Hezbollah's statement said "kidnapers practicing such abductions

are not connected with the Islamic fervency. They are either cheap mercenaries of operatives of security bodies hostile to the Islamic fervency."

"Their acts, especially when teachers are involved, are ugly crimes," the statement said, adding that the kidnapers were of various nationalities.

Hezbollah, or the Party of God, is suspected of masterminding Islamic Jihad, a shadowy group that in the last two years has claimed the abduction of five Americans and four Frenchmen.

The other American and French hostages still missing are:

Terry Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent of the Associated Press; the Rev. Lawrence Jenco, a Roman Catholic priest from Joliet, Ill.; David Jacobsen, director of the American University hospital, and Thomas Sutherland, dean of agriculture at the American University.

Marcel Fontaine, vice consul at the French embassy in Beirut; Marcel Carton, the embassy's protocol officer, and Jean-Paul Kauffmann, journalist working for the French weekly L'Evenement du Jeudi.

WASHINGTON POST 16 May 1986 Pg. 1

Beirut Caller Warns on Hostages

By Nora Boustany
Special to The Washington Post

BEIRUT, May 15—A caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad terrorist organization warned today that U.S. and French captives held by the group would be harmed if western or Arab governments pressure Syria to obtain their release.

The message, which could not be authenticated, also said that some of the captives had been "liquidated," but it gave no details. It comes against a background of speculation

that Syria, in an effort to deflect international suspicion that it is involved in terrorist operations, may be pressing Islamic Jihad to release the captives.

Although expressing "respect and appreciation" for Syrian President Hafez Assad, the message, the first attributed to Islamic Jihad since March 13, also appeared to be a warning to Damascus not to take drastic action against Moslem fundamentalists suspected of holding the captives.

"We know of pressures by several countries, including two Arab states, on President Assad," the statement, read over the telephone to an international news agency, said. "We warn all these countries, whether America, France or any other Arab country involved in these pressures, that we will make the earth shake under

their feet because we will resort to our destructive methods if they don't stop the maneuvers against Syria and Islamic Jihad."

It added that if those countries "don't stop their maneuvers against Syria and Islamic Jihad, the first to pay the price would be the remaining American and French hostages we have."

Without elaborating, the caller claimed that the number of captives Islamic Jihad was holding "has decreased," and he said, "We have liquidated a number of them."

There was no indication whether the caller was referring to previously asserted killings. On March 5, a caller claiming to speak for the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad said the group had killed French sociologist Michel Seurat. Last Oct. 4, a caller said that U.S. diplomat William Buckley, kidnaped in 1984, had been killed in retaliation for an Israeli raid against

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

BEIRUT...Continued

Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Tunisia. No body has been found in either case, however.

A message said to be from Islamic Jihad was delivered to the British-owned television news agency Visnews on March 13 with a videotape of three of the French captives. That message said that all future communiques from Islamic Jihad would be typed and accompanied by photographs or other evidence to avoid confusion over false claims.

There was nothing delivered with today's call and no way to verify its authenticity.

The caller also said that Islamic Jihad was not the same as the Iranian-supported guerrilla group Hezbollah, as many observers have suggested.

Syrian troops in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley have clashed at least twice this month with Hezbollah members and their supporters, amid rumors that Damascus was ready to crack down on Moslem fundamentalists in Lebanon.

A widening American focus on the sources of terrorism in the Middle East has prompted press speculation that Syria might attempt to dispel international suspicion of its involvement in such operations by gaining the release of the captives. A leftist Beirut newspaper, *As Safir*, quoted Syrian and Iranian sources last week in an article suggesting that there had been a breakthrough in stalled negotiations over the captives.

Islamic Jihad claims to be holding Associated Press bureau chief Terry Anderson; David Jacobsen, the director of the American University hospital; the Rev. Lawrence Jenco, Beirut director of Catholic Relief Services, and Thomas Sutherland, a dean at the American University of Beirut, as well as three Frenchmen—diplomats Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine and journalist Jean-Paul Kauffmann.

Worsening economic conditions in Syria and its dependence on Iranian oil supplies make it awkward for

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 9 June 1986 Pg. 5

Second U.S. soldier dies of wounds in Berlin disco blast

From Chicago Tribune wires

BERLIN—A second American soldier has died of wounds suffered in the April 5 bombing of a West Berlin discotheque, a U.S. military spokesman said.

Staff Sgt. James E. Goins, a 26-year-old infantryman from Ellerbe, N.C., died in a West Berlin hospital Saturday afternoon, said the spokesman, Steve Stromvall.

Sgt. Kenneth Terrance Ford, 21, of Detroit, and Nermine Hanay, 27, a Turkish woman, were killed instantly and 230 other people were injured in the early-morning bombing of La Belle discotheque. The nightspot had been crowded with about 500 people, many of them U.S. soldiers.

Goins had been in critical condition since the bombing. Both legs had been amputated and he suffered lung and kidney injuries as well as burns over 25 percent of his body. Stromvall said Goins'

wife, Patrocina, was with him when he died.

Goins also is survived by a 5-year-old son, Carlos. Stromvall said the body will be flown to the United States for burial.

Sixty-four of those wounded in the blast were Americans, but Stromvall said Goins had been the only one still hospitalized.

Goins belonged to the 4th Battalion of the 502d Infantry Regiment of the Berlin Brigade. Stromvall said Goins had been stationed with the Army in Korea, Panama and West Berlin and was awarded the Purple Heart on April 30.

A West German newspaper reported last month that U.S. and West German intelligence officials had linked Libya to the bombing.

U.S. warplanes bombed the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi on April 15 in retaliation. Libya denied any involvement in the nightclub attack.

Damascus to defy Tehran's wishes on treatment of the fundamentalists Iran backs in Lebanon, according to analysts here.

Syria, meanwhile, has experienced its own domestic turmoil. On April 20, it disclosed that a number of people were killed and wounded in a series of explosions aboard several intercity buses on April 16. Security officials initially blamed the attacks on Israeli agents operating out of Lebanon.

But later, three Syrians and two Turks were charged with setting off the bombs, and they said on Syrian state television a week ago that they were members of the banned Moslem Brotherhood. The suspects confessed on the air to having received instructions and money from Iraq, whose government has been at odds with that of Syria, but Iraqi Information Minister Latif Nasaif Jassim denied that his country was involved in the bombings.

Tokyo goes all out for summit security

USA TODAY

2 May 1986

Pg. 4

By Karen De Witt
and Maggie Fox
USA TODAY

TOKYO — If Tokyo isn't ready for the economic summit now, it never will be.

Tens of thousands of police are manning checkpoints, pacing the streets in riot gear — surrealistic Samurai-like helmets and visors — and diverting traffic.

"We have 30,000 police mobilized now," said Masataka Ishizuka of the Metropolitan Police Department.

Leftist groups like the Chukaku-ha (Core Faction) have threatened to "blow up" the summit — attacking leaders of the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Italy and Japan, who gather here through Tuesday.

Political consultant Nathaniel Thayer says Tokyo will be "one great big glass cage. ... The Japanese are going to wall the place."

To prepare:

■ In open areas where crowds could gather, uniformed police stand in long lines with water cannons.

■ Hundreds of police checkpoints dot the city — some permanent, others shifting — pulling cars over at random, running computer ID checks and searching vehicles.

■ Tokyo's sewer system was searched and sealed weeks ago.

■ All roads near sites of summit activity — the Imperial Palace, New Otani and Okura hotels — have been closed for days.

■ Three helicopters stand by for evacuating heads of state. Seven bullet-proof Cadillacs shuttle dignitaries about.

■ Police carry a 300-page English phrase book. Phrases included: "Sorry to bother you, but where are you going?" And "Just for security reasons, I have to check the contents of your gadget box. Could you open it?"

Japan picked "golden week"

LOS ANGELES TIMES 6 May 1986 Pg. 12

Text of Summit Statement on International Terrorism

TOKYO (AP)—Here is the statement on international terrorism issued Monday by the leaders of seven industrial nations attending the Tokyo summit.

We, the heads of state or government of seven major democracies and the representatives of the European Community, assembled here in Tokyo, strongly reaffirm our condemnation of international terrorism in all its forms, of its accomplices and of those, including governments, who sponsor or support it. We abhor the increase in the level of such terrorism since our last meeting, and in particular its blatant and cynical use as an instrument of government policy. Terrorism has no justification. It spreads only by the use of contemptible means, ignoring the values of human life, freedom and dignity. It must be fought relentlessly and without compromise.

Recognizing that the continuing fight against terrorism is a task which the international community as a whole has to undertake, we pledge ourselves to make maximum efforts to fight against the scourge. Terrorism must be fought effectively through determined, tenacious, discreet and patient ac-

tion combining national measures with international cooperation. Therefore, we urge all like-minded nations to collaborate with us, particularly in such international forums as the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization, drawing on their expertise to improve and extend countermeasures against terrorism and those who sponsor or support it.

Identify and Deter

We, the heads of state or government, agree to intensify the exchange of information in relevant forums on threats and potential threats emanating from terrorist activities and those who support and sponsor them, and on ways to prevent them.

We specify the following as measures open to any government concerned to deny to international terrorists the opportunity and the means to carry out their aims, and to identify and deter those who perpetrate such terrorism. We have decided to apply these measures within the framework of international law and in our own jurisdictions in respect of any state which is clearly involved in sponsoring or supporting international terrorism, and in particular of Libya, until such time as the state concerned abandons its complicity in, or support for, such terrorism. These measures are:

—Refusal to export arms to states which sponsor or support terrorism.

—Strict limits on the size of the diplomatic and consular mission and other official bodies abroad of

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for the event — a week of holidays that started with the Emperor's birthday on April 29 and ends with Kodomonohi, Children's Day, May 5. Businesses and banks are closed.

Chukaku-ha's 3,000 well-trained members are anti-Emperor, arguing that he ought to be executed as a war criminal. Last November, Chukaku-ha successfully sabotaged the Japanese National Railways commuter service.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 6 May 1986 Pg. 10

Pact Viewed Skeptically in Washington

By JAMES GERSTENZANG,
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The anti-terrorism agreement that produced enthusiastic praise Monday among the seven national leaders attending the Tokyo summit meeting faced skepticism in Washington from experts in and out of government who said they doubted that it would have any noticeable impact in stemming terrorist acts.

Officials here, including terrorism experts and non-government authorities who viewed the summit's statement from afar, generally portrayed it as lacking sufficient bite to change the behavior of Libya and other sponsors of international terrorism.

However, the fact that the occasionally contentious leaders could reach an agreement on the subject at all—despite historical differences and a lack of enthusiasm among some of them for the tougher efforts urged by President Reagan—reflected a degree of unanimity that has been missing when the summit nations have discussed the subject in the past.

One skeptical senior Administration official here summarized the summit's terrorism accord as no

more than: "Terrorism is bad and we're going to do something about it."

Henry M. Schuler, an expert on Libya and the Middle East at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, said, "It seems to me they keep warming these things over."

Referring to the agreement's proposed strictures on the size of Libya's overseas diplomatic and consular missions, Schuler said: "It boggles my mind to say, 'This embassy's got two terrorists in it, so we'll throw them out.' Why isn't it proof the (whole) embassy is being used as a terrorist conduit, and you close it all down?"

Schuler said that "the only thing that gets Kadafi's attention and the only thing he cares about is the commercial links." Therefore, he added, anti-terrorism steps must be taken to isolate Kadafi economically—by cutting sharply into his ability to produce and sell Libyan oil—to force a change in his policy.

Despite the summit's show of unanimity, a senior Administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity, cited previous expressions of concern about terrorism and asked rhetorically, "Are the allies going to do anything?" He answered, "I'm not aware of anything."

However, another high-level official, also requiring anonymity, viewed the agreement as evidence that Japan and the Western nations at the summit are offering "a mandate to pursue concrete measures." But he asked skeptically: "Are all the seven going to stick to this? Are the French? Are the Japanese?"

STATEMENT...Continued

states which engage in such activities, control of travel of members of such mission and bodies, and, where appropriate, radical reductions in, or even the closure of, such missions and bodies.

—Denial of entry to all persons, including diplomatic personnel, who have been expelled or excluded from one of our states on suspicion of involvement in international terrorism or who have been convicted of such a terrorist offense.

—Improved extradition procedures within due process of domestic law for bringing to trial those who have perpetuated such acts of terrorism.

—Stricter immigration and visa requirements and procedures in respect of nationals of states which sponsor or support terrorism.

—The closest possible bilateral and multilateral cooperation between police and security organizations and other relevant authorities in the fight against terrorism.

Appropriate World Bodies

Each of us is committed to work in the appropriate international bodies to which we belong to ensure that similar measures are accepted and acted upon by as many other governments as possible.

We will maintain close cooperation in furthering the objectives of this statement and in considering further measures. We agree to make the 1978 Bonn Declaration more effective in dealing with all forms of terrorism affecting civil aviation. We are ready to promote bilaterally and multilaterally further actions to be taken in international organizations or forums competent to fight against international terrorism in any of its forms.

Leftist Group Says It Shot Missiles In Tokyo and Vows a New Attack

NEW YORK TIMES
6 May 1986 Pg. 1

By SUSAN CHIRA

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, May 5 — A radical left-wing group, the Chukakuha, or Middle Core Faction, distributed leaflets today taking responsibility for firing five homemade rockets Sunday at Japan's state guest house, where leaders of the economic summit meeting were welcomed.

The group boasted of its ability to elude the tightest security net ever cast in Tokyo, and the police tightened their extraordinary security even further as the group threatened another attack.

"They chose the exact time when the attack would have worldwide news value," said Takuro Suzuki, an author who has written widely about crime and the police in Japan.

Fired From an Apartment

The rockets fired Sunday came from an apartment building 1.7 miles away, landing harmlessly on the street and near buildings near the Canadian Embassy, south of the Akasaka Palace grounds. They had little explosive force, but they passed over the palace only minutes after Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone greeted President François Mitterrand in an outdoor ceremony and 15 minutes before President Reagan received his formal welcome there.

Today, the police stepped up checks of cars and passers-by, and said they would extend their surveillance beyond the neighborhood from which the rockets were launched. Before the attack, security checks were largely confined to a one-mile area.

This morning, the police began distributing 100,000 leaflets asking for cooperation in their investigation from residents and landlords of apartment houses within a 2.5-mile radius of the state guest house, the target of the attack.

Building New a Curiosity

Overnight, the apartment building in the quiet Yaraicho neighborhood from which the crude rockets were fired became a curiosity. Residents gathered in groups and speculated on how the attack's planners could have carried it out so successfully. One man, out walking his dog, smiled and said, "Pretty well done, don't you think?"

The group that took responsibility is one of Japan's largest and most active radical organizations and has taken re-

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NEW YORK TIMES 7 May 1986 Pg. 12

Japanese Radical Groups Resurface After a Lull in Attacks

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, May 6 — After a long period of relative quiet, Japan's left-wing extremist groups have shown increased willingness to resort to violent, disruptive tactics in recent years.

But for the most part, the target seems to be property, not people, the intention being to embarrass and not kill. The radicals have shown a capacity to strike and then elude capture by relying on some of the precision technology that has made Japan prosperous: With one notable exception there also appears to be no direct link between Japanese groups and international terrorists organizations or guerrilla movements.

The exception is Sekigun, or Japanese Red Army, which is not believed to have more than a few members and is not known for any actions since it hijacked a Japan Air Lines plane in September 1977.

Sekigun leaders are believed to be living in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. One member, Kozo Okamoto, was released by Israel in a prisoner exchange last year and has been reported to be in North Korea. He was among the Japanese terrorists who attacked the Tel Aviv airport in 1972, killing 26 people.

The Japanese police estimate that there are 35,000 radical extremists operating in this country, most of them splintered among 22 rival factions that have fought each other far more frequently than the outside world.

Chukakuha the Largest

By far the largest and most active, the police say, is the Chukakuha, or Middle Core Faction, which claimed responsibility for Sunday's attack with homemade rockets on the Akasaka Palace. In the last six weeks, this group and others have launched similar assaults against the Imperial Palace, the United States Embassy in Tokyo and other targets in Japan.

In all the instances, the homemade missiles were crude — usually spray-can tubes filled with gasoline and ignited with gunpowder. The police describe them as non-lethal unless they actually hit someone. But the radicals showed technical skill in being able to launch them with timing devices that also opened windows and car trunks.

The Chukakuha, whose numbers have been placed at up to 5,000, with a "revolutionary

army" of about 200 members, is best known for nearly two decades of occasionally violent protest against the main Tokyo international airport at Narita. Over the years, it is believed to have been responsible for 46 deaths, including those of several police officers, but mainly of radicals from rival groups.

There have been no reported deaths in the last few years.

Communist Party Shunned

The Chukakuha and the others denounce the Japanese Communist Party for its willingness to seek a socialist revolution without violence through a parliamentary system. Hideo Yamada, director general of the National Police Agency, said in a newspaper interview last month that 70 percent of the radicals are workers, some of whom have been "die-hard ultraleftists" since the late 1970's.

Why they have become active of late is not clear, but there is a decided increase in their actions nonetheless. In 1985, according to the police agency, there were 85 terrorist incidents in Japan, the highest figure in six years and nearly double that of the previous year.

Within the last 12 months, police say, they have arrested 900 radicals, including 500 Chukakuha members. Because of Japan's strict rules of evidence, however, only two people have been taken into custody in the latest attack, and none thus far in the Akasaka Palace incident.

Railroad Sabotage Last Year

The Chukakuha's disruptive skills were demonstrated last Nov. 29, when it cut key communications and signal lines on the Japan National Railways, crippling transportation for hours in Tokyo and parts of Osaka. In September 1984, the Chukakuha attacked the headquarters of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party with flame throwers, injuring two people and causing \$3.5 million in damage.

Other active groups are said to be the Senki-Kyosando, or War Flag Wing of the Communists, and the Kukurokyo, or Revolutionary Association Workers. Japan also has many right-wing extremist groups, but they are not known to have been involved in recent violent attacks, and mainly seek to publicize

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MISSILES...Continued

sponsibility for several similar attacks using crude rockets fired from trunks of cars.

The group, which has been in the forefront of demonstrations against the construction of Tokyo's new international airport at Narita, also blew up railway communications links and tracks last November, paralyzing much of Tokyo's commuter rail system.

Mr. Suzuki said that although the Chukakuha mentioned the American bombing of Libya in the leaflet claiming responsibility, the group did not appear to have ties to foreign terrorist groups. And although it is one of Japan's most violent groups, its attacks have not extended to random slayings of civilians.

Monthly \$250 Donations

Mr. Suzuki said most of the members of the Chukakuha held jobs and appeared to lead normal lives. But many of them donate about \$250 to \$300 a month to the organization, and a hard-core group of 300 to 400 have organized themselves into what they call a revolutionary army.

Although the police set up several checkpoints in the Yaraicho area today, questioning drivers and opening car trunks, they did not seem very much in evidence during a drive this evening through other neighborhoods within 2.5 miles of Akasaka Palace.

The police had said they were going to expand surveillance throughout the area.

The police did not enter homes in the area, which would require search warrants, but they asked apartment residents and landlords to report anything suspicious.

The police were clearly jittery tonight. Shortly after 10 P.M., a report of an explosion near the Hotel New Otani, which houses most of the delegations to the summit meeting, prompted the authorities to seal off all exits from the hotel for 15 minutes.

Even after it was determined that nothing was amiss, the police insisted on taking down the pass numbers of everyone leaving the hotel.

None of the canisters launched in the attacks Sunday appear to have contained enough explosives to kill someone — unless they actually struck a person — or cause extensive damage, the police said.

In their investigation of the incident,

GROUPS...Continued

their views from loudspeaker trucks that cruise Tokyo streets.

Although the police believe they were most vulnerable to attack during the summit conference, they also assume they cannot let their guard down. The Prince and Princess of Wales arrive here this week on a state visit.

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE 27 May 1986 Pg. 1

Japanese Officials Quietly Backing Off From Summit's Anti-Terrorism Pledge

BY HIROYASU TOMARU
New York City Tribune Correspondent

TOKYO, May 26 — Japan is not bound by the anti-terrorism statement reached at the Tokyo summit of seven major Western democracies early this month, according to government officials.

Foreign Ministry officials are downplaying the document's significance for fear of terrorist retaliation, political observers say.

They say that 3 weeks after the Tokyo summit of May 4-6, Japan already has shown signs of retreating from its commitment to the Tokyo Declaration Against Global Terrorism.

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, host of the summit, reluctantly affixed his signature to the statement that spe-

cifically condemns Libya for abetting international terrorism.

Japan is worried that taking too strong a position against international terrorism might undermine Japan's diplomatic efforts toward the oil-rich Arab world.

Japan, which has undertaken pro-Arab diplomacy since the first oil crisis in 1973 and is to a large extent dependent on foreign energy sources, was not enthusiastic about naming Libya specifically.

Tokyo maintained that the country should be referred to indirectly in the anti-terrorism statement.

But Nakasone could not fall out of line when President Reagan and all the European leaders reached full agreement in drafting the statement, local observers say.

Now Foreign Ministry officials say that neither Japan nor any other summit member state is bound by the anti-terrorism declaration.

"The declaration itself says that 'we specify the following as measures open to any government concerned,' and then goes on to say, 'We have decided to apply these measures within the framework of international law and in the jurisdictions of countries concerned,'" said Foreign Ministry spokesman Yoshio Hatano in a press conference.

Added Hatano, "On the U.S. bombing of Tripoli [and Benghazi], we have expressed our sympathy with the circumstances that led the United States to the judgment that it had to take the action in did. But we never endorsed U.S. military action in Libya."

Hatano and other officials are saying that Japan retains the right to make its own "independent" decisions on coping with global terrorism.

He also said Japan would support international cooperation against terrorism, but might not necessarily follow precedents set by Western Europe in imposing sanctions against Libya.

Though officials repeat that the anti-terrorism statement was not directed against the Arab world as a whole, analysts point out that the declaration gave the impression Japan had shifted

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the authorities cordoned off the apartment building from which the rockets were fired. The police said the apartment contained a refrigerator, a washing machine, a television set and a mattress, but not much more.

Although dishes were in the kitchen sink, the police said they believed no one had actually lived in the fourth-floor apartment.

Sound of Drill in April

Neighbors reported hearing the sounds of an electric drill early one morning in April, and the police speculated that the rocket tubes might have been installed at that time.

The police said the apartment was rented for the month of April by a middle-aged, slightly overweight man who called himself Koichi Matsumoto and gave an address in Saitama Prefecture, north of Tokyo.

The police said the man, accompanied by a woman he identified as his wife, paid about \$900 rent for April, along with an \$1,800 deposit.

The police tracked down a Mr. Matsumoto at the address given, but say it appears that the man who rented the apartment had used a false identity.

The leaflets distributed by Chukakuha today in rallies outside rail stations in Tokyo said: "The Tokyo summit is a war conference. Imperialists longing for a new world war should be executed."

The leaflet denounced the American bombing of Libya and said Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Prime Minister Nakasone should also be held responsible.

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE
30 May 1986 Pg. 3

Japanese Police On Full Alert After Warning by 'Red Army' Group

BY HIROYASU TOMARU
New York City Tribune Correspondent

TOKYO, May 29 — Security authorities are on full alert for possible terrorist acts by the ultraleftist Japanese Red Army, who recently issued notice of a new terrorist campaign at home and abroad.

A newly distributed statement by the JRA from its operations base in the Middle East, made known in Tokyo Tuesday, pledged the organization would carry out an international struggle in reaction to the Declaration Against Global Terrorism, adopted at the Tokyo summit of seven major Western democracies early this month.

According to public security authorities, the JRA statement was mailed to members of the terrorist group residing in this country.

The security authorities, who did not reveal how they obtained access to the document, interpreted it to mean that the JRA has stepped up efforts to seek support in Japan in an attempt to expand their base of operations.

The statement, entitled "an appeal to the people on the 14th anniversary of the attack," was issued prior to the anniversary of the Red Army's indiscriminate shooting and bombing at Israel's Ben Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv on May 30, 1972.

Three JRA terrorists attacked and killed 96 people, mostly Christian pilgrims from abroad. They included Kozo Okamoto, who was released last year along with more than a thousand Palestinian terrorists by Israeli security authorities in exchange for some Israeli prisoners. Okamoto was the only survivor among the Japanese attackers.

In the statement, the radical group attacked the U.S. military strike against Libya April 15, and strongly denounced the Tokyo summit declaration against state-sponsored terrorism, describing it as "a declaration of war."

PLEDGE...Continued

its Mideast policy to a pro-Western stance.

Unlike other summit member states, Japan is now taking a quick diplomatic step by dispatching a senior Foreign Ministry official to the Middle East later this week, because it fears that the anti-terrorism statement will sour Tokyo's relations with Arab countries.

Wasuke Miyake, director-general of the ministry's Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau, will leave for a 2-week tour of Arab states from May 28 to assure them that Japan's policy in the region remains as it was before the summit.

Miyake will visit Tunisia, Iraq and Turkey. In Tunisia, he is expected to see leaders of the Arab League and the Palestine Liberation Organization, both of which are headquartered in the north African nation's capital of Tunis.

After that, Miyake will go to Britain and the U.S. for consultations on Mideast problems.

Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe also stressed that the nation did not switch its stance at the summit, saying, "Japan's Middle East policy will remain unchanged."

Abe reportedly was sullen after learning from Nakasone during the 3-day meeting that other states' leaders wanted to condemn Libya by name.

In Abe's view, an observer said, Japan's continuing diplomacy toward the Middle East would be dented by letting the other summiteers force Japan to adopt a strong anti-Libya resolution.

The Nakasone government has been criticized by its political opponents for bowing to U.S. pressure. Japan's endorsement of the anti-terrorism statement would also provoke Libyan retaliation, they said.

Analysts said, however, that Japan is not worried about possible Libyan retaliation because it has limited relations with Libya politically and economically.

The Red Army stressed that it had now entered an era in which its members must carry out struggle through every possible means.

Insight

9 June 1986

Pg. 31

Terrorist Coalition

Counterterrorism specialists suspect that the Japan Communist League's Middle Core Faction, known as the Chukakuha, and the Damascus-based Japanese Red Army have joined operations.

The homemade rockets used in the mid-May attack on the U.S. and Japanese embassies in Jakarta, Indonesia, were identical in style to those fired by the Middle Core Faction at the Akasaka Palace in Tokyo during Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's welcoming ceremonies for foreign heads of state at the recent economic summit. But responsibility for the Jakarta rockets was claimed by the previously unknown Anti-Imperialist International Brigade in a Beirut press release. This is believed to be the name used for joint operations by the Japanese Red Army and Middle Core Faction, possibly with assistance from members of other Japanese revolutionary groups.

Indonesian sources indicate that a car bomb that exploded about 30 minutes after the rocket attack in the parking lot of the high-rise Wisma Metropolitan office building in Jakarta, which houses the Canadian Embassy, resembled those employed in Beirut by the Japanese Red Army's Syrian and Palestinian allies.

President Suharto's government was said to have been shocked by the outbreak of international terrorism in the Indonesian capital. Previous bombings in Jakarta took place Oct. 4, 1984, when a shopping mall and three branches of a bank owned by local business magnate Liem Sioe Liong, a close associate of Suharto, were attacked, leaving two persons dead. In that case, the bombings were traced to a Malay nationalist extremist and former cabinet minister, Mohammad Sanusi, now 65. Sanusi was convicted of financing the bombings, and he and 11 of his minions were sentenced to long prison terms.

Jordanian Arraigned in London Bomb Plot; Kin Held in Berlin

LOS ANGELES TIMES
23 April 1986 Pg. 12

By TYLER MARSHALL, *Times Staff Writer*

LONDON—Amid tight security, a Jordanian national was arraigned Tuesday on murder conspiracy charges in connection with a plot to blow up an Israeli jumbo jet by smuggling a bomb aboard in the hand luggage of his pregnant Irish girlfriend.

Nezar Hindawi, 31, said by acquaintances to be from a prominent Jordanian family, was formally charged late Monday with conspiring to kill the woman who carried the bomb, 32-year-old Anne-Marie Murphy. He was also accused of attempting to endanger an aircraft.

The charges came as police in West Berlin announced that Hindawi's older brother, Ahmed Nawaf Mansour Hasi, had been detained by West Berlin police in connection with the April 5 bombing of a discotheque crowded with American servicemen.

It was that attack, which claimed the life of one U.S. soldier and a Turkish woman and injured more than 200, that apparently triggered the decision that led to last week's raid against terrorist targets in Libya.

West Berlin authorities said they believe Hasi may have played a role in the bombing, but was not the main suspect. They offered no explanation for the different last names.

In London, his brother was driven the few miles from central police headquarters to a south London magistrates court in an armed convoy after a two-hour-long search of the area in and around the courtroom.

A car parked in the area of the court with a brief case left inside was first investigated by police and, when the owner could not quickly be found, the vehicle was blown up with a controlled explosive.

Hindawi's appearance in court lasted only 18 minutes. His lawyer applied for bail, but it was refused, and Hindawi was ordered jailed pending another hearing May 1. Those in the courtroom said he seemed nervous and confused by the proceedings.

Murphy had passed through all

NEW YORK TIMES 25 April 1986 Pg. 6

British Airways Office Hit By Bomb Blast in London

LONDON, April 24 (AP) — A pre-dawn bomb blast damaged a British Airways office and other stores on London's busiest shopping street today, spraying glass into the street and igniting a fire. One passer-by was treated for shock.

American Airlines and American Express have counters in the Oxford Street office, but a Scotland Yard spokesman, Philip Powell, said British Airways appeared to be the target.

"If it had gone off after 9 A.M., for instance, there would have been an awful lot of people about and injuries to people would have been quite horrendous because there were large pieces of glass littering the streets," he said.

There was no indication whether the bomb had been set to go off at a time when few people were on the street or whether it had been set for a later time and gone off early. Scotland Yard declined to discuss any details of the bomb or who might have planted it.

No Link to Libya Reported

Deputy Home Secretary Giles Shaw told the House of Commons there was no information linking the blast to Libya, which has vowed revenge against Britain and Washington for the

United States air raid April 15 on 2 Libyan cities. Britain approved the use of United States planes based in England for the raid.

Scotland Yard said a number of callers had telephoned the police and news outlets to take responsibility for the bombing, but the Yard refused to give details of the calls.

The Press Association, Britain's domestic news agency, said it had received calls from the Scottish National Liberation Army, which is campaigning for an independent Scotland, and the Angry Brigade, an anarchist group that said it planted the bomb "in retaliation for Britain's involvement in the American bombing of Libya."

A Scotland Yard spokesman said: "We are checking all of them out. There are no clear indications yet of who is responsible."

Bomb 'Fairly Big'

Cmdr. George Churchill-Coleman, head of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist branch, refused to describe the bomb in detail, saying only that it was "fairly big" and caused "fairly considerable"

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three main security checks at London's Heathrow Airport last Thursday and was about to board an El Al Israel Airlines flight to Tel Aviv when the bomb was discovered by an alert member of El Al's own security staff.

Police believe the bomb almost certainly would have killed Murphy and the other 387 people aboard the plane.

Released After Questioning

Murphy was released Saturday after intensive questioning, apparently in the belief that she had no knowledge of the bomb. She reportedly remains under heavy police protection at an undisclosed

location in London.

In West Berlin, law enforcement officials indicated that Hindawi's 35-year-old brother was arrested Friday on a tip from London police. Hindawi was arrested at a small West London hotel Friday morning after a 36-hour manhunt.

West Berlin authorities stressed that Hasi is being held as a suspected accomplice in the discotheque bombing.

"The arrest warrant doesn't say that he was the main culprit. . . ." West Berlin Justice Ministry spokesman Volker Kaehne told the Associated Press. "It says he is suspected of helping with the crime."

Terrorism stirs up little fear among Europeans, in contrast to Americans

By William Echikson
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

The tour guide was shocked.

She expected 45 Americans to arrive at Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris. Only 19 showed up. They told her about the warnings, the fears, the precautions being taken in the United States.

"All this because of terrorism?" she asked. "They can't be serious."

This attitude may be surprising, since terrorist violence has affected Europe almost every day lately. Yesterday a bomb exploded in front of a British Airways office in London. On Wednesday, a videotape was delivered to a newspaper in Lebanon which alleged to show the killing of Alec Collett, a Briton who was kidnapped in Beirut in March 1985.

Faced with rising terrorism, governments and individuals across Europe are taking stronger antiterrorist measures.

But in contrast to the US, terrorism incites little public fear in Europe. Life goes on at the normal pace. Vacations are not canceled. Conversation tends to center more on the consequences of the US bombing of Libya and the fear that it will create dangerous new tensions with the Soviet Union, rather than on the terrorism that preceded it.

"Wars, dangers, and violent upheaval are part of the European heritage," says Prof. Sabino Acquaviva, a specialist in terrorism at the University of Padua in Italy. "The United States doesn't have

this tradition."

Experts trace the modern techniques of political violence back to the early years of the 19th century. It reached a peak with the activities of the Russian anarchists. Ever since they exploded bombs in the streets of St. Petersburg (one of which killed Czar Alexander II in 1881), Europe has suffered periodic waves of violence.

One US diplomat now based in Paris recalls his shock at first coming to France during the 1960s.

"I never heard of bombs blowing up in streets," he recalls. "Then I arrived here. The OAS [dissident French Army officers protesting Algerian independence] exploded several bombs every day."

Because of this history, many Europeans consider terrorism a political problem, for which there is no easy solution.

Prof. Lorenz Bollinger, a criminology expert at the University of Bremen, says that Americans "see 'terrorism' as a word for anything that goes against American interests."

Professor Acquaviva adds that Europeans "understand Middle Eastern rebellion after fighting against the Arabs for the past 1,000 years, ever since the Crusades."

Europe's indigenous struggles have spread the perception that some political violence may be justified.

Jacques Léauté, former director of the Paris Institute of Criminology, remembers how the Germans called him "a terrorist" for his actions in the French Resistance during World War II. Corsicans, Basques, and Northern Irish can often enjoy considerable local support for their attacks against soldiers, policemen, and politicians.

A surface sense of normality reigns in these areas. Since foreign visitors generally face little risk, they spend their time sunbathing on beaches in Corsica and in the Basque regions in Spain. Tourist officials in both areas report few cancellations because of violence, and one hotelier in San Sebastián, Spain, reports that last summer "was his best season ever."

Residents of Northern Ireland, the area in Europe

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BRITISH...Continued

damage. The Yard also refused to say if the bomb had contained a timing device. News reports said it was hidden among bags of garbage outside the airline office.

Oxford Street was closed for seven hours while the police searched for additional bombs. Victoria Station, the busiest in London, was briefly evacuated this morning because of a report of a bomb that turned out to be false, the police said.

When policemen reopened Oxford Street around noon, crowds thronged in, saying they were not afraid of an-

other bomb. Across the street from the British Airways office, Selfridges, the big department store, was filled with shoppers.

Mr. Powell advised Britons to be vigilant.

'Don't Be Complacent'

"Don't be complacent," he said. "If you see any suspect devices, packages, suitcases, bags which look in the slightest way suspicious to you, then tell the police immediately."

Oxford Street is popular among tourists, and business officials expressed fear that the blast would further hurt tourism. It has already decreased as Americans, wary of terrorist attacks,

have canceled trips to Europe.

But officials of the governing Conservative Party and the opposition Labor Party, displaying rare unanimity, said Britain was still safe to visit.

"It is a safe and good country to come to," Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said.

The Labor Party leader, Neil Kinnock, said, "London and the rest of Europe are much safer than the Americans care to believe."

Last year nearly 14.6 million visitors came to Britain, including 3.8 million from North America, and spent a total of \$8.3 billion.

FEAR...Continued

with perhaps the most violent reputation, often don't feel frightened.

"There is no discernible change of life style for most of the population, no 'fortress mentality,'" says Paul Wilkinson, a terrorism specialist at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland.

Instead, life is regulated by an unspoken code in Northern Ireland. Protestants stick with Protestants, Roman Catholics with Catholics.

"If you know the rules, you're safer in Belfast than on the streets of any American city," a veteran Northern Irish journalist observes. "You don't walk home late at night and you stick to your territory."

Break the rules and problems may result. Ask to quote a municipal official in the San Sebastian and the response is a harsh no. "It's asking for trouble."

Ask to interview a separatist, and the door is slammed in your face. "You are a CIA agent," the separatist says. "Remember, it's a bloody war."

In this tense atmosphere, politicians and policemen, the key terrorist targets, take precautions.

"I drive a different route to work every morning," says a leading member of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labour Party. "I keep the car dirty on the outside. That way I can spot fingerprints if someone has been tampering. . . . I keep irregular hours. . . . I keep the drapes down. . . . I keep a fire extinguisher in the hall and I learn to sleep lightly."

Other potential targets also take precautions.

Ever since the 1970s, when the Red Army Faction appeared in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy, businessmen in both countries have responded with costly defenses. Armored limousines, protected reception areas, remote-control cameras, and 24-hour bodyguards are common in the industrial landscape. In Italy, machine-gun-toting guards patrol airline offices, and sets of double doors protect banks.

Politicians are better guarded, too. Only a few years ago, it was possible to walk into the France's presidential Elysée Palace simply by showing an identity card. Now metal detectors have been installed.

Security is tighter at the airports. In Rome, for example, police teams patrol the terminal. Helicopters and ground patrols guard the exterior against missile attack, passengers are required to identify their luggage, and controls have been tightened on granting workers access to aircraft.

In some cases the general public is becoming more careful. Police in both Italy and France report a rise in the number of bomb alerts. One passenger on the Paris subway recently spotted an unattended package and alerted police. A bomb was inside. It was defused.

But these are exceptions. Public awareness remains limited compared with Israel, where bus passengers board and then check below their seats for suspicious packages. Europeans continue to insist that terrorism is not so great a problem.

"Americans have reason to fear; they are the prime target," says Professor Wilkinson. He says he favors much stronger international cooperation against terrorism. But, he adds, "homicide in America dwarfs the rate of death from international terrorism."

Yesterday in The Hague, European Community officials took a step toward promoting cooperation. They agreed to set up an international information exchange with the US government on terrorism, terrorist suspects, and their methods of operation.

Nonetheless, Europeans believe they take a more realistic approach to the danger of terrorism than Americans. In Frankfurt, West Germany, US soldiers have begun constructing a large fence around one of their residential neighborhoods, a precaution that surprises Professor Bollinger.

He contrasts this with the German reaction in the 1970s, when the Red Army Faction scare was at its height.

"There was a call for action. The German equivalent of the FBI was doubled in capacity. But it didn't change people's behavior or stop them from going to movies," he says. "It was nothing comparable to the American response."

Determined to avoid what they see as hysteria, Europeans continue to plan for their summer vacations. A recent opinion poll published in the Sunday Times of London showed that only 14 percent of West Germans, 9 percent of the British, and 8 percent of the French would advise a friend to stay home because of terrorism. This compared with 57 percent for Americans.

Europeans are turning to what they consider a potent weapon against terrorism — humor. At a recent airport check, a guard asked a passenger whether his box was a bomb.

"No, no," the passenger replied. "It's a bonbon."

Monitor correspondents Alf McCreary in Belfast and Janet Stobart in Rome contributed to this report.

Terrorists may shoot at aircraft next, analysts say

By Frank Greve
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Middle Eastern terrorist groups operating in Europe soon may turn to surface-to-air missiles to attempt to shoot down commercial aircraft, U.S. government and independent analysts believe.

While acknowledging that such weapons have been accessible to terrorists for some time, the analysts say that their use, along with anti-armor rockets and grenades, would become more likely if terrorist attacks with less sophisticated weapons were thwarted by improved security at West European airports, embassies and elsewhere.

In the view of several analysts, such tactics may become part of a deliberate terrorist campaign, begun last year, against the tourism industries of European countries friendly to Israel, hostile to Muslim fundamentalism or determined to prosecute and imprison terrorists.

"That's pretty much universally accepted now within the travel industry," said Robert Kupperman, a terrorism specialist at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "I'm talking to a convention of travel agents ... and they're just terrified."

His message: "Even with the upturn, odds of a terrorist attack are minimal. A traveler is more likely to be injured in a traffic accident between the airport and downtown Rome than flying into Rome."

Still, one U.S. government tabulation, offered 10 days ago at a terrorism conference in Aberdeen, Scotland, put the number of attacks by Mideastern terrorists against Western targets at 20 in Western Europe in 1985, up from six in 1984. There had been just 28 such attacks from 1980 through 1984.

The 1985 attacks, reflecting a sharp increase in the number of indiscriminate bombings intended to cause mass casualties, killed 45 Westerners and injured 439, according to the study. In 1984, the six attacks caused two deaths and 26 injuries.

The analyst, a government terrorism specialist, concluded: "Middle Eastern groups have realized that they can put more pressure on a West European country by carrying out indiscriminate bombings in the capital of that country than by kidnapping its citizens in Lebanon. Such bombing campaigns have a signifi-

cant, negative influence on tourism — a potential 'Achilles heel' for the governments of certain West European countries."

Use of surface-to-air missiles by terrorists has been widely forecast for several years. Although none of the shoulder-fired, heat-seeking missiles has been used effectively in Europe, factions of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine were arrested in January 1976 on the perimeter of the Nairobi airport while preparing to fire Soviet-made SA-7s at an incoming El Al jet.

An SA-7 may have been used, U.S. analysts suspect, in the downing of a passenger plane in September 1978 by black nationalist guerrillas in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. The crash killed 38 people. According to Kupperman, SA-7 attacks also have been attempted more recently in Rome and Kenya.

There is no debate about the availability of surface-to-air missiles. "When the Palestine Liberation Organization's headquarters in Beirut was hit by the Israelis" in 1982, said Kupperman, "they discovered hundreds and hundreds of SA-7Bs in new crates."

Said the analyst who spoke in Aberdeen: "There's no problem finding SA-7s in Beirut, and if a weapon exists in Lebanon, it's just a matter of time before it's used in Europe."

Saying that his views were personal and not those of his agency, the analyst asked not to be identified and declined further comment on his paper, titled "Middle-Eastern Terrorist Activity in Western Europe in 1985: A Diagnosis and Prognosis." Although the study was neither copyrighted nor classified, it states on its cover, "Not for further distribution or publication without permission of the author."

Noting that forces of Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal had used shoulder-fired anti-armor weapons twice last year in Europe, the report forecast increased use of Soviet-made rocket-propelled grenades, the RPG-75 or RPG-7, and a U.S.-made anti-tank rocket, the M-72 LAW, which is widely available on world arms markets.

One reason for the new popularity of such weapons: a tripling last year, according to the State Department, in the number of armored cars avail-

able to U.S. government personnel abroad.

The 1985 attacks with anti-armor weapons involved an M-72 LAW fired at the Jordanian Embassy in Rome in April and the subsequent firing of an RPG at a Jordanian airliner in Athens, according to press reports. The M-72 LAW hit a lower, unoccupied floor below the embassy; the RPG glanced off the top of the airliner's fuselage, causing only minor damage.

Tourism in the countries that are likely targets — principally Italy, Britain, France, Spain, Greece and West Germany — already is off sharply. Willard R. Brown, head of travel agency services for the American Automobile Association, estimates the drop in AAA's bookings to Europe and the Mediterranean at "75 to 80 percent." Other large travel agencies estimate declines of 30 percent to 50 percent compared with 1985, which was a record-setting year.

Although experts generally expect an increase in the number of terrorist attacks aimed at producing mass casualties, not all agree that advanced weaponry will play a role.

"Instead of using more elaborate weaponry to penetrate hardened targets, [terrorists] tend to go to softer targets," said Bonnie Cordes, an analyst in the Security and Subnational Conflict Research Program at the Rand Corp., a private think-tank in Santa Monica, Calif. "If the embassy is hardened, they go after the diplomat. If the diplomat is hardened, they go after his family."

Either way, civilians in Europe have become increasingly popular targets. In 1984, Mideastern terrorists focused most of their fury on rival factions, resistant countrymen and Israeli or Jewish targets.

After two September attacks in Rome, the terrorism study notes, "the Abu Nidal group warned tourists, especially Arabs, to stay away from Britain, Spain and Italy to avoid operations by our heroic struggle." These warnings are seen as signs of a concerted anti-tourist campaign.

Precedent, and possible inspiration, for such a campaign was available from Spanish Basque separatists and the Irish Republican Army, which, Cordes noted, carried out

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Timing and target of Madrid blast point to Basque terrorists

By Kathy White
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid

At 7:30 a.m., residents in the elegant Salamanca area of Madrid woke up to a violent explosion.

"I thought our building was falling down," said Barbara Vega Muñoz, who lives a few blocks away from the site of the bomb blast.

In the single most deadly attack against the police to date, five paramilitary civil guards were killed and four wounded on Friday as they returned from night duty at the Italian Embassy here. The bomb that destroyed their Land-Rover was in a parked car and was detonated by remote control.

Although no group has claimed responsibility for the attack, police said the method and target of the blast were characteristic of the Basque terrorist organization ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty).

Since the return of democracy 10 years ago, major terrorist attacks have come at key moments in Spain's political life.

Last week's bomb blast came just days after the government called for early elections in June.

ETA has been implicated in terrorist attacks that occurred shortly after the Socialists took power in 1982, on the eve of Spain's signing of a treaty to join the

European Community last December, and after government announcements this January of a March referendum on the nation's continued membership in NATO.

ETA has used terrorism in an effort to destabilize democracy and bring about nationalist independence for the northern Basque region of Spain, but analysts say its chances of achieving these goals today are minimal.

Shortly after Friday's attack, demonstrators pressed against police cordons at the site of the blast, arms raised in the Fascist salute, shouting insults against the government and in support of the jailed Army officers who attempted a military coup in February 1981.

In recent months, the Basque terrorist organization has been curbed, and terrorism has fallen off in the Basque country. This is attributable in part to more effective police action and more collaboration from French authorities in pursuing ETA members in their traditional haven across the French border. Murders of ETA sympathizers by the mysterious GAL (Anti-terrorist Liberation Group), which some claim is linked to Spanish police, have also thrown ETA into disarray.

Applying a carrot-and-stick approach, Spanish authorities have claimed some degree of success by offering ETA terrorists the chance to lay down their arms and reenter society. Dozens of ETA members have been trickling back into Spain.

But a small group of hard-core ETA military terrorists still has the logistical capacity to carry out well-planned actions and has clearly opted for the spectacular attacks in Madrid that draw the most attention. A government official who does not want to be identified said authorities were expecting a series of violent actions by the dangerous Commando España that operates in the capital.

ETA has built its fight around a five-point plan, some points of which could be negotiated — such as a general amnesty and the role of the police in the Basque region.

In recent months there have been increasing rumors of possible negotiations. In the past, Interior Minister José Barriounuevo Peña has adamantly rejected the idea. "With an armed organization, you negotiate on the arms. With a political organization, you negotiate politically," he said.

AIRCRAFT...Continued

campaigns in the summer of 1985 to disrupt tourism on Spain's northern sea coast and in London.

Of the 20 attacks by Mideastern terrorists against West European targets in 1985, 13 were attributed by the Aberdeen analyst to efforts to release terrorist comrades imprisoned at the time in Switzerland, France, Greece, Austria and Italy. Also assaulted were four British targets in Greece, Spain and Italy.

The common motive, according to press accounts, was the release of three Abu Nidal terrorists being held for the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London in 1982.

Although the focus of Middle Eastern terrorist outrage may now have shifted to the United States, that is not considered in the study. It was delivered April 17, just two days after the U.S. attack on Tripoli and Benghazi.

WASHINGTON POST 29 April 1986 Pg. 12

Abu Nidal Organization Says It Killed Briton

Reuter

BEIRUT, April 28—The Abu Nidal terrorist group today claimed responsibility for the Sunday death of a British tourist in Arab East Jerusalem in reprisal for the U.S. air raid against Libya and British "collusion" in the attack.

"The group of martyr Munzer al Qadri in Jerusalem has carried out the death sentence on a member of British intelligence while he was on an intelligence mission," said a typewritten statement delivered to a foreign news agency in Beirut and signed by Abu Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Council.

Paul Appleby, 28, from Bristol in southwest England, was shot dead at point-blank range Sunday at one of Jerusalem's most famous sites, the Garden Tomb, revered as Christ's burial place.

The Abu Nidal group, which Western officials say is financed by Libya and has a base there, threatened to strike back at American interests

around the world following the April 15 U.S. air raids against Libya.

It also threatened European countries that had "submitted to American pressure." U.S. F111 aircraft from bases in Britain took part in the raids.

The statement, which carried today's date, said the killing was in reprisal for the "American aggression and the collusion of the government of [British Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher against Libya."

The commando unit that carried out the attack "returned to its bases safely," it added.

Appleby's death on Sunday was the latest in a series of attacks on Britons since the air raids. Arab groups in Lebanon have claimed responsibility for killing British teachers Leigh Douglas and Philip Padfield, and journalist Alec Collett, whose death is still unconfirmed.

[In another development, the Lebanese Foreign Ministry announced today that the Netherlands was closing its embassy in West Beirut because of the recent wave of kidnappings and murders, the Associated Press reported. All Dutch nationals will be evacuated from the Moslem section of the city.]

WASHINGTON TIMES 1 May 1986 Pg. 6

Libya expels 108 foreigners in retaliation

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Libya has ordered the expulsion of 108 British, Spanish and Italian citizens working in the north African country, in retaliation for deportations of Libyan citizens from the three European countries, officials from the affected nations said yesterday.

The reports came as officials in Rome ordered the Libyan People's Bureau, which is what Libya calls its embassies, to reduce the size of the mission by 10 people. Italy plans to expel a total of 50 Libyans, and among those ousted will be diplomat Mohammed Khalifa Ghabban, who was accused of spying, the Italian Foreign Ministry said. No other details were released.

Italian Foreign Ministry officials said Libya Tuesday ordered 53 Italian technicians working for four Italian firms to leave. The British Foreign Office said Libya was expelling 19 Britons in retaliation for Britain's deportation of 22 Libyan students. The Spanish Foreign Ministry said 36 Spaniards were expelled to retaliate for the ouster of 11 Libyans from Spain.

Britain, Spain, Italy and the nine other European Community countries decided April 21 to reduce the size of Libyan missions in Europe and restrict the movements of Libyans because of alleged Libyan involvement in international terrorism.

Tensions have been particularly high between Libya and Britain because of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's decision to permit U.S. bombers based in Britain to participate in the April 15 U.S. air raid on Libya.

Britain last week sent home 22 Libyans for allegedly engaging in terrorist-related activities. A British Foreign Office spokesman yesterday said Libya told five British companies operating in Libya on Tuesday to "expel a certain number of people."

British Telecom, a communications company, was told to expel nine employees, he said. The highway consultant firm of Rendell, Palmer and Tritton was ordered to send home two employees; Ernst and Whinney, another road firm, one; a third road company, Scott, Wilson and Kirkpatrick, three, and sewer consultants Howard Humphreys, four.

"This is in retaliation for the expulsion of 22 Libyans from this country," the British Foreign Office spokesman said. "They apparently spoke to the companies yesterday and told them to have their employees leave within 48 hours.

"It is absolutely arbitrary. In our view,

NEW YORK TIMES
27 Apr 86 Pg. 6

Opticians Helping in Search For Killer of Swedish Premier

STOCKHOLM, April 26 (AP) — Opticians are contributing to the search for the killer of Prime Minister Olof Palme, the police say.

The police say they think a pair of eyeglasses found close to the murder site on March 1, the day after the killing, were dropped by the man who shot Mr. Palme.

In Sweden, all people who receive glasses on prescription are registered, and the police have already solved other cases by tracing eyewear dropped by criminals, according to Kjell Carlsson of the police technical department.

there is no justification. There is no parallel for 22 Libyan students deported from this country for national security reasons," he said.

A spokesman for the Spanish Foreign Ministry said Libya ordered out 36 employees of the Ferrovia engineering company. The workers were told Tuesday night to take the first Madrid-bound plane out of Libya.

Spain expelled 11 Libyans, including one diplomat and two embassy employees, on April 25 because of their alleged involvement in terrorist plots. They were ordered to leave by the end of May.

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE 5 May 1986 Pg. 3

European Rightists Decry a 'Lack Of Will' in Combatting Terrorism

BY GUDRUN HASSINEN
New York City Tribune Correspondent

BONN, May 4 — Leading conservatives this weekend deplored the "pitiful attitude" of Europeans toward fighting terrorism and pleaded for more steadfastness against terrorist nations and the Soviet bloc.

At the annual congress of the Pan European Union (German section), Otto von Habsburg, international chairman of the union and a member of the European Parliament (EC) in Strasbourg, said "the political will is lacking upon which our future depends."

Von Habsburg deplored the fact that, with the exception of Britain's Margaret Thatcher, the European countries presented themselves as "carping dwarves" when the United States bombed targets in Libya. Thatcher saved the honor of Europe, von Habsburg said.

At a rally in Bonn as part of the congress entitled "European Days," von Habsburg said the Pan European Union's task in the coming year is to demand emphatically a more resolute government attitude in fighting interna-

tional terrorism.

"We must legitimize ourselves by protecting our citizens," von Habsburg said.

A second task would be to emphasize the reunification of Germany and of Europe as a counterbalance to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to make trade and other deals with the EC without benefit to the people in Central and Eastern Europe, von Habsburg declared.

The Pan European Union calls for a unified Europe that would include some 100 million Europeans now under communist rule in Eastern Europe.

'Soviet Colonialism' Assailed

The group wants to end what they term "Soviet colonialism" in Eastern Europe, and its members refuse to recognize as an "eternal reality" the division of Europe by barbed wire, automatic shooting devices or the Berlin wall.

Overcoming the German, and thus the European, division "for the Germans is a matter of the constitution [which mandates West German respon-

sibility to seek the freedom and self determination of the East Germans]. For the Europeans, this is a matter of survival," von Habsburg said.

Because Moscow needs the West, and Western Europe in particular, to keep its own economy alive, the West Europeans have a lever with which to stand strong against the Soviet Union, he said.

Germany in particular shows excellence in technology, but with a lack of political will and a decrease in European morale and Christian values, Germany's and Western Europe's survival are at stake, von Habsburg said.

At one of three working groups where Pan European Union members discussed questions of Western European unity, ecology and agriculture, and European minority rights, Prof. Werner Pfeifenberger of Münster University said the Soviet-bloc nations are operating out of a bad conscience and it should not be difficult to stand up to that.

The Soviets' foreign policy never consisted of anything constructive, but of exploiting weaknesses and flaws in the democratic nations, he said.

"We must not counter this with our own cowardice, but with our morale," Pfeifenberger said. "We can counter their bad conscience by our moral steadfastness."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 7 May 1986 Pg. 5

W. Germans seize 2 Jordanians in disco blast that killed GI

From Chicago Tribune wires

BERLIN—West Berlin police said Tuesday they arrested two Jordanian-born men on suspicion of taking part in the La Belle discotheque bombing.

The United States accused Libya of sponsoring the April 5 bombing, which killed an American GI and a Turkish woman, and the bombing was cited as the reason for the April 15 U.S. air raid on Libya.

West Berlin police previously arrested a Palestinian, Ahmed Nawaf Mansur Hasi, in connection with the disco bombing.

At a press conference Tuesday at the West Berlin prosecutor's offices, police identified the two Jordanian-born men arrested last Thursday as Farouk Salameh, 39,

and 34-year-old Fayez Sahawneh. Both are residents of West Berlin.

Manfred Ganschow, who heads the police investigating team, told reporters Salameh and Sahawneh were arrested on suspicion of taking part in two bombings.

He said the first was the March 29 bombing of an Arab-German Friendship Society building in West Berlin, in which seven people were injured, and the second was the La Belle bombing.

Ganschow said Hasi and Salameh have admitted to taking part in the March bombing. "Since the arrested perpetrators now in jail have admitted to one attack, then they must come in question for the other," Ganschow said.

He noted the bombings occurred only days apart, adding, "we have not had bombing attacks of this type in Berlin for years."

Ganschow said in both bombings, leftover explosives were not found, and damage to the buildings was "nearly identical."

Besides the two people killed, the La Belle bombing wounded 230 people, 63 of them Americans.

Hasi's brother, Nezar Hindawi, was arrested April 18 in London on charges of trying to blow up an Israeli airliner. The bombing attempt came April 17, two days after the U.S. attack on Libya.

Earlier Tuesday, the Berlin Morgenpost newspaper reported three more men had been arrested in

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NEW YORK TIMES 9 May 1986 Pg. 8

Syria Protests Charges It Is Linked to Terror

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI
Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, May 8 — Syria said today that it had protested to West Germany over allegations that a terrorist bombing in West Berlin in March was linked to the Syrian Embassy.

Meanwhile, the Syrian Embassy in London issued a statement denying that it had any involvement in terrorist activities in Britain, including an attempt to place a bomb aboard an Israeli airliner leaving Heathrow Airport.

Simultaneously, the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin said it "denied decisively" that it had "anything to do with an explosion in West Berlin." The embassy spokesman said the charges were "lies" designed to damage Syria.

The Government-controlled Damascus radio, monitored in Beirut, reported that the West German Ambassador, Heribert Woeckel, had been summoned to the Syrian Foreign Ministry and handed a strongly worded protest about the allegation that explosives used in bombing the offices in West Berlin of the German-Arab Friendship Society last March 29 came from the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin.

On Tuesday police sources in West Germany said a Jordanian suspect being held in another terrorist case, the April bombing of a West Berlin discotheque, had told the police he was responsible for the friendship society bombing, which he said the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin had organized and provided explosives for.

On Wednesday the Israeli Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, said in Washington that Syrian security and intelligence officials were responsible for the unsuccessful attempt last month to plant a bomb on an El Al jet in London.

Syrian and Arab news organizations referred today to what they called an orchestrated campaign by the United States, Western Europe and Israel to portray Syria as a sponsor of international terrorism.

Link 'Long Noted,' U.S. Says

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8 — The State Department said today that Syrian involvement in terrorism "is something we've long noted," but a spokesman said the Administration said he could not be more specific on a possible Syrian connection in recent terrorist incidents in London or West Berlin.

At the same time, the spokesman, Charles E. Redman, repeatedly declined to respond to questions at a noon

NEW YORK TIMES
10 May 1986
Pg. 1

LIBYAN DIPLOMAT EXPELLED BY SPAIN

Madrid Arrests a Colonel and Says He Sought Tripoli Aid

By The Associated Press

MADRID, May 9 — Spain today expelled a high-ranking Libyan diplomat and arrested a Spanish Army colonel who it said had asked Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi for money to finance extreme right-wing activities.

The expelled Libyan, Saad Ismail, left Madrid for Casablanca, Morocco, this afternoon. He was identified by Spanish authorities as the Consul General. He was the fourth Libyan diplomat expelled by Spain since December.

A spokesman for the Socialist Government, Javier Solana, said that the Libyan diplomat arranged a secret meeting between Colonel Qaddafi and Col. Carlos Meer de Rivera, the Spanish Army officer who was arrested.

Reportedly Weighing Relations

Mr. Solana said earlier today that Spain was considering severing relations with Tripoli over the incident, which was discovered by the Spanish secret service during an investigation of activities of Colonel Meer de Rivera.

The Libyan Embassy issued a statement this afternoon saying the Spanish Government statement on Mr. Ismail's activities was false.

"To accuse a diplomat accredited in this country since 1979 in such a manner is not in keeping with the exem-

news briefing on reports of a new Syrian military buildup or on reports of "so-called rumblings in the region" that might lead to new hostilities involving Syria and Israel.

SEIZE...Continued

connection with the La Belle bombing. Police said that report was not accurate.

Meanwhile, CBS News reported that the U.S. Navy has been ordered to dispatch more ships carrying cruise missiles into the Mediterranean.

CBS News reported Monday night that use of the missiles is being considered by U.S. defense officials preparing contingency plans in case further actions are ordered against Libya.

One of the cruise missile-carrying ships ordered into the Mediterranean was the nuclear attack submarine that ran aground in the Straits of Gibraltar last Tuesday, the network quoted sources as saying.

The missiles would carry conventional explosives, the network report said.

Use of cruise missiles would avoid the threat posed to U.S. pilots in making another bombing run.

plary conduct of the official," the statement said.

Mr. Solana said Colonel Meer de Rivera, 56 years old, until today the military governor of the Avila Province, was arrested and taken to a military prison outside Madrid.

Mr. Solana did not specify the charges against the officer, but a Government statement said he and Mr. Ismail met with Colonel Qaddafi in Libya several months ago.

Mr. Solana said Spanish officials were fairly certain that Colonel Meer de Rivera had not received any Libyan money.

Foreign Ministry sources said they believed Mr. Ismail was in charge of the embassy, which the Libyan Government calls a People's Bureau.

Mr. Ismail said he had never met Colonel Meer de Rivera, although the Government statement said the Libyan accompanied the Spanish officer to Paris and arranged for his travel documents before they proceeded to Tripoli.

Mr. Solana said it was believed that Colonel Meer de Rivera acted alone. Other sources said connections between the Spanish far right and Libya went back to the late 1970's.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
11 May 1986 Pg. 10

3 Syrians expelled by Britain

By David Mason
Associated Press

LONDON — Britain yesterday ordered the expulsion of three Syrian diplomats after Syria refused to lift their diplomatic immunity so that they could be questioned about the April 17 attempted bombing of an Israeli airliner.

A Foreign Office statement said the three had seven days to leave Britain.

It said police wanted to question them about "certain terrorist activities in this country," but it did not specify what activities.

However, the Syrian Embassy said the expulsions stemmed from the attempted bombing of an El Al airliner at London's Heathrow Airport.

Ambassador Dr. Loutof Allah Haydar strongly denied that his embassy was involved in the attempt and confirmed Syria's refusal to waive diplomatic immunity.

Request denied

The Foreign Office said Syria had refused a request to waive the immunity of Zaki Oud, Ahmad Abdul Latif and Mounir Mouna so that police could interrogate them. They are listed simply as attaches on the register of Syria's 25-member diplomatic corps.

The Syrians were willing to allow police to question diplomatic staff on embassy premises without lifting their immunity, but Scotland Yard believed that was pointless because such evidence could not be used in court, the statement said.

Last week, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe told the House of Commons he had met with Haydar and discussed the attempt to smuggle explosives aboard the El Al flight from London to Tel Aviv.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said Wednesday in Washington that Israel had evidence Syria initiated and organized the bomb plot.

Yesterday's British statement said Ewen Fergusson, deputy undersecretary of state in the Foreign Office,

BALTIMORE SUN 11 May 1986 Pg. 1

Spanish charge 10 in terror

Alleged attack plan against Americans is linked to Libyans

MADRID, Spain (AP) — Police have arrested 10 members of a terrorist group that received orders from Libyan diplomats and planned to attack U.S. businesses and American citizens in Spain, the Interior Ministry reported yesterday.

The detainees — three Lebanese, four Spaniards, a Jordanian, a Syrian and a Portuguese — belonged to an anti-Zionist group called "The Call of Jesus Christ," the ministry said. They have been charged with participating in terrorist activities.

Two group members who were arrested Friday told authorities that the orders and financing for the attacks were going to be provided by

Libyan diplomats, the ministry said.

An Interior Ministry spokesman said there were no indications that a high-ranking Libyan diplomat who left the country yesterday had any links to the terrorist group. Saad Ismail, the head of the Libyan People's Bureau (embassy) in Madrid, was expelled for allegedly meeting with a right-wing Spanish officer accused of plotting against the Spanish government.

The ministry statement said Victor del Cerro of Spain and Manuel Romano da Cruz of Portugal were arrested Friday in downtown Madrid with nine pounds of explosives and told authorities they planned to blow up the Bank of America office.

It said the two men also told authorities they took part in the April 10 bombing of the Air France office in Lisbon, Portugal. The blast caused minor damage, but no one was injured. An anonymous caller told the official Portuguese news agency ANOP that the French terrorist group Direct Action was responsible.

According to the ministry, the two suspects said they had carried out the attack against the Air France office following instructions from members of "The Call of Jesus Christ." They were told they would

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

told the Syrian ambassador that "the British government required the withdrawal of three members of his staff within seven days."

Haydar was told that Britain "regretted that the Syrian authorities were not willing to meet our request for a waiver of diplomatic immunity, which would have allowed the allegations against the three members of the Syrian Embassy to be fully investigated," the statement said.

"We have never been involved in any terrorist activities on British soil and subsequently have nothing to hide at all," Haydar said.

"It was our wish to contribute to and cooperate with the British security authorities in their investigation of this matter in order to decide on who was behind this attempted blast at Heathrow," he said.

But his government refused to lift diplomatic immunity, he said, because none of his staff was directly accused.

Haydar refused to spell out the functions of the three men under expulsion orders.

Explosives in luggage

El Al guards discovered the explosives in the luggage of an Irish woman who was boarding an El Al Boeing 747 at Heathrow Airport. Police later charged her Palestinian boyfriend, Nezar Hindawi, with planting the explosives. Police said Hindawi, 31, had duped the unsuspecting woman.

West Berlin officials have said that explosives for two recent bombings there came from the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin. Syria has denied involvement in those attacks.

Two Arabs, including Hindawi's brother, Ahmed Nawaf Mansur Hasi, are being held in West Berlin in connection with the March 29 bombing of a German-Arab Friendship Society Office.

Officials said they also were investigating whether the two were involved in the April 5 bombing of a discotheque in which a U.S. soldier and a Turkish woman were killed. A third Arab is being investigated in the bombings but was released Thursday on his own recognizance, officials said.

WASHINGTON POST
12 May 1986 Pg. 17

3 British Diplomats Expelled by Syria

Damascus Says Move Is Retaliatory

Associated Press

DAMASCUS, Syria, May 11— Syria today ordered three British diplomats to leave in retaliation for Britain's decision to expel three Syrian diplomats it sought to question about an attempt to blow up an Israeli airliner.

"The Syrian retaliation is an answer to the British government's expulsion of three diplomats serving with the Syrian Embassy in London without any objective justification," a Foreign Ministry statement said.

It said Britain's military attache, Col. David Maitland-Titterton; First Secretary David Taylor and Vice Consul Andrew Balfour must leave within one week.

A Foreign Office spokesman in London, who would not be identified, told The Associated Press, "This Syrian action is quite unjustifiable."

Britain yesterday ordered the three Syrians to leave within a week because the Damascus government refused to waive diplomatic immunity. Britain said it wanted to question them regarding "allegations about Syrian involvement in certain terrorist activities in this country."

Loutof Haydar, Syria's ambassador to Britain, said the issue was the April 17 attempt to smuggle a bomb aboard a Tel Aviv-bound El Al airliner at London's Heathrow Airport.

[In Jerusalem, meanwhile, Israel's Cabinet said in a communique after its regular Sunday meeting that "Israel will do all it can to prevent war with Syria but it is incumbent on the countries of the world to do everything in their power to stop international terrorism and Syria's involvement in that terrorism," Reuter reported.]

Syria said today: "The Syrian Embassy had agreed that its three diplomats be questioned by British interrogators inside the Syrian Embassy, out of an emphatic conviction that there is no connection whatsoever with the accusations leveled against them." But Scotland Yard said information obtained in such questioning would not stand up in court.

Syria has denied involvement in any terrorist activity in Europe. Its government-controlled press claims that western allegations that Syria is linked to terrorism have been fabricated to justify a military blow against it similar to the U.S. air attack on Libya April 15 in retaliation for Libya's alleged involvement in international terrorism.

A Palestinian, Nezar Hindawi, is awaiting trial in London on charges of planting a bomb in his girlfriend's

SPANISH...Continued

receive \$70,000 from Libyan diplomats, according to the ministry.

It said the eight other suspects subsequently were arrested. It identified them as Faisal Hanna Joudi of Lebanon, who allegedly headed the group in Spain; Danny Hanna Joudi and Freddy Hanna Joudi of Lebanon; Rabah Musa Mohamed Abu Kamis of Jordan; Farted Jazan of Syria; and Pedro Vargas Mendoza, Calixto Bravatas Flores and Felcissimo Barroso Rodriguez of Spain.

Authorities also seized many documents from the suspects, the ministry said.

The ministry said "The Call of Jesus Christ" was founded by Hanna Elias Joudi. It first surfaced in Lebanon in 1978 and has claimed it is fighting for the freedom of Palestinians from Zionist domination, the ministry said.

luggage without her knowledge and sending her aboard the Israeli plane.

The London Broadcasting Corp. said yesterday that Britain suspected Syrian diplomats of supplying the bomb parts and that Hindawi contacted a Syrian envoy after taking his girlfriend to the airport.

Earlier today, another Syrian diplomat, Georges Shiha, left Britain, but the Foreign Office in London denied speculation his departure was connected with the expulsions.

London's Sunday Times said Shiha was believed to be in charge of Syrian military intelligence operations in Britain and was "making a hurried exit" following Saturday's expulsion orders.

Shiha boarded a Syrian Arab Airlines flight to Damascus. An airline official told reporters that Shiha said he was leaving routinely at the end of a four-year assignment.

U.S. News
A WORLD REPORT

12 May 1986 Pg. 32

NEXT STEP FIGHTING TERROR?

Words of support from Western leaders at Tokyo for U.S. antiterrorism policy won't resolve Washington's quandary about how to respond to the next round of terror. The bombing run on Libya hasn't weakened Qadhafi. Political insiders now question U.S. public's willingness to support more forays. The administration also is backing away from Reagan's threat to retaliate against Syria or Iran. Syria's links to U.S.S.R. and Iran's instability would raise the stakes. Growing talk of blockading Libya is discounted inside the administration. A Mediterranean naval blockade would invite Soviet response and upset U.S. allies. What's ahead after the summit: Quiet cooperation among Western police and intelligence agents, more restrictions on Libyan nationals abroad, continued U.S. push for economic sanctions.

WASHINGTON POST

13 May 1986 Pg. 13

Spain Charges Officer Accused of Libyan Ties

United Press International

MADRID, May 12—A right-wing Spanish Army officer, accused of meeting with Libyan leader Col. Muammar Qaddafi in Tripoli to obtain support for terror activities, was charged today with illegally leaving his post.

Col. Carlos Meer de Ribera was arrested Friday. He faces six months to six years in prison for leaving his post in central Spain to meet with the Libyan leader in January.

Meer de Ribera, who was attached to the military governor's office in the province of Avila, met with Qaddafi to seek funds for his rightist group to carry out attacks in Spain and elsewhere in Europe, authorities said.

Americans were among the targets of the planned attacks, Spanish security sources said. Meer appeared to be the only military officer involved in the plan, the government said.

The consul general at the Libyan diplomatic mission in Spain was ordered expelled Friday for arranging the meeting between Qaddafi and Meer de Ribera, known for his links to rightist groups in Spain that want a return to dictatorship.

The government has said it has "photographs and tapes" to prove the meeting took place but that Spain has "no immediate plans" to cut diplomatic ties with Libya.

The Libyan diplomat, Saed Alsalam Esmael, was ordered to leave Spain for "activities incompatible with his diplomatic status." He was the 15th Libyan expelled from Spain for terrorism-related reasons.

WASHINGTON POST

13 May 1986 Pg. 13

Tunisian Confesses To 3 Bombings, French Police Say

By Jonathan C. Randal
Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, May 12—Habib Maamar, 24, a Tunisian, confessed today in Nancy, in eastern France, to planting three terrorist bombs since 1983, two in Paris and one in London, according to police.

Before being indicted, Maamar reportedly told police he was paid \$3,000 a month by a shadowy, pro-Iraqi faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization that was not otherwise identified.

Maamar was arrested late last week after a former Algerian girlfriend denounced him to the police for beating her and produced a sample of an explosive called penthrite that she said he had stored at her home.

More penthrite—often used in Middle East terrorism—was found at the Nancy home of a Frenchwoman with whom Maamar was living. Both women were arrested on charges of possessing explosives and acting as accessories in the bombings.

Maamar, according to police, confessed to planting bombs at the Jewish-owned Marks and Spencer department store in London on Dec. 25, 1983; at the same firm's Paris branch on Feb. 23, 1985, and at the Israeli Bank Leumi office in Paris on Aug. 21, 1985.

One person was killed and 14 wounded in the explosion at the Paris branch of the department store; the other two bombs caused only material damage.

No person or group had asserted responsibility for the attacks at the time.

Police in Nancy said they still were questioning other suspects in the case and had seized an address book with telephone numbers in Baghdad.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 14 May 1986 Pg. 6

Polish Wife Tells of Travel to Libya, Syria, Lebanon**El Al Bomb Suspect's Mideast Visits Reported**By ROBERT GILLETTE, *Times Staff Writer*

WARSAW—The Polish wife of a Palestinian being held by British police in connection with the attempted bombing of an airliner last month has told friends that he made frequent visits to Lebanon, Libya and Syria, ostensibly as a journalist.

Postcards that Nezar Hindawi sent his wife, Barbara Litwiniec, since she returned to Poland in 1984 establish that he traveled regularly to those three Arab countries and that he was in Syria as recently as late February, according to the woman's friends, who asked to remain anonymous.

Litwiniec, 30, married Hindawi in December, 1980, in London, where her family sent her to visit an uncle and improve her English. They have a 4-year-old daughter who is with Litwiniec in Poland.

Syrian Help Reported

West Berlin police disclosed on May 6 that Hindawi's brother, Ahmed Nawaf Mansour Hasi, had confessed to taking part in a bombing in West Berlin late in March that injured seven people and depicted Hindawi as the mastermind of the attack. Hasi reportedly told police that the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin supplied the explosives.

British authorities, acting partly on the basis of information supplied by Israel, have said they suspect both Libyan and Syrian involvement in the April 17 attempt to smuggle a bomb onto an El Al Israel Airlines jetliner at London's Heathrow Airport. But the British have refused to elaborate on the evidence, which is said to link Hindawi to the two radical Arab states.

Britain expelled three Syrian diplomats Saturday after Syria refused to waive their diplomatic immunity and allow British investigators to question them about allegations of terrorist activity. However, the British government, in public statements, has made no connection between the expulsions and Hindawi's arrest.

On Monday, a Foreign Office

official, Tim Renton, said to the House of Commons that, despite the action against Syrian diplomats, "we have no reason whatever to doubt our earlier conclusions about Libyan involvement" in the attempted bombing of the Israeli airliner.

Hindawi, 31, a Jordanian-born Palestinian, was arrested in a London hotel on April 18, the day after security officers at Heathrow seized Hindawi's pregnant Irish girlfriend, Anne-Marie Murphy, as she attempted to board El Al's Flight 16 to Israel.

Her hand luggage was found to contain a bomb made of thinly rolled plastic explosives and a microchip timer that authorities said was sufficient to destroy the Boeing 747 and its 340 passengers. Police said she appeared to have been an innocent victim in the plot and to have believed Hindawi's promise to marry her in Israel.

The same day that Scotland Yard seized Hindawi in London, police in West Berlin arrested Hasi, his 35-year-old brother, on suspicion of involvement in the April 5 bombing of La Belle discotheque, in which a U.S. Army sergeant and a Turkish woman were killed and more than 200 people injured, 63 of them Americans.

Berlin police have since said that there is little evidence linking Hasi to the discotheque bombing but that he admitted taking part in the March bombing against an Arab-German friendship society building in West Berlin.

Besides reportedly identifying Syria as the source of explosives, Hasi reportedly has said that he made several visits to Libya, the last in 1985.

Independent American evidence of Libyan responsibility for the discotheque bombing, mainly in the form of intercepted messages to Libya's embassy in East Berlin, led to the U.S. bombing of Libya on April 15.

Litwiniec, Hindawi's Polish wife, has told friends that during their five years together in London,

before she returned to Poland in 1984 with their daughter, she had no suspicion that her husband might be involved in terrorist activities.

Litwiniec is reported to have said that her husband's brother Hasi was a frequent visitor to their London apartment, along with a number of Arab friends. She says she knew nothing of their business because they spoke almost entirely in Arabic, which she does not understand.

According to West Berlin officials, Hindawi's last known meeting with his brother was in January or February. The bombing of the Arab-German friendship society in Berlin occurred a little more than a month later.

Newspaper 'Messenger'

Polish sources said Hindawi told his wife that he had a university degree in journalism and explained his frequent travels by telling her that he was working as a "messenger" for an Arab-language newspaper in London. Since his arrest, the acquaintances said, she has learned that he worked for the newspaper only a few weeks in 1984 before being fired.

She was also unaware of her husband's Palestinian nationality, they said. Having visited Hindawi's father and two sisters in Amman, Jordan, several years ago, she assumed he was Jordanian.

The friends said Litwiniec also knew nothing about his Irish girlfriend who, in turn, appears to have known nothing of Hindawi's Polish wife and child.

They said her devoutly Roman Catholic family was scandalized by her marriage to an Arab, but was nevertheless hospitable to him. Litwiniec's mother, however, remained skeptical of her Muslim son-in-law because of his insatiable appetite for ham, bacon and other pork products in violation of Muslim dietary laws. She called him a "pork vacuum cleaner."

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Terrorists Attack Interpol

WASHINGTON POST
17 May 1986 Pg. 16

1 Hurt as Agency Hit by Guns, Explosives

Associated Press

PARIS, May 16—Terrorists attacked the headquarters of Interpol, the international police agency, with guns and explosives tonight, wounding one policeman in the arm and shattering windows, authorities said.

Leaflets found at the scene were signed by the extreme leftist group Direct Action.

Police, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the terrorists arrived in an automobile, sprayed the building with gunfire and then hurled an explosive device. They said investigators could not immediately determine whether the explosion was caused by a grenade or a bomb.

A policeman guarding the building was hit in the arm by a bullet and was hospitalized. Earlier reports said two persons were injured, but police said only the guard was hurt.

Police acknowledged there were conflicting reports and said they were awaiting further information from the scene.

They also said a search was under way for a bomb that might have been placed inside the Interpol building in the western suburb of St. Cloud.

An anonymous caller told police a second explosion would occur at the headquarters of the Electronique Serge Dassault company, also in St. Cloud, police said. They said a search was conducted but no explosion occurred at the time mentioned by the caller.

Tracts found at the scene signed in red with Direct Action's five-star symbol and the group's name spoke of striking "at the central joints that today connect their [imperialists'] political, economic and military strategy" and of developing "in the direction of a global, revolutionary strategy."

Direct Action has asserted responsibility for numerous attacks.

WASHINGTON POST 17 May 1986 Pg. 16

E. Germany Assures U.S.

Promise Made to Thwart Terrorist Planning

Reuter

EAST BERLIN, May 16—East Germany has assured the United States that it will take all necessary measures to prevent any embassy here from being used as a base for terrorist attacks, U.S. Embassy sources said today.

The assurances were given during talks between East German Foreign Ministry officials and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs William Woessner.

Woessner repeated to Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and other officials U.S. charges that Libya used its diplomatic mission here to launch last month's bomb attack on a West Berlin discotheque frequented by U.S. servicemen.

"The issue was the first on the list, and we put our point candidly," one U.S. source said.

"Given the La Belle discotheque bombing, this could have been a stiff and unproductive meeting. But that is not what happened. They showed they had understanding for our position," he added, referring to Woessner's two days of talks.

He said East Germany "made no specific admission" that the bombing was launched from the Libyan mission—a charge the Communist authorities already have denied.

"But we do have what we consider assurances that the GDR [East Germany] will make sure embassies here keep to international conventions—and this means by implication not engaging in terrorist activity," he said.

The talks, planned a year ago as routine consultations, were dominated by the terrorism issue.

SUSPECT...Continued

Litwiniec's father, encountered in his apple orchard in Radzyn Podlaski, a small town 75 miles southeast of Warsaw, declined to talk with a Times reporter except to say that his daughter was in seclusion with relatives. Of Hinda-wi, he said "he was a good boy," a journalist, who had helped with the apple harvest when he last came to Poland to see his wife and daughter.

NEW YORK TIMES 18 May 1986 Pg. 16

French Say Suspect Gives Clues on Terror Network

By JUDITH MILLER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 17 — Details emerging from an investigation of the man who has confessed to bombing department stores in Paris and London have given the French police important insights into the structure and operations of the terrorist network that employed him, according to terrorism experts and French officials.

Although some doubts have been expressed in the French press about the veracity of the confession by the suspect, Habib Maammar, and his detailed description of the organization's mode of operations, the police were persuaded that his account was "spontaneous, direct and accurate," a Ministry of Interior spokesman said this week.

Moreover, the arrest is regarded as a breakthrough in efforts to combat terrorism in France, according to the prosecutor's office in Nancy.

"Any arrest of this kind provides important information about how these groups carry out their missions," said Nicole Gnesotto, an expert on terrorism at the French Institute for International Relations.

Information About Recruitment

A spokesman for the prosecutor's office in Nancy, where Mr. Maammar was arrested last week, said the investigation was producing valuable information about the terrorist group's recruitment and its hold over those it recruited.

Mr. Maammar, who is 23 years old and presumed to be a Tunisian, is one of some two million to three million Arab immigrants in France, most of whom are of extremely modest means and some of whom live here illegally. The police have long suspected that terrorists are recruited from such pools.

The police said Mr. Maammar had been living here illegally for several years, even though other members of his large family had residence papers. He lacked a high school diploma and his family background was turbulent. Two of his brothers have been in prison for a murder in Toulon, in southern France, that has not been linked to political motives. A young man with time on his hands, he lived in a milieu of light drug users, although he had no record of arrests for drug offenses or any other crime, the prosecutor said.

Mr. Maammar was recruited in 1982, a time when he was unemployed and in need of "easy money," at the port of Toulon by an Arab whom he refused to identify, the prosecutor's office said.

He had not been politically active, "but acquired his anti-Zionist convictions after his recruitment," the prosecutor said.

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SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS 18 May 1986 Pg. 1

Broken code exposed Libya's envoys of terror

By Frank Greve

Mercury News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — For at least six years, Western electronic spying on Libya's embassies yielded enough intelligence to foil most Libyan-sponsored terrorist attacks, according to U.S. and Israeli government analysts.

But that insurance, obtained by breaking a simple, naive code used by the Libyans, ran out April 7. That's when Reagan administration officials cited intercepted messages between Tripoli and the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin as proof of Libya's responsibility for the West Berlin discotheque attack April 5, in which a U.S. soldier and a Turkish woman were killed.

Libya quickly dropped its broken code, which, according to U.S. and Israeli sources, might refer to a bombing as "a wedding" and a perpetrator as "officiating at the ceremony." Seeing through it was so simple that "we sometimes missed it," said a well-placed Israeli official.

A new system

To replace it, Libya purchased a new and advanced cryptographic system from a Swiss firm late last month, according to a U.S. government terrorism specialist who asked not to be identified. "We came up with incontrovertible evidence," he said of Libya's involvement in the Berlin attack, "but the cost of blabbing it was terribly high."

Indirectly, however, exposing the code produced a bonanza of previously secret information about how Libya's diplomatic corps was being used to promote terrorism.

The cases began unfolding after

U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters and Attorney General Edwin Meese III briefed allies in Europe on the Libyan Embassy intercepts. Suddenly, a rash of expulsions of Libyan diplomats broke out across Europe from Spain to Turkey.

No longer forced — or even able — to conceal their knowledge of Libyan diplomatic links with terrorists, host governments sought to act before the plotters could strike, hide, regroup or be replaced. They also now are free to make cases that entailed electronic eavesdropping of Libyan missions.

85 diplomats ousted

Thus far, 85 of the estimated 850 diplomats in Col. Moammar Khadafy's Libyan corps have been expelled. But no onus seems to apply to getting caught; in many cases Libyan diplomats sought in one country in connection with terrorist acts turn up in another.

Other newly public evidence has convinced U.S. analysts that several countries, including Italy, Greece and Turkey, have deliberately overlooked Libya's predations on their soil or provided terrorists safe harbor. Other evidence suggests that Western allies allowed some Libyan exiles to be killed by Khadafy's agents rather than sacrifice the secret of the deciphered code.

Explained the U.S. analyst: "As long as the focus was on anti-Khadafy Libyans, we didn't like it but it wasn't any reason to send in the fleet." An Israeli analyst put it more bluntly: "Why expose our sources and methods for the sake of some Libyans?"

Eavesdropping on Libya is said to have intensified in 1979 after

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CODE...Continued

cutor's spokesman said.

The French press has widely reported that the group that recruited him was well financed, and that Mr. Maammar received a monthly stipend of \$3,000. But the police and the prosecutor's office insist that Mr. Maammar never gave a figure for a regular income and told them instead that he received specific sums for specific actions, ranging from \$500 to \$1,800.

They say he lived modestly, without a car, in a small apartment in Nancy — "nothing striking or extraordinary in order to keep a low profile," the prosecutor's office said.

Group's Identity Unclear

The identity of the terrorist group is still unclear. The police said Mr. Maammar had not identified it by name, but had provided the nom de guerre of its leader and his contact, Abu Ibrahim, a man in Baghdad, whose real name the French authorities said is Najl Allouche. Based on Mr. Maammar's description, French experts on terrorism have identified the group as the Arab Organization of the 15th of May for the Liberation of Palestine, a splinter of a splinter group of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

This group is said to be headed by Mr. Allouche, a radical Palestinian theorist known in the Arab world as much for his tracts and writings as for his presumed terrorist activities. The French weekly magazine L'Express reported this week that Abu Ibrahim was the ammunitions expert for another major terrorist group, headed by Wadi Haddad, who in 1976 organized the hijacking of an Air France jetliner to Entebbe, Uganda. Mr. Allouche's group was once associated with the terrorist Abu Nidal but was now on its own, Arab sources said. They said the group consisted of about 70 members and had moved to a new base in the Bekaa, a Syrian-controlled zone in eastern Lebanon where several other terrorist groups are also based.

What seems clear from the confession, according to the prosecutor's office, is that Mr. Maammar met on several occasions in Baghdad with the contact he called Abu Ibrahim.

To protect the base of the group, he never flew directly from France to Iraq, but followed circuitous routes, through Spain and Frankfurt, West Germany. The prosecutor's office said it was not surprised by these "bizarre itineraries." But some terrorism experts were dismayed by Mr. Maammar's assertion that he had carried the explosive for his bombings with him from Baghdad in a Samsonite attaché case, not in a car or by train, but on an airplane.

"The explosive was malleable and not detectable," the prosecutor's spokesman said.

While Mr. Maammar, in his confession, said he had carried out bombings

CLUES...Continued

Khadafy, in one of several moves against potential opponents, replaced or supplanted Libya's career diplomats with fervent, untrained loyalists. Many were Libyan students abroad. Others were nominated by local People's Committees in Libya, according to officials.

'People's Bureaus'

To their initial mission — propagating Khadafy's pan-Arabist, socialist revolution — an arabis duty was added in February 1980. According to JANA, the Libyan news agency, "the physical elimination" of the enemies of the revolution was among duties assigned Libya's rechristened "People's Bureaus." Assassinations and assaults on activist exiles followed almost immediately in London, Bonn, Rome, Athens and Milan.

The attacks were brazen. In June 1980, shortly after two Libyan dissidents had been gunned down, Musa Kusa, head of the People's Bureau in London, told a London Times reporter that his revolutionary committee had decided "to kill two more people" in Britain. "I approve of this," he added.

The behavior of Libyan diplomats went from bad to worse thereafter, the new evidence suggests.

For example, the investigation of West Berlin's discotheque bombing turned up two Libyan diplomats assigned to East Berlin — Al-Amin Abdullah Al-Amin and Muhammad Yasir Chriadi — both of whom had been implicated in Libyan exile murders in West Germany while serving as diplomats there, according to Manfred Ganschow, chief of the Berlin anti-ter-

rorist police. on the group's orders, against specified targets, the confession also indicated some degree of autonomy. He told the police, for example, that he bombed an office of Bank Leumi, an Israeli bank, in Paris, in August 1984, because he had determined from a stakeout that his original target, the Paris office of El Al Israel Airlines, was too well guarded. No one was hurt in the Bank Leumi bombing.

After a while, according to Mr. Maammar's account, he became a reluctant terrorist. He was afraid of being blown up by the bombs he was planting, according to press reports, but apparently was more afraid of the group's response should he stop participating.

rorist police.

Ganschow said there is evidence indicating that a rocket-launched grenade fired at U.S. Gen. Frederick J. Kroesen near Heidelberg in September 1981 had "passed through a Libyan People's Bureau" before being provided to the Red Army Faction leftists who attacked Kroesen.

Attack on center

In addition, he said, attackers of the French cultural center in West Berlin in August 1983 received "logistical" help from the People's Bureau in East Berlin.

After those disclosures, two other Libyan diplomats, Ahmad Umar M. Isa and Mahmud Ahmad Shaymani, were expelled from Bonn April 9 for violating diplomatic status by transporting weapons and explosives.

Three days later, Turkish police captured two Tunisian terrorists who said they had been hired by a Libyan diplomat in Istanbul to blow up the U.S. consulate, murder former U.S. Consul General Daniel Newberry and sabotage the Iraqi-Turkish oil pipeline. Ringleader Ben Amara told Turkish reporters that Libyan diplomats had promised to provide him with explosives.

Extremists

New Libyan ties to right-wing extremists emerged in Madrid recently with the expulsion of the People's Bureau's acting chief, Saad Ismail. Spanish authorities say he arranged an illicit interview several months ago in Libya with Khadafy for Spanish Army Col. Carlos Meer de Rivera, a neo-fascist seeking Libyan financial support.

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The prosecutor's office believes in the accuracy of his confession, which was secured after a female friend denounced him to the police, because they found in Mr. Maammar's apartment 145 grams of penthrite, the type of explosive used to bomb the Marks & Spencer department store in Paris in February 1985. "The explosive was totally complete, with the detonator and everything," the prosecutor said.

One person was killed and 14 wounded in the Paris department store bombing. Mr. Maammar was also said to have confessed to a bombing outside the Marks & Spencer store in London in December 1983 in which two people were wounded.

CLUES...Continued

In all, Libya is "using its diplomatic representations in more than 35 countries to organize and support terrorism," Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last month.

That is not the way Ali Abdussalam Treiki, Libyan delegate to the United Nations and former foreign minister, sees it. According to Treiki, interviewed in his gray, modern Manhattan office decorated with orchids, People's Bureaus "normally function like any other diplomatic mission."

The only difference, he said, is that Libya's delegates are nominated by Khadafy loyalists instead of being picked from a career diplomatic corps.

If Libyan diplomats are being expelled, he said, "this is not abnormal. I don't know any mission in the world, including the United States mission, whose role is not to get information or to spy. Certainly, we are very keen on the security of our country, like any embassy or mission in the world."

"As for espionage or assassinations, do you not think we can identify instances in which Americans have been involved in espionage or assassinations of heads of state, even to attacking Khadafy in his own house?"

Diplomatic history

An exile familiar with the diplomatic history of Khadafy's regime, who consented to an interview on the condition that he not be identified, said that in countries of importance to Libya, People's Bureau counselors "all belong to one of the secret services: military intelligence, foreign intelligence or the justice ministry."

The Central Committee of the Revolution, a panel of 30 to 35 leaders in Tripoli with direct access to Khadafy, guides the work of missions abroad, said the exile. People's Bureau officials "rotate frequently and if it's a job for two, they send six or seven and, always, a lot of money."

Travel opportunities are limited for Libyans. "That's why, every time you find a Libyan worth expelling, he's diplomatic or student or airline staff," explained Lisa Anderson, a Libyan specialist at Columbia University. "There

Europe gains against terrorism

Police cooperation, political will, and diplomacy bring results

By William Echikson
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

Greater police cooperation, greater political will, and greater diplomatic efforts. These factors are helping turn around the European battle against terrorism.

But terrorist violence will not easily be exterminated and may actually increase as terrorists are pressured, according to high-ranking French government officials and analysts interviewed in the past week.

Four countries joined in a preemptive operation this past weekend to foil predicted attacks on passenger ferries that cross the English Channel. A tip on the reported terrorist plot was received by British police Friday and then passed on to Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. Security forces are now checking passengers and searching automobiles for explosives and weapons.

In earlier weeks, police forces have made an impressive number of arrests: the British capture of a Jordanian who allegedly tried to blow up an Israeli passenger plane in London; the French nabbing of a suspect believed responsible for attacks against several Marks & Spencer stores; and the Spanish roundup of 10 suspected terrorist guerrillas. Several West European nations also expelled Libyan and Syrian diplomats in efforts to limit state-sponsored terrorism.

But terrorism is not disappearing. Just this weekend, Corsican nationalists blew up a bungalow, killing two people, and the radical Direct Action group exploded a bomb in the Paris headquarters of Interpol, the international police agency.

These attacks show the terrorists on the defensive, analysts say. In recent months, French police have scored notable successes against Corsican nationalists and Direct Action. One Direct Action leader was arrested last month and files on the

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isn't any other cover available to them."

For espionage and dissident control, diplomatic cover is said to be favored because it includes immunity from prosecution. "The greatest worry in an action is not losing an agent but having him captured and interrogated," said an Israeli terrorism analyst.

Libya's oil-based economic clout helps, not just in Italy, Libya's chief Western trading partner, but in Greece, which depends on Libya for 15 percent to 20 percent of its oil and has never managed to arrest a Libyan terrorist despite heavy hit squad activity in Athens.

Turkey, for that matter, ousted no Libyan diplomats in connection with the recent bombing attempts. According to Turkish press accounts, People's Bureau chief al-Malik called Industry and Trade Minister Cahit Aral and applied economic pressure on Turkey, holder of \$600 million in overdue Libyan notes.

Sometimes intimidation is enough to stop prosecutors. Last November, for instance, a Libyan People's Bureau representative in Nicosia, Saleh Abdalla Ashur Ramadan, accused of a car-bombing that killed an Iraqi Airways official, was quietly released after he warned of terrorist assaults on Cyprus if the charges were not dropped.

For all their violent enterprise, Libyan terrorists have stumbled often, particularly when "Khadafy got off the reservation," as a U.S. government analyst put it. When he tried to airlift four planeloads of arms to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua in 1983, for example, tipped-off Brazilian customs agents stopped the shipments, labeled medical supplies, as Libya's transports refueled in Brazil.

Foiled plots

Also foiled were Libyan assassination plots against Egyptian Presidents Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, Jordan's King Hussein, Zaire's President Sese Seko

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GAINS...Continued

group were recovered. In Corsica, many nationalists have ended their fight after implementation of greater regional autonomy. As a result, the weekend attacks are seen here as desperate actions by threatened groups.

But the greater police cooperation, political will, and diplomatic efforts are bearing fruit.

Last year, West European governments set up the so-called Trevi Group. It brought together Cabinet officials from the 12 European Community countries in an effort to combat terrorism.

Proof of European police cooperation came after British police foiled the April 17 attempt to bomb an El Al airplane. They arrested Jordanian Nezar Mansur Hindawi and passed information about him to their West German counterparts, who a few days later arrested Hindawi's brother, Ahmed Mansur Hasi. He was arrested in connection with the April 5 bombing of a Berlin discotheque in which two people were killed.

There are still problems to be ironed out in increasing such cooperation. For instance, the French fear that information will leak out if meetings of the Trevi Group become too large. To limit that possibility, they favor increasing police cooperation on a bilateral basis.

The United States' role also is unclear. US diplomats here say they would like the US to be included in the Trevi Group. The Europeans apparently are resisting. While the recent declaration against terrorism of the Western leaders at the Tokyo summit's may increase cooperation with the US, French officials warn that they will not let such cooperation turn into, "a new trans-Atlantic political alliance."

When the French arrested Habib Maammar and charged the Tunisian with bombing Marks & Spencer stores in London and Paris, they publicly trumpeted the arrest. Not very long ago, the French authorities might have kept the news quiet or even moved to free the alleged terrorist. In 1978, the mastermind of the Munich Olympic massacre, Abu Daoud, was arrested in Paris. He was quickly put on the next plane to Algeria.

"[Then] we were scared of the Arabs," says Philippe Moreau Defarges, of the French Institute of International Relations. "Today, Abu Daoud could not be let go."

Arab influence is lessening. With oil prices low and Arab export markets diminishing, Western Europe faces little economic blackmail.

Also, European citizens want a tougher line against terrorism. Denis Baudoin, spokesman for French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, says "security" will be one of the big tests for the new French government. "It has become as important to our public as unemployment."

Stronger political will translates into stronger diplomatic action against nations suspected of backing terrorism. This is the rationale behind the recent expulsions of a number of Libyan and Syrian diplomats and increased surveillance on others.

"Since the beginning of the year, we have cut down the misuse of diplomatic missions," says one top French official. "This is the easiest and most identifiable way of fighting terrorism."

Still, Europeans consider diplomatic discussions essential to fighting terrorism. French envoys have visited

CLUES...Continued

Mobutu, Chad's President Hissene Habre, and, perhaps, President Reagan.

By contrast, attackers, many believed to have been People's Bureau personnel, succeeded in 27 out of 32 known assaults on Libyan exiles worldwide between 1980 and 1985, according to a U.S. State Department tabulation.

About a year ago, according to U.S. analysts, Khadafy turned ominously to the services of Palestinian terrorist Sabri Khalil Bana, better known as Abu Nidal. His Fatah Revolutionary Council, blamed for more than 100 terrorist attacks since 1974, has proven more prone than Khadafy's diplomats to kill innocent bystanders, including Americans.

While saying he disapproved of Abu Nidal's violence, Treiki acknowledged an alliance with him. He called Abu Nidal "a freedom fighter: a Palestinian involved in the just struggle for the liberation of his country."

"We certainly have a different definition from the United States concerning terrorism," Treiki said. "We don't look at the Contras as freedom fighters; to us they are terrorists. We don't consider (Angolan rebel leader Jonas) Savimbi a freedom fighter; for us, in Africa, he is a terrorist linked with South Africa."

On the function of Libya's diplomatic corps, the United States and Tripoli may be closer to agreement. It is overseen by an office whose official name — Maktub Tasdir al-Thawra — means Bureau For the Export of Revolution.

Arab countries "from Iraq to Morocco," says one official.

French officials reveal that Syria has proved helpful in trying to win release of eight French hostages kidnapped in Lebanon.

"Before they would start denouncing Western state terrorism and wouldn't even discuss the real problem," the top official says. "Now they talk about it. We'll have to wait and see if that produces results."

WASHINGTON POST 19 May 1986 Pg. 16

Police Guard Against Ferry Attack

Reuter

LONDON, May 18—Four West European countries guarded their seaports today after a police tip about a possible plot to blow up and sink a passenger ferry in the English Channel.

Police moved into Dover, the world's busiest passenger port, and thousands of cars going onto ferries were checked for explosives. Similar precautions were taken at other southeastern England ports.

Belgian port authorities said they were on high alert. Police at Ostend and Zeebrugge checked passengers and cars, letting nobody leave ferries after checking in.

Belga news agency said police searched Ostend for a white Volvo. The police did not confirm or deny the report.

The alarm was raised by British police Friday night and passed to

Belgium, France and the Netherlands by Interpol, a British police spokesman said. British police sources said intelligence reports implicated Arab guerrillas possibly linked to Libya's threat of reprisals against Britain for helping the U.S. air raid on Libya last month.

A spokesman for police in the Dover area said: "It is a very generalized warning that they may extend their terrorist activity to a cross-channel ferry or hovercraft."

Hundreds of thousands of passengers travel on the ferries between Britain and continental Europe during the summer tourist season, and many take their cars. A bomb on one of the larger ferries could be catastrophic, as they carry up to 1,300 people.

In the Netherlands, police said the alert was being acted upon at the four Dutch ferry links with Britain. In Paris, the Interior Ministry

said increased attention was being paid to security at France's seven channel ports.

In Rotterdam, a Justice Ministry spokesman said he could not confirm Dutch radio reports of British police officers stationed at Dutch ferry ports.

"They could have been traveling on the British boats", he said. "They would have no authority on Dutch soil, but police cooperation is excellent on such matters."

In 1972, British demolition experts parachuted onto the deck of the luxury liner Queen Elizabeth 2 in mid-Atlantic after a caller threatened to explode a bomb on board, but none was found.

The most recent such attack was the hijacking of the Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro by Palestinian guerrillas last October after it left Alexandria, Egypt.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 20 May 1986 Pg. 15

Who murdered Palme? Three months later, not even a clue

By Juris Kaza
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Stockholm

Nearly three months after Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme was assassinated on a street in downtown Stockholm, his murder appears to be a complete mystery.

The investigation has turned into a domestic political drama in Sweden with the angry resignation last week of the senior prosecutor attached to the case. He accused police of withholding information from him and of violating legal norms in their treatment of a man who, at one time, was considered a prime suspect in the murder.

From all outward signs, Swedish authorities have no leads and no idea who killed Palme, despite round-the-clock work by 300 investigators who sifted through more than 20,000 tips given to police after the killing. The number of police working full time on the case was recently cut to 75. Police officials said that all of the work for which extra police were needed had been completed. With the police investigation apparently bogged down and beset by dissension with prosecuting authorities, the Swedish government is now preparing to appoint a special independent commission to investigate the assassination.

Palme was the first West European head of government to be assassinated since 1945. According to Swed-

ish newspapers, five ordinary murders, where only circumstantial evidence was available, have been committed and solved since Palme was shot on Feb. 28. Late last week, Stockholm police finally cleared Victor Gunnarsson of all suspicion in Palme's assassination. Mr. Gunnarsson was briefly held as a prime suspect in the case in early March, but released shortly before a scheduled arraignment because the testimony of a key witness proved unreliable.

Although he was never charged, Gunnarsson continued to be interesting to the police for nearly two months. He was cleared after volunteering, through his lawyer, to confront several dozen witnesses at police headquarters. Pressure by police to put Gunnarsson before more and more witnesses led to an open feud with the prosecutor who said the procedure, based on very doubtful probable cause, could violate the rights of the suspect. The interlude also showed that although the police had many witnesses who claimed to have seen occurrences surrounding Palme's shooting, they were unable to piece together any useful evidence.

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Evidence weighs heavily on Soviet terror role

The latest issue of the respected London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies' (IISS) *Strategic Survey 1985-1986*, published in early May, says that its findings prove that a new awareness worldwide about the "growth industry of terrorism" now is seizing public consciousness — based, to quote the IISS, on the following facts, namely that:

- "A very large body of evidence, drawn from confessions, police investigations and captured documents (not to mention captured weapons), leaves little doubt about the Soviet Union's active support to organizations which practice terrorism as a matter of policy."

- "Terrorism as a phenomenon in the modern world is not going to go away. . . . Even the most sanguine hopes for 'peaceful coexistence' [between the Soviet Union and the West] offer little basis for believing that Soviet policy makers will refrain from assisting low-level violence against the West and its interests . . . particularly if this can be done without an embarrassing display of complicity."

- "The United States has become a principal focus for much terrorist enterprise. . . . Almost half the total [of terrorist incidents since 1983] were directed at Americans or U.S. interests, and more Americans were killed (271) [as of January 1986], more than 40 percent of the world total, than in the whole of the preceding 15 years. Americans have been selected from amongst groups of hostages for execution by hijackers in at least three recent incidents, and they appear to be terrorists' second choice for murder, after Israelis."

The evidence shows that communist states, in fact, do recruit, train, arm and

provide logistics (transportation, visas, phony identities, etc.) for the world's most famous terrorists. Although Moscow tries to hide the evidence, the proof has not been hard to find, as the current annual IISS report noted.

Defectors and former terrorists, plus conclusions drawn by intelligence analyses made by Western governments, reveal that there is active in global terrorism a "radical entente," or "terrorist entente," consisting of nine states.

Their approximate order, according to the amount of weapons and monetary and logistical support that these states donate, is as follows: the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Libya, Syria, North Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua and Iran.

Somewhat more minor but no less important sub-members of the "terrorist entente" are: South Yemen, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Algeria and the many tolerated terrorist groups freely operating in Lebanon, Kuwait, Iraq and Cyprus.

The Soviets are known to act as Big Brother coordinator over all nine-plus terrorism-sponsoring states. If you add in the PLO (which is not a state), the entente consists of 10 participants who collaborate in unleashing terrorism worldwide.

Two recent terrorist attacks, one partly successful, the other foiled, illustrate the way in which the nine-nation "terrorist entente" operates today.

According to Western intelligence, the terrorist bombing of the West Berlin discotheque April 5 was a joint effort perpetrated by two key members of the Soviet-supplied "entente": Libya and Syria. Informed sources believe that the

bomb itself was Soviet-made.

Just 12 days later, on April 17, a plastic explosive device was planted on an El Al jet that was to blow up the airliner with its 400 passengers. Scotland Yard now has determined that that device was an extraordinarily "sophisticated" mechanism. And this device, too, also appeared to be made in the Soviet Union from liquid plastics, the British disclosed last week.

The El Al explosives were connected to a computer-like timer that was supposed to look like a mini-calculator as the passenger carrying it passed through X-ray inspection at the gate at London's Heathrow Airport.

Immediately after the aborted attempt, suspected mastermind of the bombing Nezar Hindawi fled to the Syrian Embassy in London, where he was given safe haven. "Logistical planning," according to British intelligence, for secreting the bomb aboard the big jet was said to be provided by officials at the Syrian Embassy.

The discovery that the El Al bomb was Soviet-made provokes these perennial questions:

- How involved is the Soviet Union in global terrorism, whose organizations are polyglot with contrasting religions and ideologies, many of which are formally denounced by orthodox Marxism-Leninism?

- In what way do the other, non-Soviet-bloc terror-supporting states find a common ground with their formal enemies, the communists? What motivates these non- or anti-communist states or movements to join forces with the Kremlin?

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PALME...Continued

The investigation had already started to take on an undertone of desperation when, in late March and early April, Swedish-built Viggen reconnaissance jets flew repeatedly over downtown Stockholm taking pictures with high-resolution cameras and other sensors in the hope of finding some evidence related to the murder on a rooftop or in an abandoned lot. By then, however, the Swedish capital had experienced several periods of snow and thaw that would have destroyed any traces of what happened on the night of Feb. 28. Other high-tech methods — a West German computerized composite picture of the assassin and another man said to have shadowed Palme before the shooting, and an analysis of the bullets presumed by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation's crime lab to have killed the Swedish leader — have apparently proved fruitless.

Both Swedes and those who knew and respected Palme around the world are left with a gnawing void that is slowly being filled with suspicions and speculation.

At an informal gathering held by an attorney in a Stockholm suburb, a part-time student and postal worker, who is an active Social Democrat, speculated that

Palme's killing must have been an inside job by Swedish intelligence. Others at the party said that theory would make a great thriller novel. That same weekend, a schoolteacher visiting from western Sweden said, at an unrelated time and place, that Palme's death was too perfect a crime to have occurred without official connivance. Palme's bodyguards, from the Swedish Security Police, the nation's counterintelligence service, had been dismissed at the prime minister's own request the night he was killed walking home from a movie.

EVIDENCE...Continued

• If such broad collaboration takes place between the Soviets and such disparate terrorist elements, how does the Soviet Communist Party rationalize such a broad coalition in the name of defeating "capitalist imperialism"?

One circumstantial proof of Soviet complicity in terrorism, as the IISS study also notes, has been the obvious fact that Soviet citizens, tourists, foreign specialists and diplomats have been spared by the terrorists. Most experts on terrorism, therefore, draw the conclusion that the Soviets are consciously excluded by terrorists as targets.

The inference to be drawn from this is equally clear: Terrorists, in the great majority of cases, regard the Soviet Union as an ally. As the IISS study notes: "A very large body of evidence ... leaves little doubt about the Soviet Union's active support to organizations which practice terrorism as a matter of policy."

A November 1982 U.S. Senate subcommittee report on global terrorism says that Moscow's tactics and strategy, as presented in recent Soviet texts on the world communist movement, clearly call for the use of terrorist violence to achieve "national and social liberation." Soviet allies are strung all over the world and display contrasting ideologies, while agreeing on operational essentials with Moscow.

Soviet leaders going back to Lenin, the study says, have approved joining forces with any elements, no matter how disparate or extremist, as long as they help destabilize the "enemy camp."

The Senate study found that the "Soviets and their [East European and Cuban] allies have achieved alarmingly effective control" over the major terrorist organizations "[again illustrating] the Soviet Union's support for terrorism under the guise of aiding struggles for national liberation."

The question often arises as to how the Soviets could ever see eye-to-eye with such ideological adversaries as Muslim fundamentalists or a number of Arab states. Today's Iran or Libya, in the past, at least, traditionally regarded the Soviet Union as not much less "evil" than the United States.

The turning point in the reaching of a modus operandi between the Soviet-led communist bloc and a variety of radical-Muslim states and organizations preaching "anti-imperialism" and "anti-Zionism" arrived in the early 1960s. As explained by such formerly high-ranking communist officials as the ex-Czechoslovak security officers Ladislav Bittman (in his new book *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View*) and Jan Sjena (in *We Will Bury You*), Moscow made the decision to close ranks with a wide variety of anti-West, anti-American and anti-Israel states and organizations.

ABC WORLD NEWS TONIGHT
ABC TV 6:30 PM MAY 23

Terrorism from East Berlin

PETER JENNINGS: Earlier this week, ABC's John Laurence, on special assignment in Berlin, reported on new evidence linking Syria to recent terrorist attacks in Europe. The evidence pointed to the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin as playing an important role in helping to smuggle terrorists and weapons from East to West. As Laurence reports tonight, the divided status of Berlin has made it a convenient transit point for terrorists travelling to other parts of Europe.

JOHN LAURENCE: This is the view of East Berlin most Americans see, a wall, minefields, and guards with watchful eyes, separating the communist side of the city from the West. But the Berlin Wall is a barrier only to citizens of East Germany, to prevent them from fleeing to the West. Anyone else, including foreign terrorists, can travel freely from East to West Berlin.

Some travellers cross by car, but thousands of others come in every day by another route. A key section of the West Berlin train and subway system passes through the East, stopping at Friedrichstrasse

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Ex-Gen. Sjena, former chief of staff to the minister of defense in Prague until his defection in 1968, reveals the thrust and contents of the new Kremlin "strategic plan."

Existence of the plan, he said, first became known to the East European satellites "in the mid-'60s. ... The blueprint for this plan was [submitted] to the Warsaw Pact meeting in Moscow in October 1966. ... Sections dealt with military matters, intelligence and foreign policy [the essence of which was] to promote disunity in the West and accelerate social fragmentation of the capitalist countries."

Bittman, former deputy director of the Czechoslovak security police disinformation directorate, who also defected to the West in 1968, writes in his book that most terrorist organizations "subscribe to Marxist-Leninist or Maoist doctrines." While the terrorists' goals are not admittedly "inspired by the Soviet Union," they believe that "their programs will emerge only through armed struggle [as taught by Lenin]. ... The [Soviet] KGB considers [terrorism] to be an infectious, debilitating disease that weakens the body of Soviet opponents and helps the long-term goal of disintegrating the Western establishment."

EAST BERLIN...Continued

Station. There foreigners from anywhere in the non-communist world, including the Middle East, can get on or off.

From there, travelling past the Berlin Wall and into the West is relatively simple.

This train runs from East to West Berlin every ten minutes. It goes straight over the Berlin Wall, and, like the subways, it's become a kind of underground railroad for refugees, drug smugglers, spies and, lately, terrorists.

Since last month's two terrorist bombings in West Berlin, police are checking the trains and subway cars coming in from the East. They are looking specifically for foreign terrorists. But the new security system is far from perfect.

How easy would it be for a terrorist to enter West Berlin carrying a bomb? Easy or difficult?

MINISTER RUBERT SCHOLZ: I think it's easy, if it's not too big.

LAURENCE: Is this system a smuggler's paradise?

SCHOLZ: Yes. It is a smuggler's paradise.

LAURENCE: Terrorists also take advantage of the highways to West Berlin coming in from West Germany. Two men who confessed to the recent bombing of the German-Arab Friendship Society in West Berlin told police they picked up the bomb in East Berlin. They then drove it to a rest stop on one of the highways. There they transferred the bomb to another car, which was driven into West Berlin through Checkpoint Bravo, where there were no security checks.

SCHOLZ: In a free city in the Free World, you cannot have the checks and, well, a system

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WASHINGTON POST 24 May 1986 Pg. 1

Thatcher: Evidence On Syria Falls Short

By Karen DeYoung
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, May 23—Despite repeated allegations that Syria has been involved in terrorist incidents here, Britain "at the moment has no such evidence against Syria of state-sponsored terrorism of anything like the kind that obtains in the case of Libya," Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said today.

Sources here have said that there are strong circumstantial links between Syria and Nezar Hindawi, a Palestinian charged with last month's attempt to place a bomb aboard an Israeli airliner at London's Heathrow Airport.

But Thatcher's comments, made in an interview this morning with ABC television, were the first public statement of private indications from officials that no conclusive evidence has been uncovered that Syrian government officials were involved in planning the bombing, or knew of it in advance.

In Vienna today, Austrian officials also said that, aside from circumstantial links, there was no conclusive evidence linking Syria to the twin airport attacks in Rome and Vienna last December, Washington Post correspondent Michael Dobbs reported. The Austrian foreign minister, however, has just returned from an unusual visit to Damascus, where he is understood to have expressed Austrian concerns about Syrian activities.

Attempts to question three Syrian diplomats here about the bombing attempt led to their expulsion on May 10 after the government in Damascus turned down a British request that diplomatic immunity be waived for the three. Syria retaliated two days later by expelling three British diplomats, including the vice counsel.

Today, Britain went one step further, placing new restrictions on Syrians wanting to enter this country. It suspended the issuance of British visas at its embassy in Damascus, and imposed rigorous conditions on Syrians applying for visas

at any other British mission overseas. All such applications, including transit visas, will now require a personal interview and referral to London for a final decision.

Officials said Britain wants to keep track of the Syrians who come here, and control their numbers, which totaled 17,000 in 1984. But they indicated that the visa restrictions were primarily intended as a form of retaliation for the "unjustified" Syrian expulsions, rather than an additional sanction stemming from the terrorism allegations.

The question of possible Syrian involvement in the airline bombing attempt and separate terrorist incidents in West Berlin, has raised speculation that the United States, or even Britain, might launch a military strike against Damascus similar to the U.S. attack against Libya last month.

Ever since the allegations first were made, shortly after Hindawi's arrest here on April 18, one day after the bombing attempt, British officials have been careful not to accuse Syria publicly. They have been disturbed by U.S. and Israeli comments, such as that of Vice President Bush, who early this month told reporters that Syria's "fingerprints have been on international terrorist acts."

Bush's comments were in the context of assertions by Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who said that Israel had specific evidence of Syrian involvement in the airline bombing attempt.

In recent days, following British expressions of concern that such publicity might interfere with their case against Hindawi, and Washington's own assessment of the evidence, U.S. officials have been more circumspect.

In addition to the diplomatic and legal implications of charges against Syria, however, some British and western officials here have been doubtful from the start of a direct Syrian connection in the bombing attempt. There is an assumption, one diplomat said, that Hindawi "at some time probably worked for the Syrians" and was involved in Da-

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THATCHER...Continued

mascus' "broad net" of terrorist connections. But that net "has a lot of holes in it," the diplomat said, and supports numerous factions that sometimes act independently.

Another official insisted "it just doesn't make sense" that Syria would attempt to kill nearly 400 passengers, half of them American citizens, by blowing up a civilian airliner flying over heavily populated London.

In the absence of definitive proof—or direct testimony from the three Syrians who have now left the country—investigators here are left with a collection of largely circumstantial evidence against Damascus.

Hindawi, a Jordanian national, allegedly gave his unsuspecting Irish girlfriend a suitcase containing a concealed bomb as she prepared to board an Israeli El Al flight to Tel Aviv on April 17. Israeli security agents discovered the bomb during a routine predeparture search. Hindawi was arrested 33 hours later in a London hotel and charged with conspiring with unnamed others to blow up the plane.

There are numerous indications that a relationship existed between Hindawi and Syria. Some are based on what sources here said are facts, and others based on what Hindawi or his brother Ahmed Nawaf Mansour Hasi, under arrest for a separate bombing in West Berlin, have told police during interrogation. Other allegations have come from Israeli government officials, who are conducting their own investigation of the El Al incident.

Investigators here have been told that Hindawi, who had traveled in and out of Britain for several years as a journalist for Middle Eastern publications, last entered the country in the company of a Syrian Air Force official. They also have been told that Hindawi made contact with the Syrian Embassy here while he was on the run after the bomb was discovered in his girlfriend's suitcase.

Hindawi reportedly has told police that he went to the Syrian Embassy and was taken to several "safe" locations. He reportedly has said, however, that he escaped after he became convinced the Syrians

were unable or unwilling to hide him or help him leave the country, and feared they might kill him to silence him.

Syrian President Hafez Assad strongly denied any Syrian connection with the El Al bombing attempt in an interview with The Washington Post last week. He pointed to what he saw as an inconsistency in Hindawi's account of having been helped by the Syrians:

"British investigators and British police are aware that had there been any connection between Syria and the incident in London, Syria would have been able to keep the accused person in hiding for a long time, and the British police would not have been able to catch him so quickly."

Among the things that police know are that Hindawi entered Britain several months ago using a Syrian passport under a false name. That passport, which was found in his possession when he was arrested, contained a visa issued by the British consulate in Damascus, sources said. The original application for the visa had been accompanied by a letter from the Syrian Foreign Ministry, they said.

Such letters attesting to the bearer's citizenship and background are standard requirements. But it is assumed that the Syrian government would have been aware that the passport to which it was attached was false.

Hasi, Hindawi's brother, is one of two Arabs under arrest in West Berlin in connection with the April 5 bombing of a discotheque there in which two persons were killed. Hasi has denied involvement in the disco bombing, but has told West German police that Hindawi helped him plan a separate bombing that occurred in West Berlin on March 29. Hasi has said that the explosives for that attack were obtained from the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin.

In Vienna, an Interior Ministry spokesman today said that the two terrorists captured at the Vienna airport had provided little useful information, beyond confirming details already established by the police. He added that the police had been able to build up a detailed picture of their movements in the weeks before they arrived in Austria from the Syrian-controlled

EAST BERLIN...Continued

of checks that works so perfect that there's no chance for terrorists. We have to see the balance between security and freedom. And that's important.

LAURENCE: There are many potential American targets for terrorists in West Berlin. Security has been heightened since an American soldier was killed and 63 other Americans injured in last month's bombing of the La Belle nightclub.

Vietnam veteran Sergeant Lewis Johnson helps guard the 13,000 American soldiers and dependants in West Berlin.

Are you armed?

SGT. LEWIS JOHNSON: Not at this time we're not. No.

LAURENCE: What if a terrorist was armed?

SGT. JOHNSON: That's a different matter. That would have to be taken when it comes up.

LAURENCE: Can you fight a terrorist with your bare hands?

SGT. JOHNSON: If I have to, yes.

LAURENCE: A senior American official says West Berlin is a very useful entry point for terrorists. West German officials are now concerned that West Berlin's open door policy may be used by terrorists crossing from East Berlin for a new series of attacks against Americans throughout Western Europe.

John Laurence, ABC News, Berlin.

Bekaa region of Lebanon via Damascus and Eastern Europe. They were also able to establish their real names and nationality.

The captured terrorists, who traveled on Tunisian passports, gave false names and nationalities, it was discovered later.

Jealous girlfriend undoes terrorist

By Bernard D. Kaplan
Hearst News Service

PARIS — For more than three years, Habib Muaamar roamed Western Europe at will, using a variety of false passports but never experiencing the slightest difficulty crossing national frontiers to plant bombs.

Last week, Muaamar was finally arrested by French police. But his downfall was caused not by the zealous tracking of anti-terrorist cops but by a jealous girlfriend.

Anyone who has wondered how Arab terrorists have been able to operate so widely and successfully in Europe for the past 15 years need look no further for an explanation than the career of the 24-year-old Tunisian.

It also offers insight into another aspect of international terrorism that is often ignored.

For, according to the French police, Muaamar readily admitted he was not a fanatical idealist employing terror as a weapon in the war against Israel and its Western supporters.

He was in it strictly for the money. And there was plenty, even though he rated as only a second-string terrorist by present-day standards.

Notebooks recovered in the apartment he shared with his Algerian mistress indicated that since July 1983, he had been paid a salary of \$3,000 a month. He also had a handsome expense account which allowed him to stay at five-star hotels wherever he went and to entertain his women friends lavishly.

"When we got him, his pockets were stuffed with bank notes and traveler's checks," a French police official said.

Where did his funds come from? Not Libya or even Syria.

The answer is Iraq, a country which, because of its long drawn-out war with Iran, recently has been considered relatively "friendly" to the West.

France, where Muaamar carried

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NEW YORK TIMES 24 May 1986 Pg. 1

Car Bomb Kills 11 in East Beirut In Worst Week of War in Months

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, May 23 — An especially powerful car bomb exploded in Christian East Beirut today, killing 11 people, wounding 84 and setting several buildings afire, the police said.

As has been the case in almost all such terrorist attacks in this country in recent years, no group took responsibility. Car bombs have been a scourge of the Lebanese civil war and have killed more civilians than random bombardment of residential areas.

The bombing raised to 64 the number of Lebanese who have died and to 243 the number of those wounded in the last three days of bloodshed.

The others fell in two days of heavy bombardment by rival combatants in the Christian and Moslem sectors of the capital.

The clashes this week have been widely regarded as the most intense in months. Political commentators say the clashes are a result of the political stagnation into which Lebanon fell this year after the Christian President, Amin Gemayel, rejected a Syrian-brokered formula for ending the 11-year-old civil war that would have shifted more governmental power to Moslems.

In the fighting today, sporadic artillery and rocket exchanges continued along the Green Line, which divides Beirut into two sectors patrolled by rival factions of the Lebanese Army and private militias.

Targets Near Syrian Border

The bombardment covered a large area of Lebanon. After Christian-controlled hill areas were shelled, militiamen entrenched there used artillery to bombard five Shiite Moslem villages in eastern Lebanon near the Syrian border.

News organizations in Beirut noted that this was the first time the bombardment had reached that far since the civil strife broke out in 1975. East-

ern Lebanon is under the control of the Syrian Army.

The police said the booby-trapped car that exploded today contained 200 pounds of explosives and was detonated near a vegetable market crowded with shoppers. Among the wounded were 25 women, most of whom suffered cuts from flying glass.

The blast took place in a narrow street in Sin al Fil, a residential quarter where President Gemayel once made his home. The explosion destroyed two buildings and damaged 10 others. A huge cloud of smoke billowed from a blaze ignited by the explosion.

Civil defense teams said that most of the bodies of those killed were recovered from under the debris of collapsed buildings and that rescue work was to continue for people who might still be trapped there.

It was the 10th car-bomb explosion in a Christian area since the beginning of the year, when a Christian militia leader who had signed the Syrian-sponsored peace pact was ousted in a military upheaval in East Beirut. Most of the previous bomb attacks occurred near buildings that housed offices of the Phalange Party, which Mr. Gemayel leads.

In the last four weeks, the Lebanese Army and the main Christian militia, the Lebanese Forces, have strengthened security at all passages linking Christian sectors with the Moslem parts of Lebanon. A military spokesman said the measures had been necessary to prevent car bombs from reaching Christian locations.

In a statement, the Lebanese Forces command accused Syrian agents of planting the car bomb that exploded today, saying this could be determined by the way the bomb had been rigged. The command said two suspects had been arrested for questioning. Their identities were not disclosed.

In the past, the Christian militia has made similar charges that have been categorically denied in Damascus.

The militia statement said the pur-
CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

GIRLFRIEND...Continued

out at least two of his bombing attacks, is a major arms supplier to Iraq.

Between 1983 and a few weeks ago, he regularly flew back and forth to Baghdad to pick up his pay checks and to receive orders about his next mission.

Despite his many trips, he never experienced trouble re-entering France. Possibly, that was because he frequently switched passports.

However, French officials have acknowledged that at least some of his forged passports were of inferior quality and should have been detected. They never were.

Muaamar didn't work directly for the Iraqi government. His employer was the local branch office of the infamous Abu Nidal gang, the Palestinian group alleged to be responsible for dozens of terrorist acts in recent years including last December's slaughter at Rome and Vienna airports.

So far as is known, Muaamar had nothing to do with those attacks. But, until now, although Libya, Syria and South Yemen have been accused of harboring elements of Abu Nidal's organization, Iraq has seldom, if ever, been mentioned.

Muaamar is charged with planting a bomb in December 1983 at a London branch of Marks and Spencer, a Jewish-owned department store, in which several people were seriously injured.

In 1984, his target was an Israeli bank in Paris and, in February 1985, again Marks and Spencer, this time in the French capital. The attacks resulted in one dead and 14 wounded.

Meanwhile, he was "commuting" back and forth, not only to Baghdad but between the two European capitals. He also visited Italy during that period.

French investigators haven't determined whether he carried his explosives with him or was furnished them on the spot. But, when his apartment in the city of Nancy was raided on May 12, 150 grams of "high quality" explosives were discovered hidden in a cupboard.

Authorities here say that a "strong presumption" exists he was supplied through a Middle East embassy, possibly Iraq's.

WASHINGTON TIMES 29 May 1986 Pg. 4D

9 of 14 charged by Italy in attacks are in custody

ROME (Reuters) — Nine of 14 Palestinians accused by magistrates of taking part in Middle East-related guerrilla attacks in Italy already have been detained, police sources said yesterday.

Among the five people at large is Palestinian extremist Abu Nidal.

The warrants were signed by Rome magistrate Rosario Priore. His office is investigating a Dec. 27 attack at Fiumicino airport and several other attacks in Rome, police sources said.

One warrant is for Mohammed Sarham, the sole surviving gunman of the four who killed 17 people at Fiumicino. Warrants have been issued for two Palestinians detained after a near-simultaneous raid at Vienna airport.

Two warrants refer to Palestinians held in West Germany and Portugal. Another is for a compatriot held in Greece and wanted by Italian

authorities in connection with a 1982 attack on the Rome synagogue in which a child was killed.

Warrants have also been served on three Palestinians detained after attacks in Rome against the Jordanian Embassy, the United Arab Emirates ambassador and a pavement cafe on the Via Veneto, the sources said.

[Apparently no Syrians were named in the warrants despite earlier claims by Italian prosecutors of Syrian involvement in terrorism in Italy.]

The warrants cited charges of participating in an armed band, indicating that Italian authorities might be thinking of holding one trial for all the attacks involving members of groups led by or associated with Palestinian leader Abu Nidal, police sources said.

BOMB...Continued

pose of the explosion was to kill as many people as possible and disrupt dialogue between the Lebanese.

In another development, fighting with rocket-propelled grenades and heavy machine guns broke out today between Palestinian guerrillas and Shiite militiamen around the Palestinian district of Burj al Brajneh on the southern outskirts of Beirut. The police said the firing spread panic in the streets.

Radio announcements warned the public against using the road that leads to the Beirut airport, which is near Burj al Brajneh, although the airport itself remained open.

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE 30 May 1986 Pg. 3

France Seen Ready to Pay \$1B to Iran to Free Hostages

NEW YORK, May 29 (Reuters) — France would pay Iran \$1 billion for the release of Frenchmen held hostage held in Lebanon, and some of them might be freed by the end of this week, CBS News said last night.

There was no confirmation from any of the parties involved and no comment from the State Department.

CBS news, quoting Western intelligence sources, said a much smaller sum would be paid directly to the cap-

tors.

Eight Frenchmen are missing in Lebanon and are believed to be held hostage by guerrilla groups supporting Iran.

"For days, there has been speculation that French hostages in Lebanon might be freed," CBS said. "Tonight the indications are stronger than ever."

It quoted the sources as saying they believed a four-man French TV news crew kidnapped last March might be

released as early as the end of this week.

"Sources say the French government will pay a stiff price for the release of all of its hostages — a payment of a billion dollars to Iran and a much lesser sum directly to the terrorists," CBS said.

It said U.S. officials hoped that if the French were released, it would lead to freedom for five Americans held hostage in Lebanon.

NEW YORK TIMES 30 May 1986 Pg. 4

Greece Shuffles Its Security Aides; A Link to Domestic Terror Is Seen

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

ATHENS, May 29 — The Government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou has shaken up the leadership of the nation's intelligence and security agencies.

The move is widely seen in Greece as a response to widespread criticism of ineffectiveness in combating a Greek terrorist group.

In the latest move made known, the chief of the Central Information Service — the principal intelligence agency — was replaced last Friday by his deputy, Maj. Gen. Philippos Makedos of the Air Force. His predecessor, George Politis, a retired lieutenant general, was appointed head of the Prime Minister's military office.

The shake-up has been a gradual process and the demotions, retirements and shifts of top security officials have not been presented to the public as connected moves.

Starts With Cabinet Shuffle

The changes began in a Cabinet shuffle last month, when the Minister of State for Public Order, Thanasis Tsouras, lost his job. At the same time, the leadership of the Public Order Ministry was elevated to full Cabinet rank. The agency had been a part of the

Interior Ministry. Former Lieut. Gen. Antonis Drossoyannis, who had been acting Defense Minister, was named to replace Mr. Tsouras.

Shortly after the Cabinet shuffle, three key officials directly responsible for internal security were replaced.

Costas Tsimas, secretary general of the Public Order Ministry, announced his resignation. Mr. Tsimas, a former restaurateur in Greenwich Village in New York, had been viewed by foreign officials who dealt with him as a principal figure in Greek internal security.

The Government spokesman said Mr. Tsimas, a longtime political associate of Mr. Papandreou, would be named to another important post.

The chief of the national police, Lieut. Gen. George Romossios, and the police officer in charge of public order and security matters, Lieut. Gen. Emmanuel Bosinakis, retired. Lieut. Gen. Ioannis Stavrakas was named police chief.

Opposition leaders and journalists have criticized this Government, as well as of its predecessors since 1975, for not tracking down any member of the shadowy November 17 Revolutionary Organization terrorist group.

In its latest assassination, on April 7, two members of the group gunned down a 79-year-old steel executive, Dimitris Angelopoulos, in mid-morning on a busy street in a fashionable section of Athens.

The killers left behind a 13-page leaflet declaring that their victim had been "executed" for "crimes against the people and the country," justifying the killing with a long denunciation in strongly Marxist language of "big capitalist sharks and swindlers."

The group became known in 1975, when it killed the Central Intelligence Agency station chief, Richard S. Welch. The group also took responsibility for the killing in 1983 of Capt. George Tsantes of the United States Navy and his Greek driver.

No suspects have been arrested in the 13 killings laid to the November 17 group, which takes its name from a 1973 uprising at Athens Polytechnic against the military dictatorship. The organization's leaflets condemn members of the Papandreou Government as false Socialists who are controlled by capitalists and imperialists.

WASHINGTON POST 1 June 1986 Pg. 1

Syrian Connection To Terrorism Probed

'New and Very Disturbing' Evidence

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

The presence of a high-ranking Syrian intelligence officer in West Berlin early this year and alleged Syrian involvement in an attempt last month to blow up an El Al airliner have touched off a sweeping reexamination by western intelligence agencies of Syria's role in supporting terrorism.

Allied investigations into terrorist incidents in Britain, Italy and West Germany are leading European authorities to the conclusion that Syrian intelligence has been far more involved than previously suspected in abetting Arab terrorists in their operations in Western Europe.

But most western governments still seem to believe that Syrian President Hafez Assad did not directly order or approve of either the recent attempt to blow up an El Al jumbo jet or the bombing of a discotheque filled with American servicemen in West Berlin.

This tentative conclusion about the Syrian role in terrorist incidents in Western Europe is not totally shared, however, by all Reagan administration officials, who seem to be sharply divided in their evaluation of the "Syrian connection" to terrorism in Western Europe.

The El Al incident, widely viewed as a probable trigger for a massive Israeli strike against Syria or Libya had it succeeded, has nonetheless served as a powerful catalyst for a total reevaluation by western intelligence services and antiterrorist experts of the current Syrian role in terrorism.

Even those U.S. officials most reluctant to pin responsibility for

the El Al bombing plot on Assad regard the extensive evidence of Syrian links to the aborted attempt as "new and very disturbing" evidence of Syrian support for terrorism in Europe.

That evidence includes a close relationship between Syrian intelligence and the Jordanian arrested in London for attempting to blow up El Al Flight 016 on April 17 as well as with his brother, who has confessed to bombing an Arab-German club in West Berlin March 29 with explosives provided by Syria's embassy in East Berlin.

One Pentagon source noted that the El Al plot came close to succeeding, the bomb having been found only on the Israeli security officials' third search of the luggage of the Irish woman who was unwittingly carrying it. Had the 10 pounds of explosive gone off in mid-air, almost every clue to those responsible most likely would have vanished in the wreckage, he said.

This source, familiar with the details of the British investigation, said he was convinced that Assad must have known about the El Al plot beforehand and believed it was so well conceived that the risk of its being discovered or linked to Syria was minimal. The Pentagon source did not, however, provide any details to corroborate this impression, and refused to be identified.

Western European officials and a Pentagon source also suspect that Syrian Air Force intelligence officers with close ties to Assad were the masterminds behind the attempt to place a bomb aboard the El Al plane.

Syrian "Handling?"

Some U.S. and Western European antiterrorism experts believe that Syrian Air Force intelligence was directly involved in "handling"

both brothers, Nezar Nawaf Mansour Hindawi, 31, in London, and Ahmed Nawaf Mansour Hasi, 36, in West Berlin. Hasi, who uses a different last name but is a full brother of Hindawi, has vehemently denied any role in the bombing of the La Belle discotheque in West Berlin April 5, in which an American soldier and a Turkish woman were killed and 230 wounded.

Allied intelligence sources have discovered that a top Syrian Air Force intelligence officer, Lt. Col. Haitam Saeed, repeatedly passed through West Berlin earlier this year. Some U.S. and Western European antiterrorist experts believe he personally supervised the bombing of the friendship club.

Hasi has told West German investigators that the explosive used in the friendship society bombing came from the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin. Saeed is believed to have played a key role in making sure the attack on the friendship society, twice botched earlier, would be a success on March 29, according to Allied intelligence sources.

The possible involvement of Saeed, the number two man in Syrian Air Force intelligence, is of particular interest to western antiterrorist experts because his boss, Mohammed Khouli, is extremely close to Assad and has served as Air Force intelligence director since Assad, a former Air Force chief, seized power in 1970. The Air Force intelligence unit has remained the small, elite body of Syria's complex web of intelligence services ever since.

The assumption of western intelligence services is that Saeed could not be involved without the knowledge and express approval of Khouli, and that Khouli, in turn, would not act without clearing any risky operations with Assad.

No evidence has yet emerged linking Saeed, or any other Syrian intelligence operative, to the La Belle discotheque bombing, however. West Berlin police chief Manfred Ganschow has said there are "still very, very few clues" linking the three men involved in the friendship society bombing to that at the discotheque.

The bombing of the friendship society's building was in keeping

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The Washington Post's bureaus in London, Paris, Rome, Bonn and Jerusalem contributed to this report.

CONNECTION...Continued

with the already established and well-known pattern of the Syrian use of terrorism to deal with its Arab enemies abroad. Direct Syrian involvement in either the La Belle discotheque or El Al bombings, with Israeli and American civilians as targets, would represent a new trend far more disturbing to western governments.

Sophisticated Technology

One confusing element for Allied investigators searching for the Syrian connection has been the sophisticated technology used in the El Al bombing plot. The plastic explosive—which could not be spotted by regular metal detectors or X-ray devices—was hidden in the bottom lining of a piece of hand luggage and the detonator concealed in a hand calculator.

Similar technology was used in another attempt to blow up an El Al airliner in December 1983 and a variation of it in the bombing April 2 of a TWA plane over Greece in which four Americans were killed. As in the latest El Al bombing attempt, the one in 1983 involved a woman who did not realize she was carrying an explosive in her suitcase. The suitcase went through airport security checks in both Athens and Tel Aviv, but the bomb failed to explode. It was finally discovered by British security in London.

The use of this kind of technology has been most closely associated with the May 15 Organization headed by Abu Ibrahim, known as the "master suitcase bomber." It is unclear where his base of operations is today.

French intelligence officials, working on the basis of confessions obtained from a recently apprehended Tunisian terrorist, Habib Maamar, say Abu Ibrahim is working out of Baghdad, but some U.S. antiterrorist experts believe he moved to Libya after pressure from Washington on the Iraqi government.

Experts familiar with the murky world of Middle East terrorism, where operatives often have ties with multiple Arab intelligence services at the same time, do not exclude the possibility that Hindawi

could have been working on behalf of Abu Ibrahim. So far as is known, however, those terrorists arrested in London and West Germany have spoken only of Syria's backing for their operations and have not mentioned Abu Ibrahim.

Within the Reagan administration, CIA Director William J. Casey has taken a particularly hard line in public against Syria. In a speech here May 15 to the American Jewish Committee, Casey openly castigated Syria, together with Iran and Libya, for using its embassies, diplomatic pouches, communications channels and territory to aid various terrorist groups in their operations.

On the other hand, White House and State Department spokesmen have been far more reluctant to blame Assad publicly. This, they say, is because many "hard facts" are still missing and because the Syrian leader is regarded as too important a player in Middle East politics and in efforts for the release of Americans kidnaped in Beirut to dismiss as a wild-eyed terrorist fanatic. The prevailing administration line has been to await the results of British and West German investigations before reaching any final judgment.

The British, West German, French and Italian governments have all taken the same public diplomatic stance. But together with the United States, they have been pressing hard on Assad in private to crack down on the activities of known terrorist groups.

One administration official said Assad has passed word to the United States that he will curtail the operations of the Abu Nidal group and has expelled one or more of its members from Syria recently. Abu Nidal's Fatah-Revolutionary Command asserted responsibility for the attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports Dec. 27 that killed nearly a score of passengers and wounded more than 100. There are also reports that Assad is on the verge of a showdown with Iranian-backed Islamic fundamentalist groups in Lebanon who hold a dozen French and American hostages.

Intelligence officials of four Western European governments, Israel

and the United States do not question Assad's deliberate and finely honed use of terrorism as an instrument of Syrian foreign policy to get his way in Lebanon, the Arab world and elsewhere.

Assad's Syria is generally held responsible, directly or indirectly, for the assassinations of Lebanese Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt in 1977 and Lebanese president-elect Bashir Gemayel in 1982 and for abetting Shiites who blew up the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in October 1983, killing 241 soldiers.

But most officials continue to doubt that Assad himself played a direct role in ordering the bombing of La Belle discotheque or that he approved, or knew beforehand, of Hindawi's decision to attempt to bomb the El Al plane, which carried 340 passengers, including more than 200 Americans.

The main reason for these doubts is both Assad's cautious character when it comes to matters of war and peace with Israel and the potential for a violent Israeli retaliation against Syria had the El Al airliner blown up. Assad is not believed ready to risk provoking a war with Israel at this time.

The El Al bombing attempt was a "mishap," according to a senior Israeli military official. "Someone took Assad's general guidelines, which are 'we have to do something,' and went too far."

The official was referring to Assad's presumed desire to retaliate in some fashion for the Israeli interception over the Mediterranean Feb. 4 of a Libyan executive jet carrying a top Syrian party official. The Israelis mistakenly thought Palestinian terrorists were aboard.

"It's not like Assad, or for that matter Syrian intelligence, to conduct an operation without adequate deniability," the Israeli said.

The theory of a "rogue" Syrian intelligence officer possibly acting on his own is shared by many other western intelligence and government officials. It has already been dubbed by some Middle East specialists as the "Thomas a Becket Syndrome." Becket was the archbishop of Canterbury murdered at the vague suggestion of Henry II ("Will no one revenge me of the injuries I have sustained from one

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CONNECTION...Continued

turbulent priest?").

The view of Syrian intelligence acting on its own implies that Syria today is ruled by a physically and politically weakened Assad, whose state of health has been a subject of continual speculation since he suffered a heart attack in late 1983.

Complex Network

During his 16 years in power, Assad has built up an enormously complex intelligence network, with several secret services and agencies—estimated to number anywhere from five to nine—working with a score of known terrorist groups. The question now is whether the Syrian leader's once tight grip on their day-to-day activities has loosened.

"It was inevitable that this network would get out of hand and turn some of its activities elsewhere," the senior Israeli military source said.

An analysis circulating in U.S. and Western European intelligence circles, however, asserts that Assad's control over his highly centralized intelligence network system has not slackened. Those holding this view note that various Syrian intelligence services have long been actively involved in providing logistical support, explosives and various forms of indirect assistance to Middle East terrorists active in Western Europe.

Middle East experts note three types of distinctly different relationships between Syria's secret services and terrorist groups and three different Syrian methods of using "cutouts," or agents whose actions cannot easily be traced to Damascus.

One method has been the creation of Palestinian factions such as Saiqa, which are virtually an integrated part of the Syrian Army and intelligence system and direct agents of the Syrians. Another is collaboration with, and logistical support, for radical Palestinian and Lebanese groups that remain largely their own masters and decision-makers but are often sent on terrorist operations by Syrian intelligence.

According to Iraqi and Lebanese sources, Syrian intelligence agents

usually work with these groups by setting down guidelines on the kinds of targets to be attacked and selecting which countries they should operate in and which are to remain off limits. But the choice of specific targets most often is left up to the groups themselves, these sources say.

Best Known Group

The best known of such groups in the West today is Abu Nidal's, which has taken responsibility for a number of attacks on Israeli targets in Western Europe and on Palestinians associated with his number one Arab enemy, Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Abu Nidal's terrorist organization, which is small (200 to 300 members) but highly professional, is perhaps most famous for its nearly successful assassination attempt on the Israeli ambassador in London, Shlomo Argov, in June 1982 that served as the pretext for the start of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

To this day, it has never been clear whether Abu Nidal himself selected Argov as a target or was acting for the Iraqi government, his host at the time. Iraq has since broken all ties to Nidal's group and expelled him from Baghdad. Both Iraq and Abu Nidal spokesmen in Damascus maintain that the decision to try to kill Argov was made by Nidal on his own.

Nidal, whose real name is Sabri Banna, now operates out of both Damascus and Tripoli, Libya. He is allowed by the Syrians to run an office in the Syrian capital and to train terrorists in camps located in the Syrian-controlled part of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

Assad said in a recent interview with The Washington Post that he has never met Abu Nidal but that he would continue allowing him to run "a cultural and political" office in Damascus and could not close his camp in the Bekaa.

The third and most complicated "cutout" system used by the Syrians is the selection of lone terrorists, "freelancers" or "sleepers," to accomplish a specific action. The convicted Lebanese assassin of pres-

ident-elect Gemayel was such a case. Hindawi and Hasi also appear to fit into this category.

So far as is known to date, neither belonged to any well established Palestinian or Lebanese political group, though Hindawi is reported to have been a member of the Jordanian branch of the Syrian-backed, pan-Arab Baath Party. Hindawi was a sometime journalist in London and Jordan who was regarded as unstable by many of his closest friends and past employers.

An Unstable Relationship

Typical of his instability was his relationship to the Irish woman, Anne Marion Murphy, whom he tried to use to smuggle a bomb hidden in the bottom of a piece of her luggage onto the El Al flight. After a stormy six-year marriage to a Polish wife, Barbara, Hindawi broke up with her and began dating Murphy, a hotel chambermaid, in the spring of 1985.

According to British police sources, Hindawi's relationship with Murphy, like the one with his Polish wife, was "not very stable," with the Jordanian coming and going away, sometimes for weeks. Hindawi left Murphy—pregnant, as it turned out—about six months ago and only returned and offered to marry her about one week before the El Al incident.

The timing suggests that Hindawi had not originally intended to use Murphy as a bomb carrier and only came up with the idea a short time before the El Al bombing attempt. It also suggests his plot was hatched before the U.S. bombed Libya April 15 and thus not originally meant as retaliation for it.

Just whose idea it was to place a bomb aboard the El Al plane is far from clear.

The Pentagon source familiar with the British interrogation of Hindawi said the Jordanian and his brother had "offered" their services to Syrian intelligence months ago and were recruited and trained in Syria before returning to England and Germany to be left as "sleepers."

Subsequently, the brothers were "activated" by Syrian intelligence in

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CONNECTION...Continued

East Berlin to carry out the bombing of the friendship society. But that act involved an intra-Arab squabble in which Syrian use of terrorist means is regarded as typical. However, Syrian involvement in bombing La Belle discotheque or blowing up the El Al plane would be highly atypical.

Syrian aid for Hindawi in London apparently was considerable and included giving him a false Syrian passport to enter Britain and a letter from the Syrian Foreign Ministry in Damascus to obtain a visa. Hindawi also has said that he used a Syrian safe house in London and had extensive contacts with Syrian Embassy officials before and after the El Al incident.

These allegations were enough to convince British authorities of the need to interrogate three Syrian diplomats. When they refused to waive diplomatic immunity and would agree to questioning only within the Syrian Embassy, the British government expelled all three.

Unlike the British police, who have consistently given more credence to Hindawi's claims of Syrian involvement in the El Al incident, the British Foreign Office has been more doubtful. While Hindawi certainly had ties to Syria, Foreign Office officials remain skeptical the Syrian government helped to plan the operation or ordered it done because of the potentially far-reaching repercussions for Assad.

According to one Reagan administration source, Assad has admitted to Jordan's King Hussein that Syrian intelligence had contacts with Hindawi but regarded him as too unstable and unreliable to deal with. The Syrian leader told Hussein that when Hindawi came to the Syrian Embassy in London after his failed bombing attempt, officials there refused to take him in, the source said.

Even if Syria was involved, Foreign Office officials are doubtful the proof will ever be found. Unlike the Libyans, one official noted, "the Syrians are very careful to observe the proprieties. They have some concern for their international image."

WASHINGTON TIMES 9 June 1986 Pg. 6

Europe grudgingly admits positive effect of U.S. raid on Libya

By Peter Almond
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LONDON — Europeans who initially criticized the U.S. air raid on Libya are beginning to feel that President Reagan accomplished at least one objective by discouraging terrorist reprisals.

While government officials — with the key exception of Britain — are sticking publicly to their positions, privately there is grudging acknowledgment that the raid has forced Europe and the United States into a closer and more effective anti-terrorist relationship.

[Yesterday in West Germany, the body of the second U.S. soldier to die from the April 5 bombing of a West Berlin discotheque was flown to Frankfurt for return to the United States. Staff Sgt. James E. Goins, 26, of Ellerbee, N.C., died in a West Berlin hospital Saturday afternoon,

NEWS ANALYSIS

the third victim of the bombing Washington blamed on Libya. American warplanes raided Libya on April 15 in retaliation.

INSIGHT
2 June 1986 Pg. 31

Terrorist Base

Reliable West European intelligence sources report that investigations of East Berlin's role as a terrorist base following the April bombing of the La Belle discotheque in West Berlin have uncovered a major new terrorist operation established by Libyan leader Col. Muammar Qaddafi. Members of the terrorist group reportedly include Palestinian dissidents from Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat's Al Fatah who are believed to be linked to the Abu Nidal group and several

That the "Syrian connection" to terrorism is extremely difficult to pin down was demonstrated last week in Italy. Italian judicial authorities issued arrest warrants for 14 Arabs implicated in a series of terrorist incidents last year. Abu Nidal

[Sgt. Kenneth Terrance Ford, 21, of Detroit, and Nermine Hanay, 27, a Turkish woman, were killed instantly in the bombing of the La Belle discotheque, and 230 people were injured. Sixty-four of the wounded were Americans, but Sgt. Goins had been the only one still hospitalized].

Analysts are closely examining the recent actions of Syrian President Hafez Assad, and wondering whether the U.S. raid prompted him to rein in the terrorists under his control.

"Mr. Assad's protestations that he is against terrorism — he was notably anxious to say so on his trip to Greece — may not be entirely specious," said an editorial in the Economist magazine of London. "He cannot wholly ignore Mr. Reagan's threats of counterterrorist action.

"More important, his Russian patrons have made it clear that they want to see less terrorism coming out of the Middle East. And if Mr. Assad needs Arab oil money (he has, reportedly, only two weeks of foreign exchange to buy imports) he may have to respect the feelings

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Americans who formerly were associated with renegade ex-CIA operative Edwin Wilson, who went on Qaddafi's payroll during the mid-1970s.

The arrest of La Belle bombing suspect Ahmad Hasi, 35, a Palestinian resident of West Berlin, focused authorities' attention on the office of an African who publishes an information service for English interpreters. Every volume the service produces contains numerous Qaddafi quotations. Authorities who searched Hasi's apartment found coded into a shopping list a telephone number for the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin and a Damascus telephone number they believe was that of Abu Nidal's headquarters.

was among the 14, but no Syrian official was named.

Italian officials said this was because no evidence had been discovered linking Syria directly to any of the incidents.

NEW YORK TIMES 10 June 1986 Pg. 1

Evidence of Syrian Link to Terror Still Murky

EUROPE...Continued

of most Arab oil producers (who want an end to his support of Iran).

"A few anti-terrorist words in Greece do not make Mr. Assad a man of peace, but they may be a sign that, for the time being, his calculations have changed."

In Italy, Christian Democrats divided on the raid have held a convention and reached a consensus closer to the U.S. line.

"Italians haven't mellowed in their opposition to military action against Libya; they are too close geographically, economically and historically," said a Western diplomat in Rome. "But they have made a fine course correction in their foreign policy."

Since the raid, Italy has expelled more than a dozen Libyan officials and closely controlled the movement of Libyans into the country. The U.S. Defense Department's rejection of a \$7.9 million contract for Fiat because it is 15 percent owned by the Libyan government is a major embarrassment to both the company and the Italian government.

In West Germany, however, reappraisal of the raid has barely begun. The press is preoccupied with SALT II and the Chernobyl disaster.

The raid on Libya, according to officials in Bonn, is an example of the United States acting on its own without concern for its allies. But, said one Bonn Foreign Office official, there is a growing hope that it may have curbed Middle East terrorism.

In France, public opinion opposed the government's failure to support the raid, and a government reappraisal showed signs of regret.

In Britain, public opposition appears to have waned in recent weeks as the tourist business has picked up. It had been down some 30 to 40 percent because of American concerns of terrorism and the declining dollar.

British Airways, the only transatlantic airline to give figures, said last week that, for the week ending June 1, bookings between London and the United States had risen to 52,519, below the 62,000 average for this time of year, but way above the disastrous April 20 week after the Libya raid, when cancellations outweighed bookings by 27,937.

First lady Nancy Reagan's acceptance of an invitation to attend the wedding of Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson on July 29 has also boosted British confidence in a return of U.S. tourists. Her

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
11 June 1986
Pg. 15D

W. German terrorism increasing, report says

United Press International

BONN, West Germany — Terrorists staged more than 1,600 politically motivated bombings, arsons, murders or other violent crimes in West Germany last year, a federal internal security agency reported yesterday.

The federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, in a report quoted by two West German national daily newspapers, said the 1,604 acts of terrorism documented in 1985 continued the rising trend of recent years. Only 1,269 such crimes had been recorded in 1984, Die Welt newspaper reported.

Bild, another national daily, citing the same report, said West German counterintelligence also unmasked 18 East bloc spies last year, including 16 working for East Germany and one each for the Soviet Union and Poland.

remarks on Friday that she would not be deterred by terrorism boosted the share price of major British hotel chains by several points.

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 9 — White House and Reagan Administration officials have concluded that although Syria's involvement in terrorism may be "much more professional, much more deadly" than Libya's, the evidence remains murky about Syria's direct links to recent acts of violence.

The United States and the Western allies have failed to gather the same type of "incontrovertible evidence" against Syria as they say they have against Libya for recent terrorist incidents, according to Administration officials. As a result, they said, the White House, the State Department and the Defense Department are not seriously weighing a retaliatory move against Syria similar to the air strikes against Libya in April.

'Long History of Involvement'

One ranking Administration official said that Syria's President, Hafez al-Assad, "has a long history of involvement in terrorism." But, he said, the evidence against Syria "is only circumstantial" in the attacks on airports in Rome and Vienna last Dec. 27, the bomb explosion at a West Berlin discotheque on April 5 and the attempt to plant a bomb on an El Al Israel Airlines jetliner in London on April 17.

On the other hand, the Administration official said, United States intelligence operatives picked up messages from the Libyan People's Bureau, or embassy, in East Berlin on April 4 involving plans for the attack the next day on the West Berlin club. Two American soldiers and a Turkish woman were killed and more than 200 people were wounded in the bombing, including more than 50 Americans.

After the attack, the United States intercepted communications from the Libyan mission in East Berlin to Tripoli terming the attack successful. It was that terrorist incident that led to the United States air strikes against Libya.

American officials said Syrian terrorist involvement had focused less on random attacks against Americans than on seeking to crush prospects for Middle East peace through assassinations of moderate Palestinians and those friendly with Jordan.

Syria is also said to have undermined efforts to ease violence in Lebanon and

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New Mass Trial of Terrorists Of Red Brigades Starts in Rome

ROME, June 16 (Reuters) — Leaders of the terrorist Red Brigades in Italy were herded into courtroom cages today at the start of a new mass trial covering 5 years of urban guerrilla violence in Rome, including the 1978 assassination of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro.

The court hearing in the Rebibbia prison fortress in Rome is the sequel to an earlier trial in which 60 members of the Rome column of the Brigades were given stiff jail terms for involvement in murder, bomb attacks and shootings.

The new trial, involving 174 defendants, is based on investigations completed since the first trial was started in 1982.

Since then, the brigades have been decimated by arrests and defections, permitting magistrates to widen the charges for offenses committed during

a reign of terror by the left-wing extremists between 1977 and 1982.

Eight of the 174 defendants are charged with the Brigades' most notorious exploit, the kidnapping and murder of Moro, for which 32 hard-core members were convicted at the first trial.

The prosecution said the Rome column also killed 26 other people, including senior magistrates, politicians and policemen, carried out kidnappings and bomb attacks and staged a prison riot at Trani in southern Italy.

When the trial began, 2 hours behind schedule amid tight security, defense lawyers asked for an annulment of the proceedings because of alleged irregularities in the investigation.

Defendants locked in raised cages exchanged greetings with family and friends, but there were none of the

noisy disturbances that characterized the earlier Red Brigades trial.

Brigades founding father Renato Curcio sat in the same cage as ideologue Giovanni Senzani and three hardliners convicted of playing key roles in the Moro kidnapping, Mario Moretti, Prospero Gallinari and Barbara Balzerani.

Magistrates hope the new trial will clarify details of the Aldo Moro drama that are still not explained, such as the precise location where the Christian Democratic leader was held prisoner for 55 days.

Investigating Magistrate Rosario Priore, whose report forms the basis of the prosecution, said the seizure of Moro was the most audacious challenge by the Brigades to established order, but it also marked a turning point in their fortunes.

Italian institutions did not collapse under the threat of guerrilla warfare, and the Brigades became irrevocably split between those who pleaded for Moro's life and the hawks who decreed his death, Priore's conclusions stated.

EVIDENCE...Continued

to have helped — the extent of which is unclear — the Shiite Moslems who blew up the United States Marine barracks in Beirut in October 1983, killing 241 servicemen.

"There is no compelling evidence of Syrian direct involvement in the Rome and Vienna attacks, the disco bombing and the El Al incident," an Administration official said. "There is a Syrian dimension — a couple of the guys involved in some of these attacks flew from Damascus to Europe. They may have trained in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa.

"But it's much murkier than the Libyans. The Syrians are much more professional, much more deadly than the Libyans because they mask what they do."

The issue of Syrian involvement in terrorism has somewhat divided the Reagan Administration, with the Director of Central Intelligence, William J. Casey, recently accusing Syria, along with Iran and Libya, of aiding various terrorist groups and of using embassies, communications and diplomatic pouches to do so.

The White House, however, and other Government agencies are far more reluctant to implicate Syria in recent terrorist actions, although officials point out that British, Italian and West German authorities are still investigating the recent incidents.

Complicating the issue — and raising doubts about a United States military strike against Syria — are the Assad Government's strong antiaircraft defenses, which could result in American casualties, as well as the close ties between the Soviet Union and Syria and the Assad Government's possible influence over what happens to five American and nine French hostages.

Privately, White House officials express concern that an attack against Syria could leave the hostages even more vulnerable than they are.

'Case Still Has to Be Made'

One White House official said: "We're not taking a soft line against the Syrians. The case still has to be made, though, on Syrian complicity in these incidents."

Another key official said, contrary to recent newspaper reports, "We don't have evidence that Syria was involved in the attack on Rome and Vienna airports."

On the El Al incident in London, the official said, "The indications are that there may be some Syrian involvement." The Israeli Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, has said that Syrian officials were responsible for the attempt to bomb the Israeli airliner.

Several officials said there was no hard evidence so far that Syria was in-

involved in the discotheque bombing in West Berlin. But they said there were indications that Syria was tied to the bombing of an Arab-German friendship society in West Berlin.

The evidence of Syrian involvement in the recent terrorist incidents includes links between Syrian intelligence and Nezar Nawaf Mansour Hindawi, a 31-year-old Jordanian who tried to plant a bomb on the El Al jet by hiding it in a satchel carried by an Irish friend.

His brother, Ahmed Nawaf Mansour Hazi, 36, has reportedly been implicated in the attack on the Arab-German friendship society. According to reports, he used explosives and logistical support supplied by the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin.

Although Syria has told the United States that it would limit the movements in Damascus of the followers of Sabry al-Banna, the Palestinian terrorist known as Abu Nidal, officials said the Administration was pressing Mr. Assad to close down the Abu Nidal office altogether. Abu Nidal has moved his operational base from Damascus to Tripoli.

"We simply have had a clear pattern of behavior with regard to Libya," a State Department official said, "and that is not the case with Syria."

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

July 10, 1986

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MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy on Counter Terrorism (U)

Following discussion with the Interagency Group on Terrorism, we asked Ambassador David Miller to undertake a detailed study of our current public diplomacy efforts on counter terrorism and to make recommendations for how these efforts can be strengthened. His report is attached at Tab A. (S)

After extensive consultations with State and other agencies, Miller concluded that there is a fundamental weakness in our approach to public diplomacy on this subject because we have not devoted sufficient personnel and resources to the issue. The NSC shares the recommendation that we must make a significant manpower commitment to this effort somewhat along the lines of the "Otto Reich" team. We should put this interagency public diplomacy team directly under the command and control of the IG/T. Moreover, we need to identify a top-flight coordinator, and have assigned to him personnel on detail from the key participating agencies including State, USIA, and DoD, to staff this office on a full-time basis. (S)

We are less concerned about the actual structure and organization of the public diplomacy office, because that should follow the appointment of the key coordinator and his staff. Clearly, the Miller report will be a helpful document for the new coordinator to consider. The selection of the coordinator, however, will be critical. (S)

The coordinator should be of ambassadorial rank, possess a creative flair and a background in effective interagency coordination. Previous experience in the NSC and in European affairs would also be most helpful for the candidate. I think we should seek to identify and bring on board the coordinator and his team immediately. (S)

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NLRR M4041 #40761

BY RW NARA DATE 10/4/16

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We would appreciate your earliest attention to this subject and your reaction to the Miller report. (U)



Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A - Ambassador Miller's Report

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
40762	PAPER RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON COUNTER TERRORISM (SAME TEXT AS 40695)	5	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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4625 Add On

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 1, 1986

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MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: ^{we} WALTER RAYMOND/^{qpm}JUDYT MANDEL

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy on Libya and Terrorism

You asked for more information on the kind of effort, themes, possible audiences, etc. needed to support our counter-terrorism objectives. The attached USIA gameplan (Tab B) lays out some of these themes and objectives. However, USIA's gameplan (and the implementation) are weak in several key areas:

- it focuses mainly on public information, and neglects political actions such as working with the Congress, private sector groups, and non-governmental organizations in support of our broad policy goals;
- even as public information, it concentrates on USIA outlets, rather than domestic and foreign television, radio, and press;
- it does not allocate sufficient resources to do an effective job; and
- it has no measurable criteria for effectiveness.

The USIA interim report on implementation of their gameplan (at Tab C) illustrates the problem.

Their production has been limited to placing a few items on the USIA wireless file, some VOA editorials, and worldnets (most of which were done in the immediate wake of the raid on Libya). They have had little success, for example, in following up on the revised European interest in this issue or even compiling the facts on what the Europeans are doing, which we could use to make the point that there is growing Western appreciation of the need to take firm action against terrorism.

This is not meant to denigrate USIA's effort, but to recognize that the resources, personnel and perspective they bring to the issue are not adequate, and that to attack the problem seriously requires a basic commitment of resources and personnel along the lines Dave Miller recommends.

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Declassify on: OADR

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NLRR M40411 # 40763

BY RW NARA DATE 10/4/16

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RECOMMENDATION

That you ^{approve McDaniel forwarding State,} ~~forward~~ the memo at Tab I to ~~Shultz.~~

Approve . Disapprove

^{CRC} Craig Coy, Howard Teicher ^{not available} concur.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Secretary Shultz
Tab A Ambassador Miller Study
Tab B USIA Gameplan
Tab C USIA Interim Report

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**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director

40764

TAB B



USIA

10

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

FROM: Marvin L. Stone
Chairman
International Information Committee

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy Working Group on Countering
Libyan Support for Terrorism

Attached, for your consideration, is the 60-day Action Plan on Countering Libyan Support for Terrorism requested by the NSC. An interagency working group of the IIC, under the chairmanship of Philip W. Arnold, is ready to take responsibility for the Plan's implementation along with the full cooperation of participating agencies. One additional full time position will be required to identify data (both classified and unclassified) needed and to ensure that it is made available in appropriate coherent form to designated users.

We are ready to proceed immediately upon your approval of the Plan. We will also be prepared to provide you with a final report at the end of the 60-day period, with an assessment of what further steps may be needed at that time.

I look forward to your comments.

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Classified by: Marvin L. Stone
Declassify: OADR

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NLRR M4041 #40764

BY RW NARA DATE 10/4/16

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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN:
COUNTERING LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM

SUMMARY

The next two months will be critical for the U.S. effort to reorient international approaches to state-supported terrorism. The international reaction to U.S. actions against Libya underscores the urgent need for a comprehensive, well-coordinated approach to defend past and potential U.S. measures and enlist more active international cooperation.

This plan focuses only on public activities directed at international audiences, either directly or through European regional or U.S. media coverage, and builds on the already intensive effort underway (see ANNEX C). Any further communication activities should be addressed by an interagency group coordinated by the NSC.

This strategy emphasizes:

- building unambiguous understanding internationally of the cooperative steps that are being taken and need to be taken by all nations to combat Libyan terrorism while emphasizing the inevitable deleterious consequences of failing to cooperate;
- seeking to minimize support for and isolate Qadhafi, furthering the erosion of his stature as a charismatic leader to be feared or respected;
- laying the groundwork for longer term, broader public diplomacy programs against international terrorism;
- identifying the struggle to be aimed at terrorists and terrorism, not against Arabs and Muslims.

USG activities in the coming weeks should seek to intensify international public opposition to Libyan-supported terrorism and to more active and effective international cooperation against international terrorism.

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Classified by: Marvin L. Stone
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**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN:
COUNTERING LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM**

I. BACKGROUND

In the aftermath of the U.S. air attack on Libyan terrorist infrastructure/military targets, the USG faces a formidable, but not insurmountable, public diplomacy challenge of generating significantly more intense international public opposition to -- and ultimately actions against -- Libyan supported terrorism. Widespread, foreign public criticism was apparent in the immediate aftermath of the U.S. air attack on Libyan military sites. Nevertheless, a core of support for U.S. actions exists in Europe and, privately expressed, among leaders and elites in moderate Arab States.

II. U.S. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OBJECTIVES

- Achieve unambiguous understanding of U.S. objectives.
- Gain acceptance/support from publics and governments of Allied and friendly nations for a full range of economic, political and (if necessary) military actions against Libyan supported international terrorism.
- Convince European publics that terrorism is a legitimate security concern of the NATO Alliance and that European history illustrates the failure of appeasement; limit the divisive effect within the Alliance of Soviet propaganda.
- Help create a psychological climate through which moderate Arab regimes (particularly Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia) and other Third World Muslim countries will find it easier to resist pressures to support Libya; emphasize that action is focused on Libya, not the Arab or Muslim worlds.
- Influence publics and governments in non-aligned Third World countries to take stronger stands against terrorism and resist pressures to support Libya in prominent forums such as the U.N. and the NAM Summit.

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III. KEY STEPS

- Prepare an effective public presentation of U.S. policies;
- Build on the emerging willingness of Europeans and other friendly governments to consider more active cooperation and measures to combat terrorism in the immediate future; help Europeans see the inevitable costs of their failure to confront the threat;
- Encourage discussion within the Arab world and among sympathetic Third World nations to emphasize Qadhafi's role in sabotaging legitimate Arab interests and his own country's security as well as peace in the Middle East, in order to reduce the degree of Arab support for Qadhafi's activities; encourage a greater realization within the Arab world of the costs of terrorism to them, not only in the substantial loss of tourist business but also increasingly in general commerce;
- Reemphasize to the people of Libya that our quarrel is not with them, but with their leader's reckless use of terrorism; however, support for their leader makes them vulnerable to attack; generate a greater awareness among the Libyan people that Qadhafi is squandering Libya's oil resources on military adventures and terrorism with a resulting decline in the Libyan standard of living.
- Rebut Soviet propaganda or disinformation directed at Europe and the Middle East on U.S. actions regarding Libya, particularly Soviet activities aimed at creating discord in the NATO Alliance.

IV. AUDIENCES AND APPROACHES

1. Influential individuals, groups and media in Western Europe and, to a lesser extent, other friendly, democratic industrial nations. A full range of public diplomacy tools are available for direct communication with audiences, or through mass media and personal contact.
2. Leadership within the moderate Arab and non-Arab Muslim world and, to a lesser extent, leadership of non-aligned Third World nations sympathetic to moderate Arab causes. More indirect methods of communication may be necessary, e.g. contact with media in the U.S. and Europe with credibility in key Middle Eastern countries, although direct contact with political and economic leaders and editors and extensive use of the Arabic wireless file will also be employed.

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3. In Libya: the educated urban middle class, military officers, and other potential leaders and supporters of a post-Qadhafi government. Indirect methods of communication will have to be employed, along with reliance on VOA's Arabic service.

4. In the Soviet Union and certain East European countries: Governing elites, self-selected informed publics reachable largely through international radio broadcasts and word of mouth.

V. INITIATIVES FOR IMPLEMENTATION:

1. Demonstrating Determination; Fostering Cooperation Against Terrorism

- Actions designed to build on the May 5 statement by Allied leaders at the Tokyo Summit:

-emphasizing and replaying foreign and domestic media coverage of Summit actions against terrorism and Qadhafi;

-encouraging and amplifying subsequent statements from Summit leaders supporting active international cooperation;

-arranging and amplifying a major Presidential appearance during the post-Summit period aimed specifically at audiences from participating Summit nations.

ACTION: The White House, Department of State, USIA

- Press interviews from the Oval Office and other senior Administration officials with selected foreign correspondents and broadcasters. A carefully selected Presidential interview with a moderate, respected Arab journalist, could be quite useful. Al Akhbar, a balanced, pro-U.S. Egyptian newspaper, has a resident correspondent who might be suitable for such an interview.

ACTION: White House, NSC, USIA

--Qs and As (plus photo op) with selected foreign newsmagazine(s);

ACTION: The White House, NSC, USIA

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- Build on April meeting of Justice/Interior Ministers in Europe (The Trevi Group) by amplifying, wherever appropriate, continuing demonstrations including public statements, of international cooperation between justice, police, and other law enforcement officials.

ACTION: Departments of Justice, State, USIA

- USG Washington, US Missions contacts with concerned organizations -- e.g. international airlines associations, pilots association, travel industry, Chambers of Commerce, business groups -- in U.S. and in Europe, Middle East and other selected countries to generate continuing public condemnation of Qadhafi and international terrorism. To the extent possible, tangible actions should be explored which would communicate common (and determined) opposition to terrorists and supporting states.

ACTION: White House, Departments of State, Commerce and ;
Transportation, Federal Aviation Agency

- Human rights and humanitarian groups' public statements against Libyan terrorist support and activities.

ACTION: White House, Department of State

- Public statements by Congressional and other prominent delegations travelling abroad on American determination to combat the terrorist threat and desire to work with allies and other friendly states. Congressional contacts with Parliamentary counterparts.

ACTION: Department of State, U.S. Missions

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2. Major USIA Activities

-Journalist Seminar Responding to Terrorism: to be organized at the earliest possible time, with selected resident foreign correspondents (with senior USG involvement).

-High level regional IV project: for senior journalists/editors/publishers and terrorism experts from Western Europe (possibly with selected individuals from Muslim countries).

-Selective use of WORLDNET and Foreign Press Center briefings.

-Video Product: to assist in carrying forward the discussion in Europe especially of the nature of State-supported terrorism and possible responses.

-One-on-one press briefings: including backgrounders, with high level Administration officials will be intensified, coordinated by White House press and Foreign Press Centers staffs.

-Public Opinion Surveys ("Flash" telephone studies and commissioned research; secondary analysis of commercial studies and EC surveys.)

-Frequent media reaction reporting and trends analysis.

4. Other USIA Activities

-Ongoing systematic teleconferencing, selected employment of U.S. officials and private experts as American Participants (AMPARTS) abroad Wireless File features, TV and small format VCR programs, America Today and Satellite File transmissions, VOA features and editorials.

-Briefings with USG officials and US terrorism experts for selected foreign visitors in the U.S. under USIA auspices on other IV programs.

-Stepped-up overseas distribution of appropriate informational materials. Particular attention to be given to European and regional publications influential in Third World Arab and Muslim countries and use of crossplay in the Wireless File, VOA and other international services.

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ANNEX A

SUPPORT NEEDED FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN

Substantive informational support is needed for more effective public diplomacy to combat terrorism, most immediately the threat from Qadhafi:

1. The ready availability of substantive expertise: USG officials, supportive Congressional leaders, private experts for USIA activities listed in paper

2. Assistance in Developing Informational Materials on the following subjects:

- events in Libya (what Qadhafi is doing to his own people, book burning, etc.)
- analysis of the geostrategic significance of Libya;
- description of terrorist training camps within Libya;
- unclassified/declassified data on terrorist groups and networks; banking transactions and other logistical networks, the role of Libya Peoples' Bureaus; Libyan support for international terrorist groups such as the IRA, Basques and Philippine insurgents, as well as Middle East based terrorists;
- the relationship between Qadhafi and notorious terrorists such as Abu Nidal;
- Qadhafi targeting of Libyan dissidents in Europe, the U.S., and elsewhere;
- the full range of nonmilitary measures available to states cooperating against terrorism;
- update on human rights in Libya;
- history of Qadhafi, his rise to power, stormy relations with the Arab world, e.g. Qadhafi's role in the disappearance and apparent murder of the prominent Lebanese Shi'ia cleric, Musa Sadr, his mining of the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez, his bombing campaigns in Cairo, etc.;

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- an updated chronology of Libyan-sponsored terrorism;
- compendium of bellicose and compromising Qadhafi statements;
- list of major terrorist incidents on European continent over past several months;
- economic impact from the decline in tourism to Europe and elsewhere;
- history of frustrated U.S. diplomatic initiatives vis-a-vis Libya over the past several years;
- the role of international law in reducing terrorism;
- in the event of further military action, military assessment report as soon as possible;
- public opinion polling results and other evidence of the the depth of American public support and determination.

3. Sanitized/ Declassified Evidence: A systematic means of identifying publicly useful data and ensuring it reaches USIA and US commercial media.

4. A calendar of anticipated events, conferences, speeches, and other public diplomacy opportunities.

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ANNEX B

THEMES

1. Specifically defending the Libyan airstrikes and U.S. intention to keep open future options against Libya:

- The United States undertook military action against Libya knowing that further terrorist acts were planned against U.S. targets; it was an appropriate measure to use in this instance to stem the threat.
- The primary obligation of any government is to protect its own citizens. The U.S. obligation in this case is to shield Americans from indiscriminate attack by terrorists trained, supported and directed by the Libyan Government.
- Our military operation against Libyan military and terrorist infrastructure targets was an appropriate response.
- The Administration's demonstrated determination to take action to combat the threat of terrorism, including the strike on Libya, is widely supported by the American people and enjoys strong bipartisan support in Congress.
- The U.S. is prepared to sustain all appropriate political, economic and military measures necessary to deter Libyan supported terrorism.

2. More generally on U.S. concerns about the growing threat of international terrorism and Qadhafi's role as prominent instigator of terrorist activity:

- Terrorism increasingly threatens the basic norms of civilized social and political life.
- Past acquiescence has not led to a decline in terrorism; rather, incidents have increased.
- European history demonstrates that appeasement of radicals only encourages worse outrages; accomodation does not work.
- A more determined and active response is essential if terrorism is to be dealt with effectively, and innocent publics protected.
- Qadhafi is using his nation's wealth to commit aggression against his neighbors, including military occupation of Chad, instead of devoting those resources for critically needed national development in those desperately poor areas.
- Qadhafi provides support to a growing network of extremists and mercenaries who threaten the well-being of diverse civilized societies. Determined international resistance is their only barrier.

- A full range of options is available to governments to provide that resistance. The EC-12 decision to reduce the presence of Libyan diplomats is a good start. Other cooperative actions must be taken.

- Cooperating states can fashion a collective international approach to confronting terrorism to keep it from becoming the political determinant of our times.

- At the same time, the U.S. recognizes the need to deal with the social, economic and political conditions that are the fertile ground of terrorism.

- The US shall, for example, continue to work toward a negotiated resolution of the Palestinian problem. But terrorism has become a major impediment to a just and honorable resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to a lasting peace that could fulfill the aspirations of all the peoples of the region.

- Terrorism has taken on a life of its own. It is illusory to think that a resolution of the Palestinian or any other specific regional issue would quickly remove terrorism from the scene.

3. Special messages directed at Libyan publics:

- Qadhafi's policies and practices are diverting Libyan resources from national development and welfare. Unlike other oil rich countries, Libya has little to show for the vast amounts of money it has derived from its oil resources. Now that the price of oil has dropped on world markets, the effects of Qadhafi's wasteful policies are being felt even more domestically.

- Qadhafi's terrorist practices and his aggression against neighboring states, including Chad, are isolating Libya from other African and Arab countries as well as the U.S. and Western Europe.

- The Libyan people should question whether their interests and traditional Islamic values are best served through terrorist actions.

- The Libyan people should also ask whether their interests and traditional Islamic values are served through association with a Communist regime whose main objective is to manipulate Libya for its own political and security aims, but who offered little more than rhetorical support.

4. For Soviet audiences:

- Terrorism is a universal threat to world stability, exempting no nation. Soviets have also been victims and will continue to be in the future if cooperative and determined action is not taken against terrorist perpetrators, including Qadhafi.

- Libya under Qadhafi is an erratic, explosive, untrustworthy ally of increasing embarrassment to the world image of the USSR.

- Continued Soviet support for Qadhafi is having the effect of reinforcing his determination to support terrorist groups.

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ANNEX C

TERRORISM: USIA PRODUCTIVITY

The general subject of terrorism, Libyan-sponsored terrorism in particular, has been a USIA priority for some time. During the period covered by the chart on the following page, January 1985 through April 15, 1986, USIA produced 2,388 separate items related to the issue of terrorism, 603 since the President's January initiative imposing sanctions on Libya. Of the total, 33 were offerings of films and VTR's and 2,303 were Wireless File items (transcripts, official texts, reprinted articles, original features, VOA editorials and WORLDNET and Foreign Press Center briefing transcripts).

There were nine WORLDNET productions during this period:

Sep. 15, 1985	Ambassador-at-Large Robert Oakley
Oct. 18, 1985	Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger
Jan. 19, 1986	Secretary of State George Shultz
Mar. 3, 1986	Gordon Brown, Director of Arabian Peninsula Affairs, Dept. of State
Mar. 12, 1986	Marcelino Oreja, Secretary General of Council of Europe
Apr. 3, 1986	Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost
Apr. 15, 1986	US Spokesman Edward Djerejian
Apr. 16, 1986	Secretary of State George Shultz
Apr. 18, 1986	Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger

These nine briefings have produced 25 separate products, including wireless file items in the form of transcripts and VCRs for posts to order.

Following are the figures on a month-by-month basis:

January, 1985	34	January, 1986	338
February	32	February	52
March	28	March	138
April	52	April	75
May	96		
June	344		
July	239		
August	103		
September	111		
October	393		
November	198		
December	145		

“TERRORISM

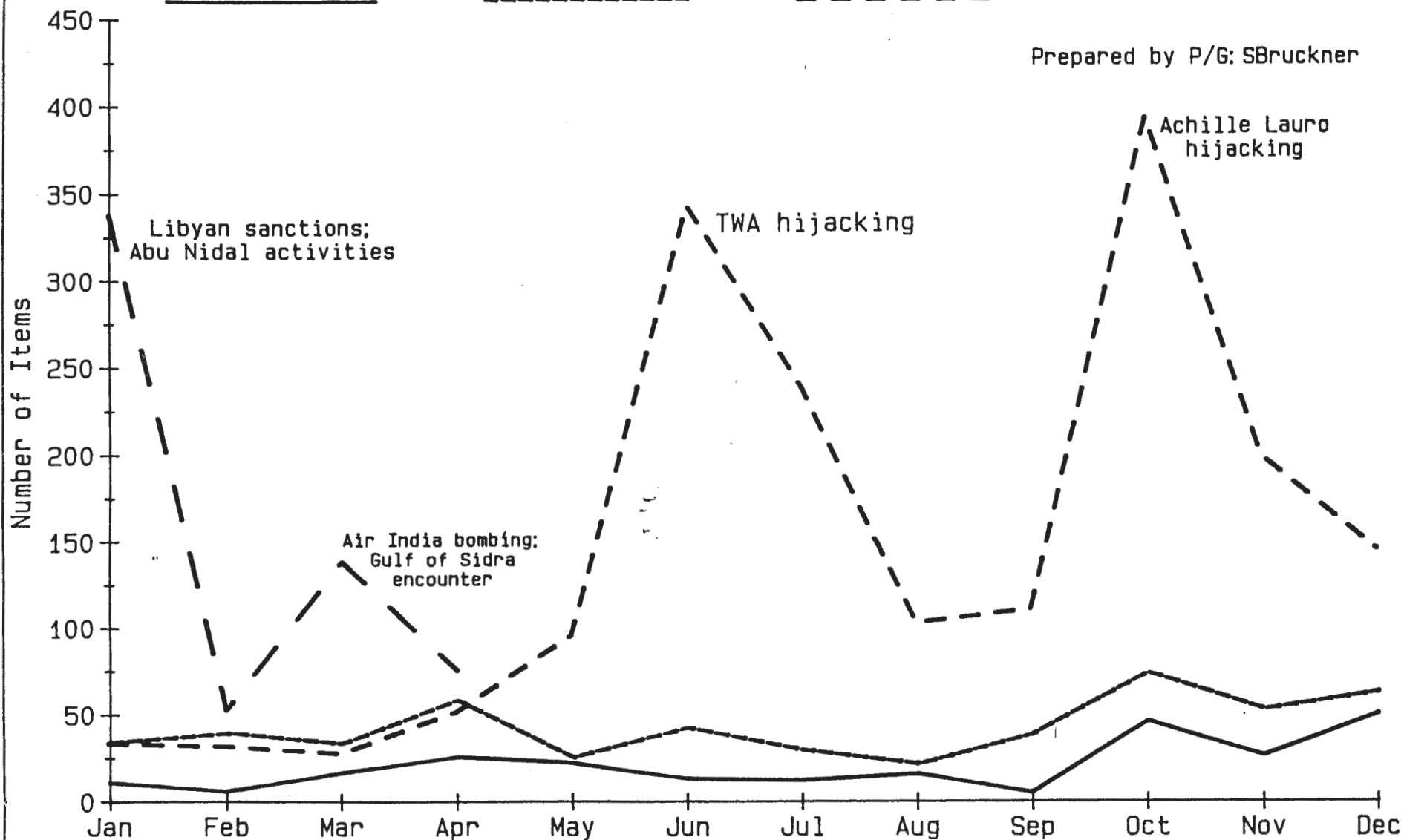
The Issue Since 1983
Wireless File/USInfo Support

Jan-Dec 1983

Jan-Dec 1984

Jan-Dec 1985

Jan-Apr 1986



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MEMORANDUM FOR: Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

FROM: Marvin L. Stone *MLS-*
Chairman
International Information Committee

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy Action Plan: Countering
Libyan Support for Terrorism
Interim Report on Progress

REFERENCE: NSC Memo of May 19

SUMMARY:

Initial efforts in implementing the 60-Day Action Plan were focused on developing the necessary interagency mechanisms, particularly those involving data identification, collection and declassification. A few of the items in the Plan have been completed; most of the others are under development and should be completed within the next 30 days.

HIGHLIGHTS:

The primary effort of the first four weeks, a necessary prelude to circulating accurate and reliable material, was establishing the mechanisms for data collection. Both CIA and DIA have been cooperative in probing possibilities for ongoing identification of substantiating data that can continue after the period of the action plan, as have Library of Congress staff, FBIS and JPRS.

Other highlights:

-Printed articles on European actions vis-a-vis Libya, aviation security, Libyan human rights violations, and the proceedings of the American Bar Association convention have been circulated worldwide. Since May 15, 32 Wireless File and USINFO items have been devoted to the theme.

-Over 20 items have been featured in the daily satellite television feed to Europe.

-Ten acquired videotape programs have been offered to all field posts.

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DATE *10/4/16*

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-Several VOA editorials have been broadcast on various aspects of the Action Plan.

-Several one-on-one interviews with foreign correspondents have taken place.

-With a single exception, all requests from field posts for American Participants (speakers) and teleconferencing have been satisfied.

Under development:

-We expect to release and distribute the following within the next week: an update (and more complete version) of the January Libya White Paper, an updated chronology, and a second feature on European actions.

-Data collection on the following is proceeding and should result in finished written releases before the end of the 60-day period: Libyan aggression against her neighbors, compendium of Qadhafi self-incriminating statements, evidence of terrorist networks, evidence of Libya support for terrorists, brief description of Libyan diplomatic relations since Qadhafi came to power, brief analysis of the economic costs of terrorism, international law and terrorism, events in Libya.

-A seminar for foreign correspondents at the bureau chief level is scheduled for July 9. Secretary Shultz will participate.

-A request for an Oval Office interview has been forwarded separately to you.

-A video documentary has been scripted and is about to begin production.

-Two WORLDNET features on international law and aviation security are under active consideration.

Our final wrap-up report will include a computer printout of all activities and products, results of a second public opinion survey which should serve as a measure for attitude shifts in test countries and recommendations for continuing reinforcing activity.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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ACTION

June 12, 1986

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BY FW

NARA DATE 10/14/14

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. WR

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy on Counter Terrorism

Attached at Tab A is Dave Miller's report on Public Diplomacy on Counter Terrorism. This report was developed by Dave after detailed conversations with key actors in the counter terrorism community, including senior officials in the NSC, State, CIA, and DOD. He has talked to a number of outside specialists and consultants. The bottom line of his analysis is that we cannot get from here to there with the current approach. The principal weakness is a failure to deploy dedicated personnel and resources full time for public diplomacy. The panacea, in his judgment, is the creation of an "Otto Reich" type of team for public diplomacy. He believes, as you suggested, that the team should be under the command and control of the Interagency Group on Terrorism (I/GT). The team need not be as large as that dedicated to that purpose for Central America and South Africa because, in Miller's mind, the team should draw more directly on resources committed to this purpose in the various participating agencies. Nevertheless, a team must be created.

He has some organizational recommendations which would call for a reorganization of the existing public diplomacy structure under the I/GT. I believe these recommendations require serious consideration, but I would recommend that the procedure that we follow include the following steps:

-- The agreement on the need for the immediate assignment of a coordinator for public diplomacy and a full-time dedicated team to support the coordinator.

-- The provision of this report to the newly-named coordinator for him to consider seriously and to adapt as he believes appropriate. In other words, I would like to give the coordinator the option of making changes on the basis of this report rather than mandating the changes in advance of his assignment.

Ollie North and I have discussed this report with Dave Miller and recommend that you forward it to George Shultz with a cover note. I have attached at Tab I a copy of the report and the recommended cover note. Dave has reviewed potential candidates to fill the

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position of public diplomacy coordinator. We tend to believe that a current or former ambassador would be appropriate because of his background and ability to work with the bureaucracy. We have met with Marshall Brement, whose qualifications are outstanding for this purpose. He is currently on the Naval War College faculty following the completion of his most recent tour as a Reagan Administration appointed Ambassador to Iceland. He was a professional Foreign Service Officer, who served in the past in the NSC with specific responsibilities for the Soviet Union. He is an effective manager and communicator. While we will need to be conscious of Jerry Bremer's concerns, we should not wait to put this public diplomacy team in place until late August when Bremer returns. George Shultz may also have possible candidates.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to Secretary Shultz.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Ollie^W North concurs.

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Sec Shultz
- Tab A Amb Miller Study

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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~~SECRET~~MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
The Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy on Counter Terrorism (U)

Following discussion with the Interagency Group on Terrorism, we asked Ambassador David Miller to undertake a detailed study of our current public diplomacy efforts on counter terrorism and to make recommendations for how these efforts can be strengthened. His report is attached at Tab A. (S)

After extensive consultations with State and other agencies, Miller concluded that there is a fundamental weakness in our approach to public diplomacy on this subject because we have not devoted sufficient personnel and resources to the issue. I share his recommendation that we must make a significant manpower commitment to this effort somewhat along the lines as of the "Otto Reich" team. I think we should put this interagency public diplomacy team directly under the command and control of the IG/T. Moreover, after reading Dave's report, I would urge that we identify a top-flight coordinator, and have assigned to him personnel on detail from the key participating agencies including State, USIA, and DOD, to staff this office on a full-time basis. (S)

I am less concerned about the actual structure and organization of the public diplomacy office, because I think that should follow the appointment of the key coordinator and his staff. Clearly, the Miller report will be a helpful document for the new coordinator to consider. The selection of the coordinator, however, will be critical. (S)

One candidate who comes to mind is Ambassador Marshall Bremant, who is now at the Navy War College, but you may have other suggestions in this regard. I think we should seek to identify and bring on board the coordinator and his team immediately. (S)

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BY RW NARA DATE 10/04/16

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I would appreciate your earliest attention to this subject and your reaction to the Miller report. (U)

Attachment

Tab A Amb Miller Report

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

MANDEL, JUDYT E.: FILES

Withdrawer

CAS 8/22/2007

File Folder

TERRORISM - LIBYA PUBLIC DIPLOMACY (07/01/1986-7/15/1986)

FOIA

F05-008

LAHLOU

Box Number

91721

9

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
40794	PAPER RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON COUNTER TERRORISM (ATTACHMENT TO 40792) (SAME TEXT AS 40695)	5	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.