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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** Mandel, Judyt E.: Files

**Withdrawer**

SMF 11/8/2010

**File Folder** 8603669 [LIBYAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY] (2)

**FOIA**

F95-023/9

**Box Number** 91755

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
100030	CABLE	ISLAMABAD 11355	1	5/21/1986	B1
100031	CABLE	LIBREVILLE 01611	1	5/21/1986	B1
100032	CABLE	BAMAKO 02901	1	5/21/1986	B1
100033	CABLE	AMMAN 05185	1	5/21/1986	B1
100034	CABLE	KUWAIT 02925	1	5/21/1986	B1
100035	CABLE	ANKARA 05444	1	5/21/1986	B1
100036	CABLE	NAIROBI 19386	2	5/21/1986	B1
100037	CABLE	RABAT 05039	1	5/21/1986	B1
100038	CABLE	VIENNA 07445	2	5/21/1986	B1

**The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing**

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
100039	CABLE	ATHENS 09543	1	5/21/1986	B1
100040	CABLE	BUCHAREST 03605	1	5/21/1986	B1
100041	CABLE	NIAMEY 03782	1	5/21/1986	B1
100042	CABLE	KINSHASA 08594	1	5/21/1986	B1
100043	CABLE	KINGSTON 05060	1	5/21/1986	B1
100044	CABLE	BUDAPEST 04581	1	5/22/1986	B1
100045	CABLE	HELSINKI 02494	1	5/22/1986	B1
100046	CABLE	MOSCOW 08720	1	5/22/1986	B1
100047	CABLE	MANILA 16604	2	5/22/1986	B1

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100048	CABLE	LISBON 05281	2	5/22/1986	B1
100049	CABLE	WARSAW 5453	1	5/23/1986	B1
100050	CABLE	BONN 16305	1	5/23/1986	B1
100051	CABLE	PARIS 22816	2	5/23/1986	B1
100052	CABLE	BUENOS AIRES 04763	1	5/23/1986	B1
100053	CABLE	NASSAU 02105	1	5/24/1986	B1
100054	CABLE	MEXICO 11020	1	5/24/1986	B1
100056	MEMO	STONE TO POINDEXTER RE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN	2	6/20/1986	B1

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100031	CABLE  LIBREVILLE 01611	1	5/21/1986	B1

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100032	CABLE  BAMAKO 02901	1	5/21/1986	B1

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100033	CABLE  AMMAN 05185	1	5/21/1986	B1

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100034	CABLE  KUWAIT 02925	1	5/21/1986	B1

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100035	CABLE  ANKARA 05444	1	5/21/1986	B1

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100036 CABLE

2 5/21/1986 B1

NAIROBI 19386

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100037	CABLE  RABAT 05039	1	5/21/1986	B1

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
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BT  
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USIA

FOR: P/G

E.O. 12356: N/A  
SUBJECT: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN ON COUNTERING  
LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM

REF: USIA 34713-C

1. THIS IS A JOINT EMBASSY/USIS RESPONSE.

2. WE CONCUR WITH THE PROPOSED PUBLIC DIPLOMACY  
STRATEGY WITH EXCEPTION OF TV/FILM DOCUMENTARY FOCUSED  
ON TRANS ATLANTIC COOPERATION WHICH WOULD HAVE LITTLE  
PROGRAM USE IN BELGIUM

3. THIS MISSION HAS PURSUED A VERY ACTIVE ROLE IN  
DENOUNCING MR. QADHAFI'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL  
TERRORISM. THE FACT THAT BELGIUM REPRESENTS USG  
INTERESTS IN LIBYA, MEANS THAT THE BELGIAN PUBLIC IS  
KEENLY INTERESTED IN WHAT TRANSPIRES BETWEEN LIBYA AND  
THE USG. THIS MEANS THAT ON A GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT  
LEVEL, THIS MISSION IS IN DAILY CONTACT WITH HIGH LEVEL  
GOB OFFICIALS TO EXPLAIN OUR POLICIES AND TO EXCHANGE  
INFORMATION. WE CONSIDER THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO  
GOVERNMENTS IN THIS AREA TO BE OUTSTANDING.

4. THAT DOES NOT, HOWEVER, MEAN THAT WE SEE EYE-TO-EYE  
WITH THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT OR THE BELGIAN PUBLIC ON ALL  
ISSUES SURROUNDING TERRORISM AND OUR RESPONSE TO LIBYA.  
THIS EMBASSY HAS MAINTAINED A HIGHLY VIGOROUS PRIVATE  
AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAM AT ALL LEVELS TO CONVINCE  
BELGIANS THAT OUR ANALYSES OF THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM  
AND OUR RESPONSES HAVE BEEN CORRECT.

5. THE FOLLOWING ARE A FEW EXAMPLES OF WHAT WE HAVE  
DONE OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS:

A. IN JANUARY, AMBASSADOR SWAEBE HOSTED A BREAKFAST FOR  
DEPSEC WHITEHEAD AND AMBASSADOR OAKLEY WITH THE BELGIAN  
PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN MINISTER, JUSTICE MINISTER AND  
DEFENSE MINISTER TO EXPLAIN THE LIBYAN ROLE IN  
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A PRESS  
CONFERENCE AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE ATTENDED BY  
MORE THAN 40 BELGIAN AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS  
REPRESENTATIVES;

B. THE PRIME MINISTER HOSTED DEPSEC WHITEHEAD ON A  
RETURN VISIT IN APRIL AT A BREAKFAST WHERE TERRORISM WAS  
THE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION. A PRESS CONFERENCE OPEN TO THE  
BELGIAN PRESS WAS ALSO HELD AT NATO HEADQUARTERS ON  
APRIL 18;

C. FROM BEFORE THE FIRST WHITEHEAD VISIT, THE POST HAS

MADE HEAVY USE OF WIRELESS FILE ARTICLES, WHITE HOUSE  
DOCUMENTS AND STATE DEPARTMENT RELEASES ON TERRORISM.  
WE HAVE DEVELOPED A SPECIAL MAILING LIST ON THIS THEME  
WHICH INCLUDES JOURNALISTS AND FOREIGN MINISTRY  
OFFICIALS;

D. USIS BRUSSELS HAS PARTICIPATED INTERACTIVELY IN AT  
LEAST FIVE WORLDNETS WHERE TERRORISM AND LIBYA HAVE BEEN  
THE MAIN TOPICS OF DISCUSSION. THESE HAVE INCLUDED:

- MARCH 25 WITH WEINBERGER
- APRIL 7 WITH ARMACOST
- APRIL 16 WITH SHULTZ
- APRIL 18 WITH WEINBERGER
- APRIL 24 WITH SHULTZ

E. WE ALSO ARRANGED FOR A SPECIAL INTERVIEW IN FRENCH,  
APRIL 25 WITH UN AMBASSADOR WALTERS AND THREE MEMBERS OF  
THE FRANCOPHONE BELGIAN MEDIA WHICH LED TO EXTENSIVE AND  
VERY FAVORABLE COVERAGE;

F. THE MISSION PROGRA  
MED AMPART AMB EDWARD MARKS,  
FORMER DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF STATE'S OFFICE ON TERRORISM,  
AT A SERIES OF MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS WITH BELGIAN  
PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTIES, MFA OFFICIALS, EIGHT  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MEDIA AND SEVERAL UNIVERSITY  
PROFESSORS.

G. FINALLY, WE HAVE HAD A SERIES OF ONE-ON-ONE MEETINGS  
WITH MFA OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA TO DISCUS  
THE USG APPROACH TO TERRORISM.

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100043	CABLE	1	5/21/1986	B1
	KINGSTON 05060			

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P 222001Z MAY 86 FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1778 RUENIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 7708 BT UNCLAS CARACAS 04965

FOR LIBYA/TERRORISM PUBLIC DIPLOMACY WORKING GROUP

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PTER, PROP, VE SUBJECT: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN ON COUNTERING LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM REF: USIA 34713

1. SUMMARY. ACTION PLAN CORRESPONDS CLOSELY TO MISSION'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OBJECTIVES ON THE SUBJECT. MISSION ACTED IMMEDIATELY TO COUNTER LIBYAN PROPAGANDA. WE HAVE MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO CONTACT OPINION LEADERS PERSONALLY AND WILL CONTINUE TO SO. OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP THE LOCAL PUBLIC INFORMED OF LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM CONTINUE. MISSION PROPOSES IMPLEMENTATION OF PLAN THROUGH EXPANDED PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA PLACEMENTS AS WELL AS INTERACTIVE TPC AND WORLDNET PROGRAMS. WE URGE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF LIBYAN PEOPLES' BUREAUS IN FOMENTING TERRORISM.

2. BACKGROUND. IN JANUARY, FOLLOWING OBSERVED SURVEILLANCE OF EMBASSY BY SUSPECTS WHO WERE FOLLOWED TO LIBYAN PEOPLES' BUREAU, GOV ORDERED A SWEEP OF LIBYAN FRIENDSHIP ORGANIZATIONS, CLOSING MOST AND PUBLICLY DISPLAYING SUBVERSIVE MATERIAL SEIZED. PUBLIC EXPOSURE OF ACTION BY VENEZUELAN STATE SECURITY POLICE RECEIVED NO LASTING PUBLIC ATTENTION. SUBSEQUENT EXPULSIONS OF DIPLOMATS AND OTHER NATIONALS WORLDWIDE HAS MORE THAN VINDICATED GOV ACTION. IN CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO COMBAT LIBYAN DISINFORMATION, WE URGE A FOCUS ON THE USE OF LIBYAN PEOPLES' BUREAUS AND "FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES" IN SPONSORING, DIRECTING AND SUPPLYING TERRORIST OPERATIONS.

3. GOV ABSTENTION IN VOTE ON SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNING US ACTION WAS CRITICIZED NOT ONLY FROM THE EXTREME LEFT, BUT ALSO FROM THE CENTER: I.E. THE ARGUMENT THAT US VIOLATED INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ITS ATTACKS ON LIBYA AND IS DOING SO IN THREATENING FURTHER MILITARY ACTION. WE NEED MORE, BETTER, MORE COHERENT MATERIAL EXPLAINING THAT WHAT WE ARE DOING IS LEGAL. THIS MATERIAL IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR OUR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN CLOSE PERSONAL CONTACT WITH OPINION LEADERS ON THIS ISSUE, AS WELL AS TO BROADEN AND DEEPEN PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF A STRONGER VENEZUELAN STANCE AT UN AND IN POLITICAL INTERNATIONALS.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS ANGLE IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTING. VENEZUELAN ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS INHERENT IN TERRORIST ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS. IN ADDITION, THE ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN LIBYA IS AN UNTAPPED SOURCE FOR REFUTATION OF QADHAFI'S SELF-STYLED IMAGE OF RULER BY POPULAR ACCLAMATION. POST IS IN CONTACT WITH VENEZUELAN CORRESPONDENTS IN US WHO CAN BE PUT IN TOUCH WITH HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS

5. IMPLEMENTATION. POST HAS CONDUCTED TWO SUCCESSFUL TELEPRESS CONFERENCES ON SUBJECT FOR PRINT JOURNALISTS WITH DR. ALBERTO COLL. WE URGE MORE SPOKESPERSONS BE MADE AVAILABLE IN THIS AND OTHER ELECTRONIC MEDIA FORMATS.

6. WE HAVE FOUND WIRELESS FILE MATERIAL INVALUABLE DURING THIS CRISIS AND URGE MORE OF THE SAME. CERTAIN ARTICLES SUCH AS CHRONOLOGIES GET ALMOST AUTOMATIC PLACEMENT IN MAJOR DAILIES. LONGER PIECES, PREFERABLY IN SPANISH, ARE BEING MOVED IN PRESS/INFORMATION KITS TO PROMINENT OPINION-MAKERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

7. POST HAD SCHEDULED AMPART BRIAN MICHAEL JENKINS FOR MAY TO SPEAK ON TERRORISM, BUT VISIT WAS POSTPONED. WE REMAIN EAGER TO PROGRAM HIM OR ANOTHER SPEAKER ON SUBJECT. FLOWER BT 04965

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100044	CABLE  BUDAPEST 04581	1	5/22/1986	B1

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100045	CABLE  HELSINKI 02494	1	5/22/1986	B1

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100046	CABLE  MOSCOW 08720	1	5/22/1986	B1

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100047	CABLE  MANILA 16604	2	5/22/1986	B1

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100048	CABLE  LISBON 05281	2	5/22/1986	B1

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100049	CABLE  WARSAW 5453	1	5/23/1986	B1

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PGF-02 PF-01 E-08 PPFN-02 PPF-01 TV-02 TVP-04 TVN-08  
TVS-02 TVX-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXN-01 VBN-01 VBR-01  
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USIA

FOR LIBYA/TERRORISM PUBLIC DIPLOMACY WORKING GROUP

E. O. 12356: N/A  
SUBJECT: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN FOR COUNTERING  
LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM  
REF: USIA 34713

1. ENTIRE MESSAGE LOU.

2. PROGRAMS AND OTHER ACTIONS OUTLINED REFTEL SOUND  
EXCELLENT ON A WORLDWIDE BASIS, BUT HAVE LIMITED  
APPLICABILITY TO MY PROGRAM IN JERUSALEM. SPECIFICALLY,  
THE WORLDNET AND OTHER SATELLITE PROGRAMS ARE NOT POSSIBLE  
DUE TO THE ABSENCE OF ANY INDIGENOUS VISUAL MEDIA IN  
THE WEST BANK. ALSO, AN AMPART PROGRAM ON THIS SUBJECT  
IS NOT RECOMMENDED AT THIS TIME, SINCE IT WILL BE IMPOS-  
SIBLE TO FOCUS ON THE LIBYAN/TERRORISM ISSUE WITHOUT  
BEING SIDETRACKED ONTO THE ENTIRE RANGE OF ISRAELI-  
PALESTINIAN ISSUES.

3. WE DO, HOWEVER, SEE A POSSIBILITY IN PARTICIPATING IN  
THE HIGH LEVEL IV PROGRAM FOR SENIOR JOURNALISTS MENTIONED  
PARAGRAPH SIX, AND WOULD LIKE TO BE KEPT ABREAST OF  
DEVELOPMENTS. THERE ARE SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES FOR PART-  
ICIPATION IN SUCH A PROGRAM AND IT COULD HAVE A VERY  
GREAT IMPACT AT THIS TIME. ADDITIONAL PRINTED INFORMATION  
FOCUSING ON ALLIED COOPERATION IN FUTURE MOVES AGAINST  
LIBYA AND TERRORISM ARE ALSO VALUABLE TO US.

GOOD  
DRAPER  
BT  
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90 MAY 23 AIO: 41

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100050	CABLE  BONN 16305	1	5/23/1986	B1

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100051	CABLE PARIS 22816	2	5/23/1986	B1

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100052	CABLE  BUENOS AIRES 04763	1	5/23/1986	B1

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June 12, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Interagency Public Diplomacy Working Group on  
Countering Libyan Terrorism

FROM: Philip W. Arnold *PHW*  
Working Group Chairman

SUBJECT: Working Group Meeting  
Monday, June 16, 10:00 AM USIA Room 868

I suggest the following agenda for the June 16 meeting:

- Status of current projects
- Discussion of field responses and comments
- Preparation of mid-term report to the NSC

Please pass any comments or further suggestions to Joel  
Fischman, USIA P/G, 485-8644.

# Whence Terrorism?

## U.S. Image as a Belligerent

By LEWIS SNIDER

Recent tensions between the U.S. and Libya obscured the fact that most of the acts of terrorism committed against American lives and property since 1982 have been byproducts of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the war in Lebanon and the U.S. policy of supporting Israel's position in both these conflicts.

One essential component of an anti-terrorist strategy is a covert intelligence capability able to monitor the activities of radical terrorist groups such as Abu Nidal's Arab Revolutionary Council and to interdict or give sufficient advance warning of terrorist plots against American targets.

One reason why no American lives were lost to attacks by Middle East terrorist groups between 1976 and 1982 was because of covert contacts between U.S. intelligence and representatives of Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization. That liaison was one of the most serious casualties of American support for Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982.

Attempts by Abu Nidal to target American lives did not begin with the attacks in the Vienna and Rome airports in 1985. They began shortly after he broke with Mr. Arafat in 1974. But after the killing of U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Francis Meloy by radical Palestinians associated with Abu Nidal in early 1976, American intelligence established contact with Mr. Arafat's PLO, then the dominant force in West Beirut. By various accounts, between 1976 and 1982 the PLO was able, through infiltrators, to abort or to give adequate advance warning of numerous radical plots against U.S. interests in the Middle East.

All that changed for two reasons after Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. First the Arafat wing of the PLO lost its ability to exert effective authority over the many disparate (and often desperate) factions of the Palestinian resistance movement. Second, and more important, the U.S. dropped all pretense of neutrality and became a belligerent on Israel's side. Prior to the invasion of Lebanon the U.S. was generally regarded with suspicion because of its support for Israel, but Israel was considered the main enemy. Indeed for years Arab publications had tended to portray the U.S. as Israel's stooge, subordinating its national interests in the Middle East to Israel's.

### Support for Arafat

Having supported Israel's invasion, the U.S. was also held partly responsible for the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps by Christian gunmen belonging to the pro-Israeli Lebanese Forces in Israeli-controlled South Beirut. The U.S. had guaranteed the safety of the Palestinian noncombatants living in Israeli-occupied Lebanon as part of the deal that led to the evacuation of Palestinian and Syrian fighters from Beirut after the Israeli invasion. It should come as no surprise that among the perpetrators of the massacres at the Rome and Vienna airports were young Palestinians who witnessed the mass killings in 1982 in those

camps while in their impressionable mid-teens. Direct U.S. military intervention on behalf of the Lebanese central government and the subsequent brokering of an agreement between the Lebanese government and Israel that supported Israel's position in Lebanon reinforced the U.S.'s status as an anti-Arab belligerent in its own right.

The anti-Arab image is further reinforced by Washington's aversion to providing vigorous support for Arab-Israeli peace efforts and the inclusion of the PLO, as an integral party to the conflict, as one of the participants in the peace process. The assassination of Nablus mayor, Zafer Masri, by rival Palestinian gunmen and the demonstrations in favor of the PLO and the anti-Jordanian slogans at Mr. Masri's fu-

*One reason no American lives were lost to Middle East attacks between 1976 and 1982 was because of covert contacts between U.S. intelligence and Yasser Arafat's PLO.*

neral in February clearly show that Yasser Arafat's PLO retains the support of most of the West Bank Palestinians.

Meanwhile the Reagan administration has had great difficulty moving its security-assistance programs for Jordan and Saudi Arabia through an ostentatiously pro-Israel Congress that refuses to recognize that these Arab states have legitimate security requirements that are unrelated to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

What do these other factors have to do with the U.S. retaliatory strikes against Libya? Very little, and that is the problem. Moammar Gadhafi is not responsible for the events going back to 1982 and earlier that are the primary motivation for radical (and not-so-radical) Lebanese and Palestinians to commit acts of terrorism against American targets. Whatever control or influence outsiders have on particular terrorist groups, it facilitates activities they were predisposed to undertake anyway. Suspension of state-sponsorship for terrorist groups would at best create some logistical inconvenience for them. It would not erode the commitment of these groups to take revenge against the U.S. for real or imagined grievances.

It is what passes for American Middle East policy, not Moammar Gadhafi, that created the U.S. image as the enemy of the Palestinians and all Arabs.

*Mr. Snider is an associate professor of international relations at the Claremont Graduate School, and is affiliated with Abbott Associates, consultants to the defense and intelligence communities on the Middle East.*

## It Doesn't Begin or End With Israel

By DAVID BAR-ILLAN

The present world-wide lull in terrorist activities, connoting a reassessment of tactics and strategy in the terrorist camp, clearly indicates they are coordinated, government-sponsored operations. Desperate, fanatic "fighters for a cause" are deterred neither by air strikes nor by diplomatic and economic sanctions. But the myth of an inexorable connection between international or at least Middle Eastern terrorism and the Palestinian Arabs' "struggle for independence" nevertheless persists.

The existence of this myth is the terrorists' greatest success, for it has allowed them to focus the world's attention not on the murder of children, the tossing of a crippled pensioner into the sea, or the rigging of a pregnant woman as a time bomb, but on the bogus issue of the "root causes" of terrorism.

The canard is all too familiar: Refugees living in festering camps, deprived of homeland and nationhood, have turned to terrorism as a last resort to force attention to their plight. Give them the "West Bank" and terrorism will cease.

Nothing could be further from the truth. With few exceptions, terrorist groups, and most emphatically all of the Middle Eastern groups, are the hired guns of aggressive anti-Western regimes, without whose patronage and support organized terrorism could not survive. These regimes may exploit the plight of the Palestinian Arabs, as they do other inflamed local grievances, but as is apparent from recent history, they have no interest in "solving" the Palestinian problem. If Israel were to yield to present Arab demands and withdraw to the

*Rationalizations are found when its victims are perceived to be only Jews.*

1949 armistice borders, there is no question that terrorist groups sponsored by Syria, Libya, Iraq, South Yemen and Iran would brand any accord a betrayal of the "Palestine revolution." They would launch an intensified campaign of terror, not only against a then-diminished and weakened Israel, but against the Arab partners to the settlement.

Terrorism is endemic to the region regardless of Israel. The destruction of the thousand-year-old Jewish community of Hebron, took place 20 years before Israel was founded. But the majority of terrorism's victims are not Jews but Arabs killed by Arabs. Last month, 140 were killed and as many injured in eight terrorist bombings of Syrian city buses. The culprits were first thought to be Lebanese, then Iraqis, then Moslem Brotherhood activists. Meanwhile, the intra-Arab terror in Lebanon continues. To suggest that ceding the 2,000 square miles of the West Bank to Arab domination will end terrorism is an insult to history and common sense.

But even the destruction of Israel is not the terrorists' ultimate goal. Their target is the Western democracies themselves.

Terrorism is their weapon of choice because the West, while prepared for nuclear and conventional military threats, is painfully vulnerable to this type of attack. Our open borders, our freedom of association and movement, our prohibitions against arbitrary search and arrest, and our strictures against covert operations make the work of terrorists laughably easy. Moreover, our ubiquitous television—competitive, news-hungry and melodramatically oriented—lends itself to exploitation as a stage for terrorist theater, thus advancing one of terrorism's main goals: the shaking and corroding of public confidence.

With no little help from the media, the conventional wisdom now has it that the West—the U.S. in particular—is hated by Arab radicals and fundamentalists because it supports Israel. The truth is the exact opposite. Israel is hated because it represents the West. For radicals and fundamentalists, the West—with its secularity, "decadence" and modernity, its democratic institutions, humanistic values and individual freedoms—is the source of all evil. Israel is just closer, a Western tentacle in what they consider Arab domain.

That is why "Zionism," "imperialism" and "racism" are interchangeable epithets. The declared goal of the "Pan Arab Command of Revolutionary Forces," a euphemism for a terrorist structure formed last year by Libya, Syria and Iran, is not only to destroy Israel, but "to confront imperialism . . . and strike at its positions and interests wherever they might exist." It is no wonder that the Soviets have not only looked upon this international network with favor, but have helped it whenever they could.

And, indeed, for all his anti-Israel rhetoric, Col. Gadhafi's main efforts have had nothing to do with the Palestinian Arabs. He has supported terrorist groups in West Germany, France, Italy and Ireland; in Angola, Chad, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe. He has helped terrorists in Guadeloupe, Martinique and New Caledonia; in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Nicaragua and Uruguay. A rather circuitous way to get at Israel.

### Bitter and Disturbing Truth

Syria's goals are similar. Yet terrorist attacks on Americans in Syrian-dominated Lebanon are invariably interpreted as a consequence of America's closeness to Israel. What is usually forgotten is that as many French nationals as Americans have been abducted and assassinated there, and that on the day 250 Marines were massacred in their barracks, 58 French peace-keeping troops were killed in a similar attack. Now, France has consistently supported the Arab line on the "Palestine problem"; has sold no arms to Israel for 20 years, while generously supplying Arab countries; has given Arab terrorists shelter and safe conduct; has recognized the PLO, allowing it to operate freely on its soil; and has befriended Syria. France's only crime was being part of the Western presence in Lebanon, a crime that outweighed all credits.

Why, then, do we keep hearing of the need to remedy the "root causes" of terrorism? The bitter and disturbing truth is that the search for such remedy is highly selective. No one seems interested in the "root causes" of European terrorism, despite its toll in American lives, morale and security, nor in the causes of the Sikh, Sri Lankan and Japanese phenomena. As in the 1930s, the world seems impelled to find reasons and rationalizations for political terrorism—a small step away from its justification—only when its victims are perceived to be exclusively Jews.

It is in this context that the raid on Libya, the expulsion of Libyan and Syrian diplomats from European capitals, and the

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It is in this context that the raid on Libya, the expulsion of Libyan and Syrian diplomats from European capitals, and the Tokyo declaration must be considered. For they signal for the first time the West's recognition that it is not a bystander but a target of terrorism, and that unless concerted diplomatic, political and economic—and, if necessary, military—measures against terror-sponsoring states are taken, it will remain terrorism's victim.

If this reflects a turning point, if the resolve will be lasting, anti-Western terrorism will disappear by the end of the decade. If, on the other hand, it is merely a fleeting spasm of uncharacteristic courage, terrorism will continue to dominate our lives for the foreseeable future.

*Mr. Bar-Illan is director of the Jonathan Institute, a private anti-terrorist foundation named after the Israeli who died commanding the 1976 raid on the air hijackers at Entebbe.*

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