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#### International Terrorism

May 1987

Background: International terrorism is a serious threat to the US and the world. The US is a prime target because our policies, values, and culture are directly opposed by many terrorist groups and because of our extensive official and commercial presence overseas. Israel, Western democracies, and moderate Arab governments also are major targets. State sponsorship of terrorist activity has caused great increases in both the number of attacks and the resulting casualties. From 1976 to 1986, more than 6,000 terrorist incidents occurred worldwide, leaving nearly 5,000 people dead and 8,000 wounded; American casualties totaled 391 dead and 552 injured.

1986 terrorist activity: In 1986, the total number of international terrorist incidents leveled off slightly, following increases of 30% in 1984 and 45% in 1985. Fewer than 750 incidents were recorded, compared to 785 in 1985. Fewer persons died in terrorist attacks last year (544 persons) than in 1985 (825), but it could easily have been otherwise. The FBI and the Canadian Government prevented Sikh terrorists from blowing up an Air India flight from New York to London last year. In April, an alert El Al guard discovered a bomb that a Syrian-backed terrorist tried to get aboard an El Al 747 flight from London to Tel Aviv that carried some 375 people, including more than 200 Americans. Had these two incidents succeeded, some 500 persons would have been killed, and 1986 would have been the bloodiest year on record for international terrorism. The narrow margin by which these acts were averted illustrates that our counter-terrorism efforts cannot be relaxed.

In Western Europe in 1986, incidents of international terrorism dropped 33% over 1985 (from 218 to 146 incidents), and Middle East "spillover" terrorism in Western Europe was down by about 50% (from 74 to 39 incidents). The US bombing of terrorist targets in Libya, as well as the expulsion of some 100 Libyan "diplomats" from European capitals and tighter security measures throughout Europe, contributed to the decline of international terrorism in Europe. Colonel Qadhafi's terrorist operations were clearly disrupted and his confidence shaken.

Although the number of incidents declined in Europe, they rose 31% in Latin America. For the first time in over a decade, Latin America experienced more international terrorism than Western Europe, making it the second ranking region, after the Middle East, for the largest number of international terrorist attacks.

Last year terrorists hit citizens or facilities of more than 80 nations. Only two international terrorist hijackings occurred, the lowest number recorded since we began compiling statistics in 1968.

Chief perpetrators: The most deadly terrorists operate in and from the Middle East. The two main categories are: militant Shi'a from various Arab countries, particularly Lebanon, who are inspired,

trained, and supported by Iran; and radical Palestinian elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), who often operate with the direct support of Libya, Syria, and Iran. Middle East "spillover" attacks in Western Europe are conducted by terrorist groups such as the Abu Nidal organization. Most terrorism in Europe is committed by leftist organizations such as the French Direct Action, the Italian Red Brigades, and the German Red Army Faction, and by ethnic groups such as Basque separatists. Many terrorist acts are directed at NATO facilities. In Latin America, terrorist tactics are used by local insurgencies that were spawned by social, political, and economic turmoil. Most terrorism there appears aimed at governments associated with the US and at US Government officials, facilities, and private businesses.

<u>US policy</u>: There are three main elements of the US counter-terrorism policy. <u>First</u>, we make no concessions to terrorists, nor do we ask or pressure any other government to do so. To make concessions would encourage more terrorism. President Reagan has firmly restated this policy in the wake of the Iran affair, and recent polls show that the policy is strongly supported by the American public.

Second, we work with other countries to put pressure on the nations that support terrorism to persuade them to cease such support. The Secretary of State has determined that five nations repeatedly support acts of international terrorism: Iran, Libya, Syria, Cuba, and South Yemen. These nations help terrorists by providing training, weapons, financing, travel and identification documents, diplomatic pouch privileges, safe houses, and refuge. The US, acting with friendly nations, seeks to isolate these countries from the community of civilized nations by imposing economic, political, diplomatic, and—if all else fails—military pressures.

Third, we cooperate with other countries in developing practical measures to counter terrorism. These measures include:

- Identifying the terrorists by name and learning their goals, ideologies, sponsors, and areas of operation;
- Tracking them, particularly when they cross borders, and searching them for forged documents, weapons, and dangerous materials;
- Apprehending, prosecuting, and punishing terrorists. Although more needs to be done in these areas, we are beginning to see results: more terrorists are being apprehended before they can carry out their attacks. Laws covering prosecution, exchange of evidence, and extradition are being applied more frequently to punish them.

US offers anti-terrorism training assistance to representatives of friendly governments trying to fight terrorism. More than 4,000 individuals have received such training since 1984. We also are working to provide more protection for American officials abroad and to make US embassies and facilities overseas more secure.

Because most terrorism originates and is carried out abroad, continued international cooperation is the key to future success in countering the terrorist threat, and a high priority is being given to improving this cooperation.

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## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

June 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ADMIRAL JAMES L. HOLLOWAY, THIRM

SUBJECT:

Program Review of the Vice President's Task

Force on Combatting Terrorism

Attached for your signature is the letter-report to the President on the program review of our terrorism policy. It is substantially unchanged from the draft you saw earlier. I would call your attention briefly to the third paragraph in which the reference to the "mistakes involved in our contacts with Iran" has been modified on the recommendation of Attorney General Meese.

The unclassified letter-report with the attached detailed evaluation of the recommendations (these evaluations are classified), is ready to be submitted to the President. I understand you are to do this in a meeting with the President tomorrow morning, June 2, 1987.

Subsequent to your signing and giving the President the full document, the unclassified portion will be released to the press and the entire package will be forwarded to the members of the Task Force, thus completing their work.

This will also substantially complete my work in the program review. I intend to continue for another few weeks to improve some procedural aspects of our response mechanism. Unless you believe there is more to be done, I would expect to end my consultant's role by the end of this month.

It has been a great honor and pleasure working for you again. I look forward to our next association.

Attachment Letter-Report to President w/enclosures

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BY CW NARA DATE 0/12/12

SENSITIVE



THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

June 2, 1987

The President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On March 4, 1987 you directed me to reconvene the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism to review our policy for combatting terrorism and to evaluate the effectiveness of our current program. That review has now been completed.

I am pleased to report that the Task Force has reaffirmed that our current policy as articulated in the Task Force report is sound, effective, and fully in accord with our democratic principles and national ideals of freedom, justice, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. That policy, however, needs re-emphasis and its provisions and purposes need careful explanation to the American people.

Americans must understand that our actions in preventing and responding to terrorism are part of a conscious policy and an integrated national program that was spelled out in detail in the report to you a year and a half ago. In following the policy and the program we have been effective in countering terrorism. Hence, our commitment to that policy has been, and will continue to be, beneficial. The mistakes involved in our contacts with Iran caused a temporary reduction in credibility which has been regained as our resolve has become apparent. Indeed, our programs of practical cooperation with friendly states -- intelligence sharing, training and assistance -- have expanded and grown stronger in recent months.

In this program review the Task Force has focused primarily on an item-by-item review of the effectiveness with which each of the Task Force recommendations have been implemented. Where any new concerns or issues emerged, they were examined in the review process.

Overall we have found progress has been excellent and the improvement in our counterterrorism capability has been evident in the results. Most of the taskings have been completed. Others of a continuing nature are being effectively

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managed. In a few cases -- usually requiring the cooperation of foreign governments -- our final objectives have not yet been attained, but the efforts of the Administration have been vigorous and sustained. These situations were not unanticipated.

A detailed evaluation of the effectiveness with which the original recommendations have been implemented is forwarded as a classified enclosure to this letter-report. When the remaining work noted in these evaluations is completed, our program will, in a technical sense, fulfill the resource requirements of our national policy.

Although this remarkable progress is praiseworthy, I must emphasize that our vulnerability to terrorism, though reduced, has not been eliminated. This is a critical point which must be conveyed to the American people. Democratic societies are by their nature more vulnerable to terrorism than others. As a practical matter, in the face of extensive worldwide international terrorist activity, the United States will certainly continue to be a principal target of terrorists. Because of the growing experience of the terrorists and the sophistication of their methods, human casualties and property losses to American citizens and US interests regrettably will continue to occur. When we suffer these losses at the hands of terrorists, we must be prepared to minimize the impact.

Except in the case of a catastrophe resulting from biological, chemical or nuclear terrorism, the gravest threat is the potential political impact: a short term crisis, reduced American credibility in the eyes of others, and an upsurge in activity by terrorists who believe they have succeeded.

We can minimize the political effects of a successful act of terrorism against the United States so that it will not upset or cast doubt on our process of government or our leadership. To do this we must emphasize at all levels of government that adherence to our policy, our program, and our procedures is most important. Only in this way, by demonstrating resolve and consistency in dealing with the threat, can the political impact be blunted.

Evidence has demonstrated that our policy for combatting terrorism has been effective when carried out with consistency and supported by the expanded resources we are devoting to it. According to the latest statistics for 1986, the year following the issuance of the Task Force Report, the number of Americans who died worldwide as the result of terrorist incidents declined to 12 from 38 in 1985. Also, working unilaterally or with friendly nations we took preemptive action in several hundred instances to stop possible terrorist





acts against Americans and American interests. Finally, of special note is that only one American was killed in the United States by terrorists in 1986 and that a dozen intended terrorist acts in the U.S. were avoided due to the efforts of our counterterrorist agencies.

We should also highlight our effective efforts to deal with state-sponsored terrorism. Although terrorist incidents had been increasing for several years, there was a noticeable drop in Mideast-related, state-sponsored, terrorism in Europe in the second half of last year. This resulted from our strike on Libya last April, the expulsion from Western Europe of Libyan "diplomats" and "businessmen", and increased surveillance and intelligence. These actions produced good effects, thus showing that carefully chosen military action combined with cooperation with our Allies can be beneficial. In concert with other nations we have also selectively applied diplomatic pressure to good effect. Tightened airport and travel security has also contributed to fewer hijackings and incidents.

The best approach to a terrorist incident is to prevent its occurrence. Hence, we and our friends and allies have devoted increased attention and resources to identifying, tracking, and apprehending terrorists, and through courageous judicial actions to effectively prosecuting, convicting and punishing the terrorists as the criminals they are. This quiet, unspectacular, but very effective, police and intelligence work combined with a determined judicial process has resulted in a significant decline in international terrorist incidents and an increase in the numbers of terrorists in custody around the world. These successes have been the direct result of a step-by-step application of our policy.

I am convinced that we are doing a better job in combatting the terrorism now than we were seventeen months ago when the Task Force submitted its report. I am equally convinced that we must do better. As we increase our efforts we as a nation should not exaggerate either the threat, or the limited damage that terrorists can do to us and to our society. To do so only plays into the terrorists' hands by increasing their political impact. We must, therefore, emphasize good intelligence, careful police work, international cooperation, judicial process, and a controlled approach to public handling of terrorist incidents. Only in this way can we stop and then extinguish this criminal menace to all civilized societies.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Enclosure: As Stated

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#### WITH SECRET/SENSITIVE ATTACHMENTS

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# OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

June 1, 1987

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDI

Meeting with: The President During the

NSC Issues Brief

Date: To

Tuesday, June 2, 1987

Time: Location: 9:30 a.m. Oval Office

From:

Don Gregg

Doug Menarchik

Kathleen Shanahan

Howard Baker - FYI.

BOB PEARSON:

Alder

Attached is FYI & for you

to pass to Mr. Carlucci.

@ 0930 tomorrow, 6/2/87

cyd R. Dawson for RR and

All yours to handle as you see fit. We have

VP will discuss w/RR

### I. PURPOSE

To present to the President the findings of Admiral Holloway's evaluation of U.S. terrorism policy.

#### II. BACKGROUND

Admiral Holloway reported to you recently on the Terrorism Task Force review. Secretary Shultz wanted the report published prior to the Venice Summit to add emphasis to the President's desire to include a strong statement in the Summit communique.

At the beginning of the NSC Issues meeting, you will present the President with the transmittal letter and the report. (You need to sign the transmittal letter at Tab 1.) Your letter sketches an outline of the major findings. After the photographer takes the picture for the historical record, Mr. Carlucci will take over the meeting.

OVP Press Office will release your cover memo later that day. The text of the letter is designed as a public document to outline the major findings.

#### III. PARTICIPANTS

Those who normally attend the NSC Issues meetings.

#### IV. PRESS PLAN

Staff photographer only.

### V. TALKING POINTS

Talking Points are on attached cards

#### TALKING POINTS -- FOR NSC ISSUES BRIEF WITH THE PRESIDENT

In March 1987, you directed me to reconvene the Task Force on Combatting Terrorism to review our policy for combatting terrorism and to evaluate the effectiveness of our current program. This is the completed report. The cover letter is designed as a public document to sketch the outlines of the Task Force's major findings:

Pleased to report the Task Force has reaffirmed our current policy for combatting terrorism is sound, effective, and fully in accord with our democratic principles and national ideals.

That policy needs reemphasis and explanation to the American people. When the policy and program have been followed, we have been effective in countering terrorism. Indeed, the mistakes involved in our contacts with Iran resulted from not following the policy.

## PRESIDENT DURING NSC ISSUES BRIEF (2)

Overall, we found progress has been excellent and improvement in our counterterrorism capability has been evident in the results.

- Most recommendations of the Task Force have been completed.
- In a few cases -- usually requiring the cooperation of foreign governments -- our final objectives have not yet been attained, but we're working on them. This was anticipated.

 $\mbox{Mr. President, our nation is well-served by our terrorism policy and program.} \label{eq:mr. President}$