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Series D. International Relations Activities. 1961-1992.

Box 73, Folder 8, Terrorism, 1977-1986, Undated.



# The American Jewish Committee

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July 12, 1985

The Honorable George Bush  
The Vice President  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Vice-President,

I hope this finds you and Mrs. Bush in good health.

Yesterday, I met with Ambassador Robert Oakley to discuss a proposal for a broad citizens conference on international terrorism. I think the time is ripe for developing a strong American constituency for such an undertaking.

I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of my letter to Bob Oakley.

From our past relationship, I hope you know that I am prepared to do everything possible to be of assistance to you and our Government in this critical area of foreign policy.

With warm personal good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

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THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1985

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department  
The American Jewish Committee  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thanks for your recent letter sharing your letter to Ambassador Oakley suggesting a White House Conference on international terrorism. I sincerely appreciate your recommendations and your willingness to lend your personal support.

As you know, the President has asked that I head a task force to review how our government can better combat terrorism and how we can better work with other governments in the fight against terrorism. The President has clearly stated this Administration's view that terrorism has no place in a civilized world. The goal of this task force, therefore, is to be certain that we are using every legal means at our disposal to combat this modern scourge.

Admiral James L. Holloway, III, the former Chief of Naval Operations, will be the Executive Director of this Presidentially-appointed Task Force on Terrorism. I have taken the liberty of sharing your letter with Admiral Holloway so that he can have the benefit of your recommendations. I can assure you that your suggestions will be given careful consideration.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*George Bush*  
George Bush

STATEMENT OF

ROBERT B. OAKLEY

DIRECTOR, OFFICE FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM  
AND EMERGENCY PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
AND  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

MAY 15, 1985

## INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

We are very pleased that the Committees on Foreign Relations and the Judiciary have found the time to hold joint hearings on the important subject of international terrorism. In order to be responsive to all the concerns raised in your letter of invitation and provide as complete a picture as possible this presentation is divided into four general topics, stated as the following questions:

1. What are the current trends in terrorism?
2. How is the USG organized to deal with the threat?
3. What unilateral actions can we realistically consider?
4. What have we been doing to increase international cooperation in this fight?

Trends: Rather than recite statistics in great detail, I believe it would be more useful to review the trends as we see them developing over the next few years.

--First, terrorism is likely to be a prominent factor on the international political landscape for the rest of this

century. Despite the intensified efforts we and other governments are undertaking, I believe it is essential to recognize that terrorism will not easily disappear. It will increasingly be a part of our daily lives for many reasons: a worldwide system of competitive arms sales makes weapons available more easily to terrorist groups, mass communications assure instantaneous publicity for terrorist acts, travel is becoming easier between different countries and border controls are diminishing, particularly in Europe. In addition, we should recognize that weapons of mass destruction as well as increasingly lethal conventional armaments have made regular warfare potentially too costly; and terrorism is therefore viewed by several countries as a cheap way to strike a blow at their enemies.

--Second, the problem for the US is likely to continue to be external to the US, not internal; and the threat against US interests abroad is likely to increase proportionately to the increase of total incidents.

Incidents within the US, especially externally-inspired terrorism, have been decreasing, together representing less than 1 % of the world total, because of the effective work of the FBI, generally tighter control at US points of entry and aversion by the American people to foreign inspired violence. The potential threat inside the US is real, but

our current efforts appear likely to keep it to a minimum. At the same time US citizens and US interests have been consistently the target of 30 - 35 % of worldwide terrorist attacks, although the percentage appears to have dropped in 1984 when there was a record number of incidents. Most other countries with a terrorist problem must deal largely with an internal threat--the PIRA in the United Kingdom, (M-19 in Colombia) or the Red Army Faction in the Federal Republic of Germany. Only a limited number of other countries--France, Turkey, Israel and Jordan--must consider serious internal and external threats.

--Third, terrorist attacks are likely to be increasingly violent. The number of casualties and fatalities has generally grown with the number of incidents. During both 1983 and 1984, the fatalities equalled approximately one third the number of casualties. If one looks at the tactical trends over the past ten years--seizing of Embassies and suicidal car bombs--actions which were previously unknown, we must recognize that there are likely to be further grotesque developments in the future.

--Fourth, a broader spectrum of citizens will be the victims of terrorist attacks. Prominent public figures will

remain the focus, but there may be more victims from non-official circles. Comparing the victims of terrorist attacks in 1984 with those in 1983, one can see that diplomats and military personnel are a declining share of the total, while businessmen, journalists and even clergymen are increasingly the targets of attacks.

--Fifth, there are a wide range of groups with separate interests involved in terrorist activities. Today we are dealing with groups such as the Red Army Faction in Germany, the radical Shiites in the Middle East, Shining Path in Peru and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia. Some groups such as the Shia have arrived on the scene recently, while others such as the Palestinians, ASALA and some of the leftists, separatists and anarchists in Europe have been around for a considerable period of time. Looking back to the scene in the United States fifteen years ago, we talked about violence by the Black Panthers, the Weather Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army. Just as these groups have disappeared from the terrorist scene, and in fact the nature of the threat in the US has changed, we must recognize that the groups and nations involved today in international terrorism could change in the coming years as a result of effective actions against them, new social conditions, changes in leadership, etc. We must remain



vigilant and take strong steps, but must also be careful to avoid overreacting and creating new generations of terrorists in response to perceptions of our actions.

--Sixth, open societies will remain the principal targets of terrorists, but no societies are immune. Open, and particularly democratic societies, are vulnerable to terrorism on the one hand because the terrorists might succeed more easily in bringing the democratic state to its knees, or on the other because overreactions by the democratic state to the threat could destroy the open nature of the society. We should recognize, however, that the means which are increasingly available to the opponents of democratic states are also available to the opponents of dictatorships. An example of this threat has emerged recently in Bulgaria where there were several attacks during recent months, probably committed by the minority Turkish population. During 1984 the Soviet Union ranked number 7 on the terrorist victim list. We must work to ensure that all states, regardless of their political systems, are aware that terrorism is a threat to all forms of organized society.

--Seventh, responses from governments to terrorist attacks will tend to ebb and flow with events. Shortly after the Beirut bombing of our Embassy, there was a great

outcry for action in the US which fostered the passage of the 1984 Act to Combat International Terrorism and other important provisions aimed at combatting terrorism. In London, following the shooting of the British policewoman from a window in the Libyan Embassy, there was a cry of outrage against Libyan terrorism. Similarly, in Europe after the discovery of collaboration among leftist terrorist groups and assassinations of prominent figures in France and Germany, there was a rash of cooperative measures among the European states. A few months later when we have tried to talk with the British about stronger joint actions against the Libyans or with the Europeans about strengthening cooperation, the normal bureaucratic reasons for inaction have again dominated the dialogues.

The Current International Terrorist Scene. Let's look in more detail at the international terrorist scene. The Middle East has become the primary source of international terrorism, accounting for about 35 % of the incidents. But international travel has permitted the export of Middle Eastern terrorism elsewhere. There are two main categories of Middle Eastern terrorists:

- first, fanatical Palestinians who have split off from the mainline PLO led by Arafat and often have direct support of Libya and Syria; and

- second, Shia zealots residing in many Arab countries, especially Lebanon, who are inspired, trained and often armed, financed and to varying degrees guided by Iran.

The targets of Middle East terrorism fall principally into four groups: Israel; Western governments and citizens, particularly France and the United States; moderate Arab governments and officials, including the mainline PLO as well as Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia; and critics of radical regimes, particularly Libyans, who are targetted by their own governments.

While the Middle East might be the source of most terrorism, Europe is the location of the largest number of incidents, ranging from 36 % to 53 % of the total during each of the past five years. Nearly 25 % of these incidents however, are of Middle Eastern origin. Indigenous European terrorists consist of:

- Elements of ethnic groups such as Corsicans, Basques, Croatians and Armenians which have been fighting for autonomy or to redress reputed grievances; in particular the Armenian groups which have waged a deadly and relentless campaign both

here in the U.S. and in Europe against Turkish interests in an effort to establish an Armenian state.

-- Leftist groups such as the Red Brigades in Italy, Direct Action in France, Red Army Faction in Germany, the CCC in Belgium, Grapo in Spain and November 17 in Greece.

-- Special note should be made of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, the PIRA, which is both ethnic and leftist. It is the most deadly of all European groups, having killed some 50 people in 1984. This group should be distinguished from the IRA of earlier days.

For many years these groups pursued their separate targets independent of each other, but a new phenomenon developed during late 1984 among some of the European leftist groups. Aside from an apparent increase in mutual logistical and propaganda support, groups in Germany, Belgium and France all attacked NATO-related targets over a period of several months. This resurgence accounted for most of the increase in the total number of incidents in Europe during the past year. There was a lull at the end of

the hunger strike by jailed terrorists in Germany, followed by a rash of incidents preceding the annual Summit meeting in Bonn. Experts expect that we will see similar outbreaks during future months.

Latin America is the third great center of terrorist incidents, accounting for approximately 20% of the events worldwide. Social, economic and political turmoil have served to prolong existing patterns of insurgency which have assumed terrorist dimensions in some countries, particularly Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Peru. While there is little spillover into Latin America from terrorism in the Middle East and Europe, Cuba and Nicaragua have continued to encourage and support terrorist activities in other countries with insurgency situations. In addition, Italian and possibly other leftist terrorists have found refuge in Nicaragua.

A new threat, narco-terrorism, has grown in Latin America during the past year. It is potentially dangerous because it combines drug criminals with political terrorists and guerrillas. In response to intense US pressure against drug bosses, traffickers have struck against US officials, US businessmen, and cooperating officials of their own countries. This problem has been most serious in Colombia.

A separate word should be added about state sponsorship of terrorist activities. Certain countries--most importantly Iran, Syria, Libya and Cuba--are increasingly important factors in global terrorism. Iran has become the major culprit, aiming to further its goals of establishing fundamentalist Shiite regimes, patterned after its own, elsewhere in the Muslim World and reducing at the same time US influence. In 1983 there were about 50 attacks which could be tied to Iran; in 1984 about 60 attacks. France and the US are the main Iranian targets. Evidence of increasing Iranian terrorism includes active recruiting and training of Muslims from the Persian Gulf, Africa and Asia and the apprehension of operatives recently in Spain, France, and Italy.

The Libyans appear to have been involved in about 25 incidents last year, up from previous years. Most Libyan terrorism is directed at Libyan residents in other countries who are opponents of President Qadhafi. Other incidents include the mining of the Red Sea and plots against President Mubarak of Egypt and the leaders of Jordan, Sudan and Tunisia.

Several terrorist attacks against Jordanian targets in Jordan and Europe during the past year are undoubtedly the

responses of the Syrian Government to the diplomatic moves of King Hussein, particularly in relation to the PLO. Damascus seems to use surrogate radical Palestinian groups to carry out these attacks.

What is the U.S. policy? This background makes it clear that a tremendous effort is required merely to hold one's own, much less put an end to international terrorism, and that this effort must be international, not merely one by our government. No matter what our commitment and capability may be, we cannot succeed alone when the threat originates abroad and strikes abroad where other governments necessarily have the major responsibility.

U.S. policy is direct. We will make no concessions to terrorists. We pay no ransoms nor permit releases of prisoners nor agree to other acts which might encourage additional terrorism. We make no changes in U.S. policy because of terrorists' threats or acts. If U.S. personnel are taken hostage or endangered, we are prepared to consider a broad range of actions appropriate to the threat. We encourage other governments to take similar strong stands against terrorism. Finally, we are determined to act in a strong manner against terrorists without surrendering our basic freedoms or endangering our democratic principles.

Organization of the US Government to Counter Terrorism.

In our country, the leadership of President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz with the strong support of Congress are providing both the means and the political will to combat terrorism. This leadership and congressional support needs to be continued, with no diminution of will, priority or resources by either the Executive or Legislative Branches. Even with such a sustained USG commitment, unless and until other governments are willing and able to make the same commitment, the unfavorable trend experienced last year cannot be reversed. Without this international cooperative effort, the terrorists and those behind them will continue to be successful, which will encourage others to utilize terrorism to achieve their own political and ideological goals.

In NSDD 30 the President designated the Department of State with the lead interagency role in combatting terrorism outside the United States. The Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism (IG/T), chaired by State, provides the forum for the major departments and agencies involved in combatting terrorism to meet regularly and share ideas, draw conclusions and make recommendations on policy and programs. The permanent members include the Vice President's Office, the NSC, Justice (which has interagency



responsibility for domestic terrorism), the FBI, DEA, Treasury, Defense and the JCS, Energy, the CIA and the FAA. Other agencies are invited when there is an agenda item of direct interest to them. The IG/T provides a single point where the various departments and agencies can address questions and make proposals. The conclusions and recommendations of the IG/T which cannot be implemented at the level of the IG/T participants are forwarded to the NSC for further action.

There are four officially established working groups of the IG/T: Technical Support (and R & D), Exercises, Training Assistance and Public Diplomacy. The Technical Support Group, co-chaired by the Departments of Defense and Energy and including representatives of all agencies doing R & D work in counter-terrorism, provides a forum for the exchange of information and the establishment of priorities through specialized subgroups. The Exercise Committee focuses on crisis management exercises which involve interagency coordination as well as cooperation with other governments. The Training Assistance Group has members from State, DOD, CIA and DEA as appropriate. Its role is to ensure that there is no duplication of effort in USG training programs in participating countries. The Public Diplomacy Group with representatives from State, USIS, the

FBI and DOD is a new effort to coordinate, systematize and improve ongoing efforts by several agencies to increase public understanding of the threat of terrorism and the importance of intensive efforts to resist the threat.

We have strong leadership at the State Department in the struggle to oppose terrorism and improve security preparedness abroad. The Secretary of State has this subject very much on his mind and makes it clear in his daily meetings on security that it must also be on the minds of everyone else at State. He does the same for our ambassadors and diplomatic personnel abroad. He is leading a government-wide effort to promote international awareness and cooperation to address the common threat and convince other governments to work closely with us to counter, deter and eventually end terrorism.

Under Secretary for Management Ron Spiers oversees and coordinates all this activity for the Secretary of State. Organizationally, the chain of command is clear. Reporting to the Under Secretary are the Office of Security--which is primarily responsible for the physical security for our people and facilities overseas, and the Office for Counter-terrorism and Emergency Planning--which is primarily responsible for designing measures to fight terrorism and promoting cooperation with other countries against terrorism.

The Office for Counter-terrorism and Emergency Planning, known in the bureaucracy as M/CTP, deals with the problems of international terrorism from two levels: first, in its coordinating role within the Department of State, and second in its similar role as head of the Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism. The responsibilities of M/CTP as spelled out to the Inman Commission in October 1984 include:

- 1) To develop and recommend policies to deal with terrorism and to represent the Department of State in interdepartmental considerations on this subject.
- 2) To conduct liaison with other governments on international terrorism policy.
- 3) To receive and review all intelligence materials from the intelligence agencies pertaining to terrorist threats and to take action as appropriate.
- 4) To work with the Director of INR to ensure improved collection, coordination of assessments and full utilization of intelligence community resources.

- 5) To ensure that terrorism alerts are provided on a timely basis to overseas posts, to approve all such alerts, and to monitor embassy responses to such alerts.
  
- 6) To work with the Assistant Secretary for Administration and the Deputy for Security in setting physical security policies and practices relevant to terrorist threats, including coordination with other government agencies.
  
- 7) To ensure the adequacy of embassy Emergency Action Plans.

Coordination Within the US Government. The IG/T and its working groups provide a formal framework for coordination within the US Government. There are other actions we have taken recently to augment coordination in other areas. We have promoted closer collaboration between US military and civilian authorities overseas. We have opened channels of communication about threats or incidents between embassies and military posts overseas and initiated steps to increase coordination of the emergency planning functions between the embassies and the US military command units with local responsibility.

Most importantly, we have also improved intelligence coordination on terrorist subjects. Within the US, several members of the intelligence community have established 24-hour watches on international terrorism. State's watch center includes the latest communications equipment for sharing information with the other watch centers. We are computerizing the information on terrorists for easier access. We have created a special caption on State Department telegraphic messages to speed up distribution of all traffic to all interested offices in the USG. Finally, we have established a coordinated inter-agency system for the preparation and transmission of threat alerts to posts overseas.

A sound structure exists within the State Department and through its role as head of the IG/T to ensure effective coordination of our activities to combat terrorism outside the United States. The IG/T offers not only a formal mechanism for coordination through its periodic meetings and the activities of its working groups, but also the important informal ties which permit easy communications at the time of a crisis. The IG/T, however, is a policy body, not a structure for crisis management. Each member has separate interests and responsibilities and becomes involved in a crisis depending upon the circumstances. Just as the State

Department is only rarely involved in incidents within the US, the FBI is rarely involved in incidents overseas. The FAA only becomes involved in hijacking incidents, etc. Generally for terrorist incidents which occur outside the US, State, Defense, the NSC and the CIA are the principal participants.

Let us examine in more detail what happens when a terrorist incident occurs overseas and how the coordinating mechanisms operate. When a serious incident occurs, such as a bombing, a hijacking or armed attack, the 24-hour watch centers of the interested agencies alert the interested offices within their agencies. If the incident occurs at night, the watch would alert the duty officers for these offices who would make additional alerts within their offices. If the incident seemed sufficiently serious, the heads of separate offices in the State Department in consultation with each other might request the establishment of a Task Force within State's Operations Center to monitor developments, establish contact with other agencies and posts overseas and coordinate all State Department actions. Such Task Forces were set up recently in connection with the September 20 bombing of our Embassy in Beirut, the hijacking of the Kuwait Airlines flight to Iran and the escape of Jeremy Levin from his captors in Lebanon. The position as

head of Task Forces is generally shared by M/CTP and the responsible regional bureau in the Department. Such Task Forces can be set up quickly and be operational as soon as the first participants show up in the Operations Center. The other agencies might constitute their own working groups as appropriate during the early hours of a crisis. The working groups or task forces of the separate agencies continue their internal coordinated watches for the duration of a crisis.

The first inter-agency contact might occur shortly after the incident has broken. It is generally in the form of a phone conversation between members of the IG/T who would assess the situation and note the actions that their departments are considering. Each department has its separate responsibilities and its separate assets which contingency planners automatically begin considering at the outset of an incident. The Defense Department might look at US units in the area and our capability for a military response, while the State Department considers host government efforts to deal with the crisis, the threat to Americans in the area and liaison with families of victims and the press. For most incidents, coordination can be handled through regular phone conversations between IG/T members from State, Defense and the other involved

agencies. Questions about the deployment of force to resolve a crisis might be discussed informally at first among the IG/T members and followed up at meetings organized through the National Security Council, but approval for any action comes from the highest levels of each agency and the White House.

What actions are we taking or considering in the fight against terrorism? Any discussion of actions against terrorists brings to mind Secretary Shultz's statement of October 25, 1984, when he said that "Our responses should go beyond passive defense to consider means of active prevention, preemption and retaliation. Our goal must be to prevent and deter future terrorist acts." We should not look upon these words as a definition of how we might respond to each future terrorist incident, but rather as opening further the range of actions for consideration in the fight against terrorism. Unlike the FBI in its role as the lead agency for domestic terrorism, we do not have the same jurisdiction to take action overseas. While use of force presents one variation of such additional activities, we should recognize that there are other active measures, covert and overt, which should be included as options. The statement serves as a warning to terrorists and their supporters that we have the will and ability to act. As in



all conflict situations, there are a wide range of actions short of all-out warfare which might resolve problems. I would like to turn to an exploration of these possible actions, dividing them into two categories: actions we might take unilaterally and actions we might take along with other countries.

Unilateral Actions. There are a number of actions the United States has taken and has been considering on a unilateral basis to deal with the international terrorist threat. They range from strictly defensive protective measures to our military capabilities.

--First, improving physical security at embassies and missions around the world has the highest priority. Using existing resources plus those made available already, as well as those additional resources being requested by the Security Supplementals of FY 1985, the Department has acted to reinforce the buildings, upgrade security equipment, and augment guard forces at the most highly threatened posts around the world.

--Second, we are upgrading the emergency planning capabilities at every embassy. Each post is required to prepare an "Emergency Action Plan" for any threats or

emergencies it might face. These plans are updated every two years. Each embassy has an Emergency Action Committee which is responsible for managing terrorist incidents and coordinating security precautions among separate USG agencies within the country. Just as the military tests its capacity to respond to a crisis through a series of exercises, we have begun a similar program to test the ability of our embassies. Using a compressed time series and a program designed for the problems of the post, a visiting team simulates a hijacking, a bombing or an assault on the embassy. This program which began in 1983 will test the capabilities of about two dozen of our embassies in high threat areas during 1985.

--Third, we are sensitizing employees to the dangers posed by international terrorism. As noted previously, the Secretary has demonstrated a personal interest in changing the mentality of the Foreign Service regarding terrorism. This is demonstrated by daily meetings on terrorism and security issues when he is in Washington and his inspection of posts overseas upon arrival in a foreign country. We offer seminars on countering terrorism to all USG employees going overseas, and require all State Department employees to participate in these seminars.

--Fourth, we are seeking to increase cooperation with American businesses operating overseas. The Threat Analysis Group of the Office of Security in Washington and the Regional Security Officers at posts overseas encourage contact with the private sector on security issues. The Secretary announced in February the formation of the Overseas Security Advisory Council where public sector and private sector officials will meet to exchange information on security issues and make recommendations for closer operational cooperation.

--Fifth, we have promoted legislation within our country which strengthens our defenses, implements our international obligations under anti-terrorism conventions, and provides stricter punishment for perpetrators of terrorist acts. During the 1984 session, Congress passed the Security Supplemental which appropriated additional funds for enhanced security programs, for our exercise program and for a new program to pay money as rewards for information on terrorists. The Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984 included provisions against murder-for-hire and other areas which have assisted in the anti-terrorist fight. Other legislation implemented the Montreal Convention against aircraft sabotage and the UN Convention against taking hostages. We examined the possibilities for major new

legislative initiatives for the 1985 session and concluded that no such initiatives were called for at this time. We recognize the importance of close cooperation with the legislative branch and will be looking continuously for new areas for collaboration.

--Sixth, controlling trade with states which are supporters of terrorism. Pursuant to its authority to control the export of defense articles and defense services under Section 38 of the Arms Export Control Act, the State Department, as a matter of policy, does not permit such exports to any of the five countries -- Cuba, Libya, Syria, Iran and South Yemen -- designated as states which support terrorism under Section 6(i) of the Export Administration Act. The Export Administration Act aims at restricting the export of goods or technology which would make a significant contribution to the military potential or would enhance the terrorist support capabilities of the designated states. Other trade controls against terrorist states are difficult to establish because exporters would oppose them, viewing the controls as a form of harassment which would cost them sales and encourage countries to turn to other suppliers.

--Seventh, we seek to exercise controls over the travel to the US by suspected terrorists and the movement of

diplomats from states which support terrorists. We are able to prevent the issuance of a visa or the admittance at the port of US entry of suspected terrorists through the worldwide visa lookout system which contains an applicant's name with a special indicator code noting what further action is necessary. For government employees and certain other categories of citizens from Libya, Iran and Cuba who seek to enter the US, a request for an advisory opinion is forwarded to Washington, which results in a complex series of name checks and eventually an instruction to the post of inquiry. Time and geographic restrictions on travel within the US can be written into the visa for officials of such countries who must travel to the US, for example, for business at the UN.

--Eighth, better intelligence is clearly one of the most important keys to a more effective counter-terrorism strategy. But terrorism poses a special kind of challenge in terms of both collection and analysis. To be useful, it must be acted upon. Thus there is often a hard choice to make between concealing our sources and taking advantage of our knowledge. We have put more emphasis on collecting intelligence of terrorism by all agencies operating overseas. Good intelligence will give us the advance warnings of pending attacks, information about movements of

suspected terrorists and the ability to preempt an attack by such means as obstructing the route of the attacker or moving the target to another location.

--Ninth, we are prepared to provide supplementary personnel for embassy staffs at the time of an incident. For an on-going incident, we have the ability to dispatch an additional security officer, intelligence officer or specialist on psychology of terrorists or hijackings. We also can dispatch teams composed of intelligence and military experts to the site of an incident to support our embassy or the efforts of a local government to deal with a problem.

--Tenth, we have the capability to act militarily at the time of a severe crisis when it is determined that important US national interests are at stake. Under Secretary Ikle has provided some information about our capabilities in this area, but I am sure the committee understands much of this information is very sensitive.

These steps represent a wide range of areas for action which we have taken or are capable of taking. In consideration of the more active options, there is an inherent dilemma for a superpower in responding to terrorist

threats and attacks through force. On the one hand we must be willing to consider the whole range of options--and be perceived by terrorists and their supporters as an effective opponent--if we are ever to deal successfully with the problem, but on the other hand we must weigh carefully the consequences of our actions. Effective action requires good intelligence about the terrorists and where they might be. We must consider the likelihood of success of our action and balance it against the costs of failure, the threat to innocent victims and the possible public outcry against our actions. We must examine the moral implications of our action, as well as relevant domestic and international legal considerations. If we do not have the support of the host government for our military action, we must weigh the likely reactions of our allies--whose bases we might have used for the operation--and any response from our adversaries in terms of additional advantages they might seize on a global level or in the state where we have acted.

Selecting the appropriate response to each terrorist act raises many questions. We should not consider it a sign of weakness that a terrorist act might occur without a US military response. We must remember that we are a superpower with global interests and responsibilities and we must recognize that in many cases the disadvantages of

military action from the global perspective might outweigh the advantages. This does not mean that we are either unable or unwilling to act forcefully, but rather that in most circumstances other sorts of actions might be more appropriate than a military response. Israel is frequently cited as a nation which knows how to deal effectively with terrorists, but even key Israeli anti-terrorist experts have acknowledged publicly that use of force cannot, by itself, solve the terrorist problem. The US policy and practice is to consider as broad a range of measures as possible, not to rely too heavily on any single one. In considering this range of actions we must look beyond what we might be prepared to do unilaterally to deal with the threat to what we might do in concert with other states.

Multilateral and Bilateral Actions. Common action against terrorism should be considered in both the multilateral and the bilateral context. Looking first at the possibilities for multilateral actions, there are two types: universal actions generally under the auspices of the United Nations and those actions by small groups of like-minded states working together.

There are several examples of global treaties covering terrorist issues. The Hague Convention on aircraft



hijacking mandates severe penalties for the seizure or attempted seizure of an aircraft in flight and requires extradition of the hijacker or submission of the case for prosecution. The Montreal Convention on aircraft sabotage creates similar obligations regarding acts which endanger the safety of an aircraft in flight. There are also separate UN conventions covering murder, kidnapping and other attacks against diplomats, and the taking of hostages. The obligations under these conventions are again generally similar to those of the Hague Convention.

The existing international conventions are important because of the moral force they offer, but their effectiveness is at present severely limited by the lack of viable enforcement mechanisms. One can recognize instantly that these conventions have not halted hijackings, crimes against diplomats or hostage taking. Some nations have not acceded to the conventions, others may have done so only with reservations, and still others refrain from honoring the agreements they ratified. The present international environment creates special difficulties for international agreement on any subject. International discussions such as those at the UN and its specialized agencies have frequently become bogged down in peripheral issues and special interests such as the participation of certain states and

groups in the meeting. Despite possible problems, we must recognize the moral force of these conventions, work toward their effective implementation, and be on the lookout for new areas for international cooperation.

Agreements among smaller numbers of like-minded states generally present greater opportunities for cooperation at present than international conventions. During recent years the US has looked to the Summit Seven industrial states for closer cooperative measures against terrorism. Terrorism has been a topic of discussion among the Summit Seven leaders, the Foreign Ministers and the experts group specially established to consider counter-terrorism initiatives. Following the Summit sessions there have frequently been communiqués condemning terrorism and providing direction for further areas of cooperation. Special attention has been given at the Summits to aircraft hijacking, specifically through the Bonn Declaration of 1978, which provides for concerted sanctions against states that fail to take appropriate legal action against hijackers. The Bonn Declaration led to sanctions against Ariana Afghan Airlines in 1982. During 1985 one of the Summit topics was the ties between narcotics traffickers and terrorists.

Developing effective cooperative measures even among like-minded states such as the Summit Seven present numerous difficulties. Some states are unwilling to share information in a multilateral forum that they might be willing to share bilaterally. Each state faces a different sort of terrorist problem and naturally thinks in terms of its own interests when dealing with others. There is, however, a general consensus among the Seven to seek systematized bilateral cooperation in such a way to have the practical effects similar to those of a collective approach but avoiding the major obstacles faced by global initiatives. The US will continue to pursue closer cooperation in the framework of the Summit Seven, look for other possible initiatives among other like-minded groups of states and consider new UN-related initiatives, but we believe that the best possibilities at present for cooperation lie with closer bilateral ties.

Bilateral Efforts. Bilateral cooperation overcomes many of the problems inherent in multilateral efforts. Dealing with single countries and specific areas of cooperation, we have been able to work out understandings that we have not been able to reach when a broader number of countries have sought to work together. We are pursuing such bilateral initiatives with the goal of eventually building them into a

framework of multi-state bilateral cooperation. As could be expected we are able to work most closely with countries which are our closest allies.

We have been pursuing closer bilateral cooperation through a number of channels. Collaboration to combat terrorism is regularly an agenda item for discussion with high level visitors to the U.S. and for senior American officials travelling abroad. Inter-agency delegations of experts have visited foreign capitals for in-depth bilateral talks with their counterparts on the many aspects of the anti-terrorist struggle, ranging from better intelligence and better physical security to more effective anti-hijacking measures and how to close legal loopholes. One delegation composed of public and private sector representatives has visited key Middle Eastern and South Asian air centers to discuss better airport security. Each Embassy has been instructed to follow up on these visits and pursue other measures which will lead to closer cooperation.

Better intelligence is a key to more effective action against terrorism. We must be prepared to consider sharing information and analyses with other governments since the biggest threat to our interests occurs outside the US where we must look to others as the first line of action.

Intelligence can be shared more candidly and usefully on a bilateral basis than through any multilateral forum. Specific areas for intelligence cooperation in dealing with terrorism include: agreeing to a higher priority on terrorism between the services, sharing data on incidents, suspected terrorists and the movements of terrorist groups, and conducting immediate consultations at the time of an incident.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

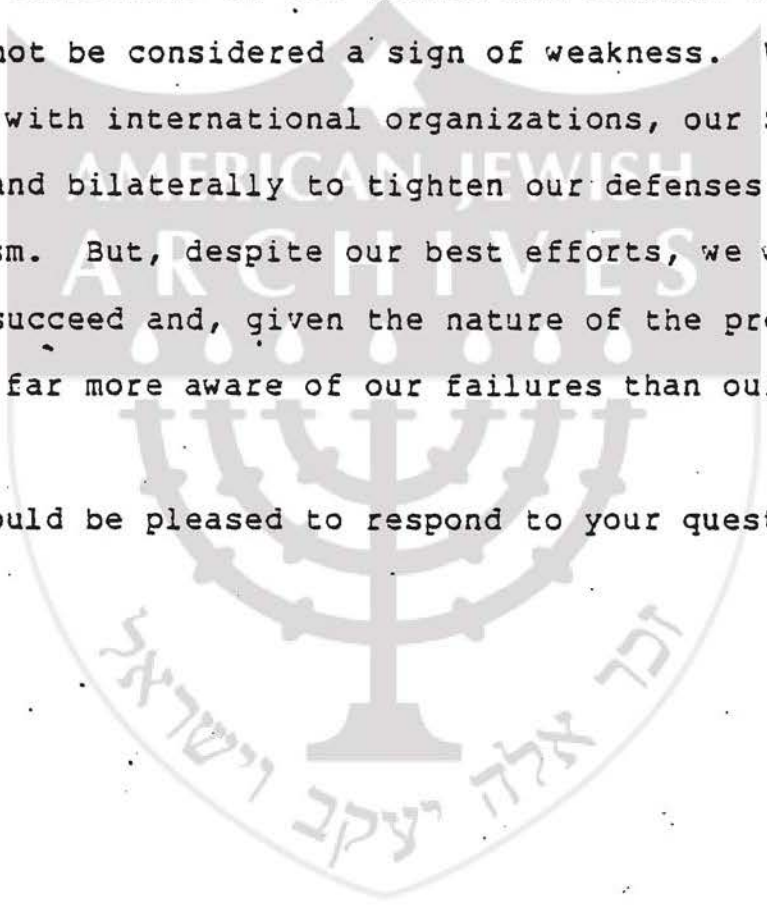
The Anti-terrorism Assistance Program has provided the U.S. Government with a vehicle to train and exchange experiences with friendly foreign governments on the practical aspects of counterterrorism. The legislation establishing the program has enabled the State Department to provide this important assistance to the same civilian forces which must carry the brunt of the fight against terrorists and the protection of our business, diplomatic, and military installations and personnel. Since the program began in April 1984, we established active exchange and training programs with 20 foreign governments in all areas of the world. By the end of 1985, we expect at least 7 additional governments to those already participating. There will be a total of perhaps 1000 foreign officials who will have participated in the program by the end of the year from countries as diverse as Italy, Egypt, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras and Colombia.

There are other areas for bilateral and possibly multilateral cooperation currently under consideration. We are looking at mutual ways which we might penalize and deter states which are sponsors of terrorism. Before proceeding in this area, there must be an agreement about which states support terrorism and a plan to convince local economic interests of the importance of possible trade restrictions. We are talking about measures to counter the misuse of diplomatic privileges, but we must recognize that any steps which we take to monitor diplomatic shipments more intrusively could work against our interests because acts we take could be reciprocated by others. We are discussing joint measures to provide better protection for diplomatic missions. In this area we generally receive more support from foreign governments in protecting our missions than we can provide because of the separate policing responsibilities in various American cities.

To recapitulate, the terrorist threat will be with us for the foreseeable future. The main threat to Americans will come overseas, particularly in the Middle East, Latin America and Europe. The US Government is well organized and coordinated to meet this threat and we have clear policy guidelines. We appreciate the strong support of the Congress in this area. To counter the threat, we have

available to us a broad spectrum of action, ranging from defensive measures to deterrents and punishment. But the possible cost of superpower action in this arena must be carefully weighed against the potential benefits. Each case must be considered on its merits and failure to act or react should not be considered a sign of weakness. We are working closely with international organizations, our Summit Seven allies and bilaterally to tighten our defenses and deter terrorism. But, despite our best efforts, we will not always succeed and, given the nature of the problem, you will be far more aware of our failures than our successes.

I would be pleased to respond to your questions.





# ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS  
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

## RESPONDING TO THE TERRORIST ATTACKS IN ROME AND VIENNA

(Press Summary -- January 10, 1985)

Ever since the simultaneous terror attacks on the El Al check-in counters at the Rome and Vienna airports, there has been intense speculation in the Israeli press as to how, when and against whom Israel -- and possibly the U.S. -- would retaliate. Responsibility for the attacks has been laid squarely on the Abu Nidal PLO splinter group and on Libya, Iran and Syria for their support roles.

Speculation has been focused entirely on the possibility of strikes against Libya -- the roles of Iran and of Syria being conveniently forgotten. This selective vision seems to highlight the predominance of Israel's strategic interests over the tactical concerns of fighting Palestinian terrorism. The continuation of the indecisive see-saw war between Iraq and Iran has been of great strategic benefit to Israel, which would seem to be sufficient reason for Israel not to wish to upset that balance by a tactical strike against Iran for punitive reasons. The Syrian placement of anti-aircraft missiles in and around Lebanon and the prospect of that development setting off major fighting on the Syrian front also militated against a punitive anti-terrorist strike against Syria. The simultaneous upsurge in terrorist rocket firing into Israel from Syrian-controlled areas of the Lebanese Beka'a valley complicated those considerations, however. Media comment and speculation, mirroring the debates going on in Israel's defense and political communities, thus focused on Libya and the Abu Nidal terrorist organization directly responsible for the recent terrorist outrages.

Davar's Yossi Melman (January 3) analyzes the makeup of the Abu Nidal gang. "The group numbers only several score active members and several hundred supporters and dormant agents. In that lies its strength. It excels in secrecy, and compartmentalization and operates in cells of two to three operatives. Abu Nidal has built his group on clear conspiratorial lines, and very few of its members have ever met their leader. He also had tried, to the best of his ability, to preserve his group's anonymity and, with few exceptions, has not given interviews to the media... Due to his organization's control of scholarship funds donated by the government of Iraq, and today by Libya, Abu Nidal has succeeded in attracting a relatively large number of students to his ranks. He has such student support in Spain, and it came as no surprise that the first announcement of the attack in Rome was given to Radio Malaga.



"Abu Nidal is 49 and has had two heart attacks, the first in 1979. At that time, he apparently succeeded in infiltrating into London under an assumed identity and underwent an operation in a private hospital, even though he bragged in a recent interview that the operation had been performed in the U.S. His second heart attack was a year and a half ago; at that time there were rumors that he had died. A reliable source told me that 'from Israel's point of view it makes no difference if Sabri al-Banna [Abu Nidal's real name] is alive or dead.'

"As opposed to assumptions that are widespread in Israel, his is not a one-man organization. Even if al-Banna does not head the organization it may be assumed that it will continue to exist. It has a permanent infrastructure with branches in several Arab capitals -- Damascus, Baghdad, Tripoli, Beirut -- and in Europe."

Ron Ben-Yishai, writing in Yediot Aharonot (January 3) says: "...Abu Nidal and his organization are not the sole, nor the most dangerous representatives of Palestinian terror in the international arena. Arafat has indeed announced some time ago in Cairo that he has decided to abandon international terror, for practical reasons. Even if we accept his words at face value, and go on to assume that the organizations that remain loyal to him are actually carrying out his orders, that still leaves ten or eleven independent Palestinian terror organizations who at this very moment are preparing murderous attacks against some Jewish or Israeli target somewhere in the world.

"Arafat's Fatah [the largest constituent guerrilla organization of the PLO] employs thousands of people, and there is no difficulty in targeting his training bases and headquarters for the purpose of attack. But the small, clandestine, organizations are another story. Most of them have no headquarters or organized training bases, and it is nearly impossible to establish contact with them.

"That is the reason why the usefulness of a retaliatory military strike against Abu Nidal may well prove to be very dubious indeed. It is very doubtful whether such a military operation against a target in Syria or Libya would cause any harm to the murderer or his men. On the other hand, it may well involve us in an escalation with Syria, or upset the delicate balance of terror we have established with the Libyans in the Mediterranean. The Libyans have sufficient resources and madness to threaten ingoing and outgoing flights to and from Israel and all shipping throughout the Mediterranean."

Hirsh Goodman, writing in The Jerusalem Post (January 3) asserts: "The only way to fight terror is to hit it where it is weakest, and to weaken it where it has strength. This requires the employment of all the methods outlined by Premier Peres in the Knesset; but perhaps most important of all, it requires recognition of the fact that methods unpalatable to democracies, such as assassination and tampering with diplomatic mails, are essential weapons in this war. Just as states shelve certain democratic principles during a war, and it is clearly

understood that killing, capturing or wounding the enemy's forces is essential for victory, so wiping out the operational echelons of terrorism is essential if the phenomenon is to be controlled...

"When in the early 1970's, Israel was the chief victim of terror and Israeli institutions around the world became targets for terrorists, it was reported abroad that Israel had launched just such a campaign against Black September. The world press said that almost any method was regarded as legitimate by the Israeli security organizations.

"Within a few months some 40 key operatives of Black September and other terror organizations were blown up when they started their cars in Paris or answered their telephones in hotel rooms in Athens. Those who were not killed were forced to withdraw into hiding. A great deal of this was attributed by foreign experts to the Israel security services. In the same period the IDF hit relentlessly at terrorist training camps and operational bases. Within a few more months Black September ceased to exist."

Ha'aretz (January 3) traces the successes and failures of Israel's armed and clandestine forces in their three decades of war against terrorism. In the 1950's, IDF attacks against Jordanian bases from which terrorist attacks were launched against Israel failed to put an end to terrorism either from that direction or from the Egyptian-occupied Gaza Strip. What the retaliatory raids failed to accomplish was finally done by the defeat of the Egyptians in a full-scale war in the Sinai Campaign of 1956.

Similarly, after the Six Day War of 1967, army raids against PLO bases in Jordan failed to do the trick. PLO terrorism from Jordan was only put down by a full-scale military operation to wipe them out -- this time carried out by the Jordanian Army.

As terrorism developed from the PLO's new bases in Lebanon and the new phenomenon of the hijacking of passenger planes grew, the initial Israeli reaction of army raids against Beirut airport and PLO bases in Lebanon did not put an end to terrorism. The quiet anti-terrorist operations of Israel's clandestine security forces more or less did put an end to this new form of Palestinian terrorism, after about ten years.

"The general lesson to be learned from all these cases is that a regular army can operate effectively against terrorism only when the terrorist forces operate out of territorial concentrations which make them a convenient target...Thus, the PLO's military force in Lebanon could be broken by the IDF, when it sought to take to the field as an organized military force armed with heavy weapons...But we failed in the Lebanon War, which was planned to achieve similar goals to that of the Sinai Campaign, i.e., to put an end to the PLO's existence as a terrorist organization.

"To the contrary, the PLO's defeat in Lebanon served to encourage its splinter groups, who from the outset doubted the wisdom of Arafat's attempt to turn it into a regular army, to break away and renew the

method of international terror. There is good reason to assume that the PLO's formal leadership will also decide to return to this older method, as shown by the murders in Larnaca [Cyprus] and the hijacking of the [Italian cruise] ship Achille Lauro.

"If this is a realistic prognosis, it would be well if we were not tempted again to use our full military power. There are many ways to fight terrorism. As long as the terror organizations succeed in maintaining an infrastructure throughout Europe which gives gangs freedom of movement without fear of being caught by European police and security forces...[and] as long as they can be supplied with forged passports, arms and explosives, and hiding places, and at times, with direct assistance from local revolutionary organizations which are sympathetic to the Palestinian cause...military operations alone, be they as impressive as they may, will only succeed in causing them limited harm."

Commenting on the delay in Israeli responses to the Syrian missile movements and to the acts of terrorism in Rome and Vienna, Davar's Haggai Eshed writes (January 3): "Israel is now recharging her batteries which were drained during the war in Lebanon -- batteries of renewed national consensus and of renewed international support for Israel's right to self-defense. If a new military or political confrontation will be imposed on Israel, she will face it less internally divided and externally isolated than in the past."

"The recharging of the batteries derives primarily from the disappointment of King Hussein and President Mubarak and in their intentions or their ability to act in accordance with them to respond to Israel's outstretched hand. This sense of disappointment derives from an Israeli and international consensus that the short period in which Shimon Peres is serving as prime minister constitutes, perhaps, the last chance for starting up the Middle East peace process again. If this chance is missed Israel will not be the accused but the accuser..."

"In addition to the disappointment, there is also a sense of outrage against Arab and Shi'ite terrorism and against the support extended them by Libya, Syria, Iran and the others. That terror is aimed not only at Israel, as the Austrians and Italians have just now learned on their own flesh and in their own airports, just as the Egyptians learned in Malta and the Americans with the Achille Lauro. They have all fallen victim to Arab terrorism."

"Everyone now expects Israel to do the dangerous and unpleasant work for them...At the moment, all the Western victims of Arab terrorism want Israel to be the stick and hit hard, but only against Libya and Abu Nidal's people and not against Syria or the PLO. This is the special Western expectation of Israel: to serve as a stick against Libya and Abu Nidal and a carrot towards Assad and Arafat. These latter two are still perceived in the West as possible partners in a future peace process, on their own terms, after they have refused to accept the American and Israeli terms."

"It doesn't pay for Israel to serve as such a stick and carrot for the U.S. and the countries of Western Europe. It would be better for Israel to tell these countries 'after you' or at least 'together with you,' but not 'follow me' or 'instead of you.' Israel should serve as a catalyst for a coordinated campaign against Arab terrorism and its supporters, and against those countries who provide its launch points and safe harbors."

Press commentators were also critical of European acquiescence to terrorists and the Arab states which support them. Jordan and Egypt were also chided for their "dangerous flirtation with PLO terror organizations." (Davar, January 3)

[Edited by Harry Milkman]

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# CONTEMPORARY MIDEAST BACKGROUNDER

to:

date:

November 3, 1985.

## Focal Points

BACKGROUNDER NO. 219

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE ACHILLE LAURO AFFAIR\*

by Yoram Eytan-Ettinger

**T**HE FACT THAT terrorism by the Palestine Liberation Organization is now in the headlines should not obscure the more significant fact that this branch of terrorism has not been an isolated phenomenon in the Mideast.

Rather, it has demonstrated the role of violence as an inherent political norm adopted by Moslem regimes in dealing with their internal and inter-Arab affairs; for instance, the centuries-old bloodshed in Lebanon, the ongoing civil wars in Sudan and Iraq, the oppression of the Sunni majority in Syria and of the Shiite minority in Saudi Arabia, the frequent internal clashes in northern Jordan, the Iraq-Iran war and some 20 other inter-Moslem ongoing conflicts.

In fact, no Arab regime ascends to power without the use of violence, no one retains power without the use of state-sponsored internal terrorism and oppression, and none is losing power if not for the more skillful use of violence by one of the numerous opposition groups.

More significantly, the fact the Western media have only recently paid attention to the role of terrorism in Mideast politics should not lead one to conclude that terrorism is a recent phenomenon representing a contemporary failure.

Actually, terrorism is an institutionalized factor in Mideast politics with deep historical roots, which are not attributed to any Western political incompetence. The first political assassination to take place in Islam was that of the Caliph Ali, the fourth caliph, who was murdered in 661 A.D. Recently, the phenomenon of terrorism has been reinforced by political activists in the Moslem countries, rejecting the cumbersome process of politics in favor of violence and terror as the preferred means for the attainment of their political aims. The impact of Islamic zeal, having its roots in the 7th century, has exacerbated terrorism by introducing to the Middle East frenzied people who would go to the very end in order to realize their goals.

The challenge facing Western societies — including the United States and Israel — is not to reform centuries-old Mideast politics plagued by instability, inconsistency, oppression, murder and terrorism. The challenge facing the West is to curb the attempt by some elements in the Mideast — backed by the Soviets and/or driven by hatred toward the Western order — to export terrorism to non-Moslem lands.

The leadership assumed by the United States in that endeavor is a most encouraging message sent to those who dare face terrorism on the battlefield. However, while the United States has limited itself, so far, to the tactic of

Eytan-Ettinger is consul general of Israel in Houston. From 1976 until his arrival here in August, he was editor of the Contemporary Mideast Backgrounder, a Jerusalem-based biweekly on contemporary inter-Arab politics and U.S. interests in the Middle East published by the government of Israel and distributed to policy-makers in the West.

attempting to stop terrorist receivers before they score a devastating touchdown (intercepting the Egyptian plane which transported PLO terrorists). Israel has been determined to sack the quarterback of terrorism before he makes the explosive pass (i.e. hitting PLO headquarters).

One may suggest that, in comparison with the uproar in the United States over the killing of one American, the Israeli reaction to daily terrorism dating back to the pre-1948 era has been quite restrained and reasonable.

In fact, the Israeli experience in defense against terrorism — considering the impact of the Ayatollah Khomeini, Syrian President Hafez Assad and Libya's Moammar Khadafi, and noting West European reluctance to fight terrorism — has been quite successful in mitigating the damage of that inherent feature of Mideast politics. Thus pre-1948 Palestinian terrorism by far exceeded that of post-1948; the pre-1967 PLO terrorism was more effective than post-1967, and the pre-1982 much more dangerous than the post-1982 PLO terrorism.

One may assume that a PLO-controlled Beirut and southern Lebanon — accommodating training camps for various international terrorist groups — would have caused an anti-Western wave of terrorism dwarfing the Achille Lauro affair.

The more assertive posture assumed recently by the United States has been, among other reasons, the result of a clearer definition of terrorism and terrorists. That definition was obscured by a successful psychological warfare launched by Moscow and Mideast terrorists which succeeded in undermining Western resilience to fight terrorism. They pursued their goal by blurring the distinction between the terrorist and his victim and between terrorism and retaliation against terrorism.

In the aftermath of the Achille Lauro affair it has been established that contrary to soldiers who focus on military targets (with a reasonable and unintended human error), terrorists focus on civilians. Moreover, terrorists hit irrelevant civilian targets, such as an Italian ship with non-Israelis aboard, hijacking and using them to undermine the morale

**Media  
Analysis  
Center**

\*This article appeared in the Houston Chronicle, Sunday 27.10.1985.

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and unity of the Western democracies.

The clearer definition of "who is a terrorist" is an essential step toward the identification of those elements perpetrating the problem of terrorism and those who provide and advance the solution to terrorism. As it is in other battlefield situations, the problem has to be eliminated, or severely neutralized, if a solution is to be achieved.

The semantic battle over "who is a hijacker" and "who is a terrorist" reflects, in fact, the role of rhetoric, and of misleading rhetoric, in the formulation of Mideast politics.

A fundamental guideline to Mideast politics, cherished by friendly and hostile regimes alike, has been that "on words one does not pay customs." Mideast rhetoric may attempt to present the Achille Lauro affair as an exception. However, let me suggest that the affair sheds much light on the rule that advanced U.S. weaponry in the hands of Arab regimes serves inter-Arab concerns rather than — and usually at the expense of — U.S. interests (e.g. Saudi financing of Damascus' military purchases from Moscow; Saudi pressure on Lebanon and Jordan to refrain from engaging in a U.S.-sponsored political dialogue with Israel, etc.). At the same time, it is the strategic association with the United States (the closer the better) which lies at the foundation of Israel's national security.

The predominance of inter-Arab concerns in the shaping of Arab policy has been recently demonstrated by the continued diplomatic association of King Hussein with the PLO, the engineer of the Achille-Lauro-affair. The king's continued insistence on the inclusion of the PLO and other perpetrators of terrorism in the peace process, as a precondition for his own participation, reinforces the notion that Hussein continues to seek security through identification with the Arab consensus — a consensus which condemned Anwar Sadat's approach to peace, and is therefore at variance with peace itself. Should the king renounce that policy, he may conclude that Israeli attempts at clipping the wings of PLO terrorism may just neutralize one more obstacle on the long road to peace.

In fact, the Israeli operation against the PLO's nerve center outside the Tunisian capital may have provided Hussein an alibi to put off the pressure exerted upon him by Arab regimes to readmit PLO headquarters into Jordan. Should the king yield to the pressure, it may re-enact the scenario leading to the "Black September 1970" eruption, to the detriment of peace and stability.

A major ally of Jordan, Iraq, has escaped media scrutiny in the Achille Lauro affair, although it has been Baghdad which has all along supported the terrorist group of Mohammad Abul Abbas. Iraq, which was recently taken off the U.S. State Department's list of countries protecting terrorism, has controlled Abbas all along, and has supported him

militarily, politically and financially. It has also provided a diplomatic passport to the executor of the hijacking of the Achille Lauro and many more vicious acts of terror. Such an Iraqi policy on the side of the terrorist has been consistent with Baghdad becoming a major military and political center for PLO activities.

While the focus of the current Western campaign against terrorism is Abbas, the overseer of Abbas' operations has been Yasser Arafat, the terrorist who has harnessed diplomacy and Western loopholes to the service of terrorism.

Arafat's association with Abbas reached a climax in November 1984 when the former personally appointed the Iraqi stooge to the PLO's Executive Council. On Sept. 5, Arafat was the keynote speaker at the seventh annual conference of Abbas' terror organization. Arafat's own weekly also published an interview with Abbas, decorating it with a picture of Arafat embracing his diligent follower.

The interrelationship among Arafat, Abul Abbas, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, international and Mideast terrorism and the Achille Lauro affair may suggest that things are not as simple as they seem to be when observed out of context. The more one dwells on the complex context of the Middle East, the more one realizes that there are no simple solutions; the more one may get discouraged and divorced from the fancies of wishful thinking; the more one is in touch with reality.

M.T.

7.25.85

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# Test on Terrorism

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**T**HREE ISRAELIS have been sentenced to life imprisonment and 12 others to terms ranging up to 10 years for acts of terror against West Bank Arabs. The 15 had been convicted of a range of offenses including murder by machine gun, the attempted assassination of three Palestinian mayors and a hideous plot to blow up one of Islam's holiest shrines, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

Israel had, fairly, reaped much credit for finally applying the law to the terror network that the authorities had allowed to develop among Jewish settlers on the West Bank. The case of the 15, however, is now moving back from the courts toward the political arena. Moves are afoot among the criminals' many and fervent supporters to gain clemency by legislative action and to press the head of state, President Chaim Herzog, for pardons.

In the battle against Arab terrorism Israel has been generally successful, having managed in circumstances difficult beyond most Americans' imagining to live a normal national life, and to do so while still preserving Israel as a free society. In recent years, however, Israelis have been tormented by the spectacle of a strain of Jewish terrorism too.

Unfortunately, the deputy prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, spoke for many when he described the 15 convicts as "excellent people who made a mistake." The way to ensure that there will be no more Jewish underground, he said, was to free the 15. How can Israel imprison 15 of its own, others add, when it has just yielded up 1,150 convicted Arab terrorists in a trade for three Israeli POWs?

The Israelis will have to make their own choice. On it, they know, rests a fateful question of the definition of their society. On it also rests a question of the reputation of their society.

Israel's claim to a special kinship with the West arises from the fact that, unlike any Arab nation, it shares the democracies' professed reliance on the sanctity of the law. This is the basis on which Israel comes to the United States and other countries and asks for a partnership against all forms of the international crime of terrorism.

This claim puts upon Israel the painful requirement of showing that its aversion to terrorism extends to Jewish conduct as well as Arab conduct. The judicial system has worked its will on the 15 terrorists, and now it is the political system's turn.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 10/16/85

FROM: GEORGE E. GRUEN

TO:  KENNETH BANDLER  
 DAVID GELLER  
 DAVID HARRIS  
 ALLAN KAGEDAN  
 JACOB KOVADLOFF  
 SIDNEY LISKOFKY  
 MARC TANENBAUM

For approval  
 For your information  
 Please handle  
 Read and return  
 Returned as requested  
 Please telephone me  
 Your comments, please

REMARKS:

*I gave original, with  
attachments, to Shula who is  
putting together stuff for Howard's  
speech. I asked her to pass the  
original text on to Howard. I hope  
she will.*

*George*



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date**      October 16, 1985  
**to**         Howard I. Friedman  
**from**      George Gruen  
**subject**    Your NEC Speech on Combatting Terrorism

On September 9, 1985, the International Relations Commission approved in principle the recommendation of Marc Tanenbaum that AJC help the Reagan Administration build a constituency in support of effective counteraction to international terrorism among key segments of American citizenry. This might include our participation in either a White House or National Citizens Conference on international terrorism. Vice President Bush has welcomed our suggestion and passed it along to Admiral James L. Holloway III, the former Chief of Naval Operations, who has been named the Executive Director of the President's Task Force on Terrorism. (See attached correspondence).

Since both Marc and David Gordis are away at present, I am not aware that any concrete decisions regarding implementation have yet been made by either the Administration or AJC. If there is something specific to announce, your NEC speech would appear to be a good place to do it. In any case a general reference to our contacts with the Administration and expression of our readiness to cooperate in fighting the scourge of international terrorism would surely be appropriate.

The need to win broadbased citizen support for active measures against terrorism was a major theme of Secretary Shultz's speech of October 25, 1984. In the aftermath of the murder of Leon Klinghoffer on the Achille Lauro and the earlier murder of Robert Stethem by the hijackers of the TWA flight, there now seems finally to be a popular mood in the U.S. to act firmly against terrorists and their supporters. When Shultz spoke last year there was, as you will recall, still considerable debate over what is an acceptable price in terms of civilian casualties. I strongly urge you to read my attached summary of Shultz's speech and the controversy which I prepared for the forthcoming American Jewish Year Book. You may wish to incorporate a few of the specific quotes from Shultz, his deputy Kenneth Dam, the late Henry Jackson, and Vice President Bush which are appropriate in making the following points, which have been highlighted by the latest terrorist incidents:

1. Terrorism is an international phenomenon, terrorists cross borders and cooperate. Therefore the response must be international cooperation of all civilized nations.
2. Capitulating to terrorist demands only invites additional acts of kidnapping and terrorist intimidation.
3. Reducing our support for Israel will not end terrorism or bring peace. On the contrary, it is the clear evidence of unshakeable U.S. support for Israel that finally convinced Sadat and apparently is convincing Hussein that they do not have a military option and that the only way they can achieve their (legitimate) demands is through negotiation.

4. The recent upsurge in terrorist activity may paradoxically be a good sign in that in the past whenever there were real hopes for progress toward peace, the rejectionists stepped up their terrorist campaigns in order to derail the peace process by intimidating and even assassinating potential Palestinian and other participants in peace negotiations.
5. The U.S. must not deviate from its position that only those Palestinians who accept Israel's right to exist and support UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338 have any right to participate in the peace process.
6. Arafat can not wave both an olive branch and a revolver. He and the part of the PLO he still controls must explicitly and irrevocably give up "armed struggle" (terrorism) before they are fit partners in the peace process. To recognize Arafat and the PLO before they change does a disservice to the peace process and will undermine Hussein's position as a key negotiator.
7. The recent terrorist acts on the Achille Lauro and in Cyprus and Barcelona discredit Arafat: If he ordered them -- as he did in the past when he secretly set up Black September terrorist operations, then he is a terrorist and his peaceful intentions are a lie. If, on the other hand, he can not control the terrorist operations of even those elements in the fragmented PLO who are ostensibly loyal to him,

then of what value is Arafat's approval of peace? If he can't commit and deliver substantial elements of the Palestinian people, then why should the U.S. or Israel or even Hussein have any confidence in him?

8. The PLO has been cooperating with the Soviet Union and other terrorist groups to undermine American interests in Latin America as well as the Middle East. (See Shultz quote, p. 38.)
9. We must firmly reject the moral relativism that says "one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter." Shultz insisted that "terrorist means discredit their ends" and quoted Senator Henry Jackson's powerful rebuttal. (For quote see p. 39.) I would add to Jackson's list: "Freedom fighters don't shoot (kill) paralyzed tourists in wheel chairs; terrorist murderers do."
10. The civilized nations were only able to eradicate piracy once they stopped encouraging individual "privateers" to wreck havoc on their enemies, and began to realize that their enemies would do the same against them. By analogy, Britain must realize that it cannot expect to have a successful policy against IRA terrorism, if it closes its eyes to PLO terrorism, and Italy cannot successfully fight the Red Brigades if it falsely assumes that Italy will be immune to Palestinian terrorist attacks by closing its eyes to the PLO links with other terrorist groups. Piracy was eradicated when all civilized maritime nations finally agreed that none of them would give sanctuary to pirates and that piracy was defined as a crime against all nations,

giving every nation the right and obligation to pursue, prosecute, convict and execute pirates irrespective of where they were caught, even on the high seas beyond the territorial waters of any individual state.



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*M. Tamburini, D. Harris, R. Dabach  
J. Russo*

# The Miami Herald

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## Fighting Terrorism

**A**FTER YEARS of official hand-wringing and blustering rhetoric over the threat of terrorism, measures to prevent and to cope with it are finally and appropriately moving to center stage of the U.S. political arena.

A Presidential task force on terrorism urges a new emphasis on infiltrating terrorist groups, offering rewards of up to \$1 million for information, and setting standards to determine whether a military response is appropriate. International terrorism is now recognized as a form of warfare, but the U.S. Government remains properly wary of retaliation that might, in Vice President Bush's words, "wantonly destroy human life."

Similarly, the task force's recommendation to impose the death penalty on terrorists who kill their hostages requires analysis. It may offer some protection for hostages, but it must also define terrorist and terrorism in a manner consistent with U.S. foreign policy on human rights.

As Vice President Bush made his presentation, the House Foreign Affairs Committee was endorsing a \$4.4-billion bill to improve U.S. embassies' security and to establish the State Department's first Bureau of Diplomatic Security. The bill is being pushed by Florida Rep. Dan Mica, who served on the commission.

The measure calls for the rebuilding or remodeling of 79 embassies and 175 other U.S. buildings abroad that are deemed vulnerable to terrorist attack. In some instances the estimated costs of construction — \$38 million in Bulgaria, \$40 million in the Ivory Coast, \$57

International terrorism is now recognized as a form of warfare, but the U.S. Government remains properly wary of retaliation that might, in Vice President Bush's words, "wantonly destroy human life."

million in Colombia — appear inexplicably high. The bill also provides for badly needed security training for embassy staff and families, and it authorizes boards of inquiry to establish responsibility when breaches of security occur.

House Democratic leaders say that Mr. Mica's bill will become part of an omnibus anti-terrorism bill to be voted on within the next two weeks. The omnibus measure also includes provisos to establish a list of 10-most-wanted terrorists and to provide funds for improved security at domestic airports, ports, and other public facilities.

Even as these measures finally get their deserved political attention, the sad reality remains that terrorism is likely to continue — and to spread to the United States. Coping with that possibility will be made easier by taking timely steps to limit the damage.

FROM THE DESK OF.....  
HOWARD KOHR

*HW*

To: Marc Tanenbaum



For your information

Howard

Please call & discuss-

## PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE

on

### TERRORISM AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A FREE PRESS

Proposed Date: Thursday, November 7, 1985

Now that the Beirut hostage crisis has been "resolved" we can begin to assess some of the damage inflicted on Israel's public image and on the prestige of the United States. Both have suffered as a result of the vacillation of the Administration in the face of a deliberate outrage perpetrated by Shi'ite terrorists.

Americans are more vulnerable than ever to terrorist attacks. Terror has (despite Reagan's bluster) been openly rewarded. The Beirut hijacking affair is a clear signal to foreign terrorists to take American hostages as a means of leverage upon whatever U.S. ally they wish to intimidate: Israel, Columbia, France, El Salvador etc. Even Denmark has recently been the target of such vicious "leverage attacks". The Beirut formula has been tested and found quite rewarding. Terrorists need only successfully capture a civilian airliner, a U.S. embassy, or any other institution or conveyance where American citizens are concentrated. Next, the terrorists demand that the U.S. pressure their "puppet" to meet whatever demand the hijackers care to make. If the United States refuses the demand, U.S. media pressure can then be brought on the target government to "help" its ally by capitulating to terrorist demands. If the target government declines to "cooperate" in this manner, they can be more easily tarred as "intransigent" and even "anti-American".

Of course, if both governments cave in to the terrorists, the terrorists win an important propaganda victory, the morale of democratic nations is further undermined, and the stage is set for another round of terror/capitulation/ and more terror.

Critical to the success of this terrorist strategy is the free world press, especially the American press. For the American press really sets the standard to which other free world journalists aspire. Foreign journalists can have few inhibitions about providing news coverage to terrorists at the expense of the United States, when they observe the unrestrained coverage given to our enemies by American network reporters.



It is imperative that the public understand the active assistance rendered to terrorists by the kind of news coverage that characterized the Beirut hijacking. It is important that they understand:

1. Irresponsible news coverage of terrorist attacks threatens the lives of all Americans living or traveling overseas.
2. Terrorist incidents where hostages are at risk is not an appropriate occasion for a public debate of foreign policy issues surrounding the incident. In the case of the Beirut hijacking, the US media undertook to "examine" Israel's Lebanon policy and give the hijackers more than "equal time" to air their anti-Israel propaganda. Israel was at an extreme disadvantage, even more than usual, inasmuch as it was restrained by events from joining any discussion in public for fear of endangering the hostages. Israel's silence was interpreted by many Americans (at the connivance of the networks) as evidence of her guilt and of the truth of terrorist propaganda.
3. It is possible for a free press to cover terrorist incidents without the carnival atmosphere we have come to accept in the US. An appropriate model for the sort of coverage we need can be found, for example, in the BBC.

PROPOSAL: A seminar on terrorism and the responsibilities of a free press.

The purpose of the conference would be to involve representatives of the media, the government, and authorities on the problem of terrorism in a public discussion of the rights and responsibilities of the media in providing coverage of an incident in progress. Participants would review recent network coverage of terrorist incidents such as the Iran hostage crisis and the Beirut hijacking with a view towards determining whether the public is best served by such coverage, whether the coverage was objective, fair, and accurate by accepted standards of journalism. The seminar might also include a discussion of the press relations practices of government agencies, including the Department of State, during the terrorist incidents under consideration.

PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR NOVEMBER 7 CONFERENCE

- 8:30 AM Registration and coffee
- 9:00 AM Opening Remarks: Yonah Alexander and Hosts  
Keynote Address *Amb. Oakley or Perhaps Fred Friendly*
- 9:45 AM Panel I NETWORK COVERAGE OF THE BEIRUT HOSTAGE-TAKING;  
THE LIMITS OF OBJECTIVITY
- Panelists: Prof. William Adams, George Washington University. A Substantive Analysis of American Media Coverage of the Hijacking of TWA Flight 847
- Tom Brokaw, NBC. The Viewpoint of American Reporters
- Third Panelist (Possibly a representative of the BBC). Alternative Forms of Crisis Coverage
- Fourth Panelist Tom Shales, Washington Post TV Critic
- 11:30 Break for Lunch
- Luncheon Address: Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu. Foreign Policy and Terror--The Impact of Media
- 1:30 Panel II GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO TERRORISM; MEDIA ACCESS
- Panelists: Bernard Kalb, U.S. Department of State  
Roy Cline, Georgetown University, CSIS  
Charles Glass, ABC
- Fourth Panelist (Possibly Dean of the Columbia School of Journalism or M. Stanton Evans)
- 2:45 Coffee Break
- 3:00 PM Panel III RIGHT TO KNOW VS. THE DUTY TO PROTECT
- Panelists: Charles Krauthammer, Senior Editor New Republic  
Ted Kopel, ABC
- Third Panelist (possibly Sam Zagoria, Washington Post ombudsman or Professor David Sidersky)
- 4:30 PM Concluding Remarks: Possibly Arnaud de Borchgrave
- 5:00 PM Cocktails -- Reception
- 6:00 PM Dinner
- Speaker: George Will

BUDGET FOR NOVEMBER 7th CONFERENCE ON MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY

HONORARIA	@ \$500 each.....	\$7,000 (approx.)
ROOM RENTAL		\$300 - \$500
LUNCH FOR 100 PARTICIPANTS		\$2000 (approx.)
DINNER FOR 100 PARTICIPANTS		\$3000 (approx.)
TAXES, GRATUITIES AND MISC. CATERING EXPENSES		\$1100 (approx.)
PUBLICITY		\$2000 +
INVITATIONS		\$400 - \$500
COORDINATION AND OVERHEAD		\$3000
PUBLICATION OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS		\$10,000
TOTAL		<u>\$28,800 - \$29,200 +</u>



LYNNE IANNIELLO  
Director, Communications

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tel Aviv, Israel....Americans face terrorism within the United States as well as overseas, Justin J. Finger, director of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, warned today.

Addressing an International Conference on World Terrorism at Tel Aviv University in Israel, Mr. Finger said American terrorism has taken "a surprising turn."

According to the ADL official, the techniques of right and left-wing extremists in the U.S. have crossed ideological boundaries so that the types of crimes now committed by each are practically indistinguishable.

"For the first time in this century," Mr. Finger said, "hard liners of the right wing and the hate movements -- the merchants of neo-Nazi racism and religious bigotry -- have attempted to launch a violent political revolution against the American government."

In the past, Mr. Finger went on, "right wing extremists loudly advocated patriotism and law and order. Now they label the U.S. government 'ZOG -- Zionist Occupation Government' and proclaim that their actions constitute the first stage of a revolution to overthrow it." He cited as being among their recent actions -- bank robberies, counterfeiting operations, holdups of armored vehicles, a synagogue bombing and at least one assassination.

The conference, held July 1-4, was organized by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at the University. In addition to discussing terrorism in the United States, other sessions dealt with all aspects of the problem around the world.

The ADL official told the participants that while terrorism in the U.S. is "fortunately relatively limited," revolutionaries of the right and left have stockpiled weapons and explosives. The violent activities of both groups have resulted in the death of law enforcement officers in the line of duty, both have fabricated false identities, established safe houses and recruited new members in prisons.

"Both extremist wings would destroy the American government and the American Constitution," he declared, "and replace them with a totalitarian system. Both are elitists who claim a monopoly on truth and the right to impose their version of truth on the majority. Both are sworn enemies of the State of Israel -- and of Jews who support it."

Mr. Finger told of a "Declaration of War" issued by right wing terrorists on November 25, 1984.

"We," they wrote, "from this day forward declare that we no longer consider the regime in Washington to be a valid and lawful representative of all Aryans who refuse to submit to the coercion and subtle tyranny placed upon us by Tel Aviv and their lackeys in Washington. Let friend and foe alike be made aware. This is war!"

The declaration, Mr. Finger said, went on to threaten the hanging of members of Congress and to designate as targets for killing federal agents, police officers, journalists, judges, bankers and businessmen considered unfriendly to their cause.

He noted the gunning down of Alan Berg, a radio talk show host in Denver, CO, who had verbally attacked Ku Klux Klansmen and neo-Nazis on his program. Mr. Berg, who was Jewish, was shot some 30 times with a .45 caliber automatic weapon outside his home.

Among the right wing groups named by Mr. Finger were The Order (which has been implicated in the Berg killing), the Posse Comitatus and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord.

"Paradoxically," Mr. Finger noted, "this phenomenon of right wing terrorism has arisen at a time of decline in the strength and influence of American's traditional extreme right hate movement."

He cited the declining numbers of hard core members and sympathizers in both the Klan and Nazi groups in the U.S. as well as a crisis in leadership and a growing fragmentation.

"While today's right wing terrorists, like those of the left," Mr. Finger said, "can rob, murder or bomb, they have little prospect of gaining political power or respectability."

Nevertheless, he concluded, "they pose a challenge to law enforcement authorities, requiring expertise and alertness. As with lawless extremists throughout the world, the innocent people they kill are very dead."

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**TERRORIST MURDERERS STRIKE AGAIN**

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**Israel Indicates It Will Retaliate**

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**Reagan Calls For Elimination Of 'Evil Of Terrorism' But Also Urges Restraint**

By Gil Sedan (Jerusalem), Hugh Orgel (Tel Aviv)  
Reinhard Engel (Vienna) and Lisa Palmieri-Billig (Rome)

Dec. 29 (JTA) — Israel indicated today it will retaliate for the terrorist attacks on El Al passenger facilities at the Rome and Vienna airports Friday morning at a time and place and by means of its own choosing. The Cabinet heard a detailed report today on the attacks by young Palestinian gunmen which, at the latest count, took 18 lives and wounded over 110 persons. The dead included five Americans, at least one Israeli, and four of the seven killers. The death toll among the severely wounded is expected to rise.

Premier Shimon Peres read the Cabinet the message he received from President Reagan yesterday, calling the apparently coordinated and indiscriminate attacks, aimed against Israel in the two European capitals, "another example of the evil of terrorism that we must all work to eliminate."

"Such acts must be condemned and the perpetrators brought to justice," Reagan said in his message from his California ranch. He added, in what appeared to be a call for restraint, "We must not allow terrorists to deter us from pursuing our goal of a lasting peace." The President may have been referring not only to the airport attacks but to the apparently worsening situation between Israel and Syria since the Syrians deployed SAM-2 surface-to-air missiles near the Lebanese border.

There was no general discussion of the airport attacks by the Cabinet today. A senior source at the Prime Minister's Office said later that the government was still trying to determine the identity of the terrorist organization involved. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said today that maximum damage must be inflicted on the leaders of terrorist organizations and those who organize terrorist attacks.

**All Possible Means To Fight Terrorists**

Addressing a United Jewish Appeal delegation in Jerusalem, Rabin said Israel would respond to terrorist attacks in the most efficient manner possible. He said the assaults on civilians at the Rome and Vienna airports should make clear to the world the kind of terror Israeli citizens face daily from Lebanon and in the occupied territories.

Rabin urged the United Nations Security Council to take effective steps against countries that support terrorists.

Peres said in an earlier statement that anyone who justifies terror must be made to understand that terror will also strike back at him. "The Israeli government will defend its citizens at home and throughout the world and will continue to use all the means possible to fight terrorists," he said. He called on "the nations of the world to organize against all forms of terrorism."

Foreign Ministry spokesman Avi Pazner said in a prepared statement, "I think that Israel should remind those countries which harbor either offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization, or representatives of the PLO to expel them immediately because the PLO will always be a base and a center of terror against Israelis."

In October, Israel Air Force jets bombed the PLO base near Tunis, allegedly in retaliation for the murders of three Israelis aboard a yacht in Larnaca, Cyprus, over Yom Kippur. Israel has taken a dim view of Jordan's allowing elements of the PLO political branch to set up shop in Amman but there have been no overt threats to attack the PLO there.

Peres today praised the authorities in Rome and Vienna for their prompt reaction to the attacks. Four of the seven gunmen were killed, three in Rome and one in Vienna. Three were wounded and hospitalized, two in Vienna and one in Rome.

The attack at Rome's Leonardo Da Vinci Airport took place at about 9 a.m. Friday local time and the one at Schwechat Airport in Vienna about the same time. Apparently they were coordinated and organized by the same terrorist group. The dead in Rome included five Americans, among them an 11-year-old girl, Natasha Sofia Simpson, daughter of the Associated Press correspondent there. Also killed were three Greeks, an Italian, an Algerian and two Mexicans.

The Vienna dead were an Austrian and an Israeli, the latter identified as Elly Jana. Two other Israelis with the same family name were among the wounded.

Three of the four terrorists in Rome were killed by Italian police and reportedly, an El Al security man. The fourth Palestinian, reported in serious condition at Celio Military Hospital, was identified as Mohammed Saram, 19. He told police he was born in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in west Beirut, scene of the 1982 massacre of Palestinians by the Israel-supported Lebanese Christian Phalange militia.

**Children Were Terrorists' Target**

A note was found in Saram's pocket indicating that the terrorists intended specifically to kill children. It said: "We are martyrs of Palestine. Our actions will continue and we will also hit your children." He was dragged off by Rome police, in part to protect him from airport crowds who almost lynched him.

The assault in Rome, with automatic rifles and hand grenades, was aimed at the El Al waiting area. The

wounded included six El Al employees and one passenger, identified as Abraham Pinhassi. One employee, Nir Cohen, was reported in serious condition. The others, reported improving, are Rami Nagar, manager of the check-in counter, Gideon Novak, Simon Cohen, Yatzhak Spishinski and Ricki Rosenzweig.

Pope John Paul II was one of the first to condemn the attack. A Vatican statement said the Pontiff "deeply deplores this act of bloodshed that offends the human and Christian conscience ... and the barbaric use of violence." Other statements of condemnation were issued by the Israel Embassy in Rome and the Union of Italian Jewish communities.

In Israel, Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy, a leading figure in Likud, said Friday that Israel would strike back at the terrorists "wherever they may be." These "beasts know no borders and we will hit them too," he said.

Rabin observed Friday, after news of the attacks reached Israel, that it was ironic that the terrorists struck in two countries whose leader or former leader, Premier Bettino Craxi of Italy and ex-Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria, had publicly supported the Palestinian cause and urged that the Palestine Liberation Organization be included in the Middle East peace process.

They naively believed that the PLO could be partners in the peace process, Rabin told a meeting in Tel Aviv of the Industrial and Commercial Club. He said he was convinced the Rome and Vienna attacks were launched "in the context of efforts made by all the PLO terrorist organizations to carry out increased terrorist attacks against targets in Israel and Israeli targets abroad."

He noted that the latest attacks coincided with the 21st anniversary of the first PLO El Fatah attack on Israel. "We are fully aware and prepared against any future attacks that might be increased in the coming weeks," he said.

Transport Minister Haim Corfu of Likud accused the Italian government of having acted in the past "with great forgiveness" toward terrorists. His reference obviously was to Italy allowing Abu Abbas, alleged mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking in October, to leave Italy for Yugoslavia after he was captured and placed in the hands of Italian authorities.

#### Italy Denies Any Laxity

The Italian Foreign Ministry released a statement to the media that was seen as an indirect reply to the allegations by Israeli officials that Italy was lax in allowing terrorists to escape.

The statement denied any laxity and added that while Italy has "always firmly condemned all terrorism" and the latest acts "make the solution of the Palestinian problem still more difficult, it is the firm conviction of the Italian government that these terrorist acts must not impede the search for a just peace in the Middle East."

Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini said in an interview published in Rome yesterday that "these acts are aimed at hitting the heart of countries in favor of peace talks in the Middle East."

Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir sent a cable to Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti expressing "great appreciation for the prompt and courageous intervention of the Italian security forces on the spot, which certainly forestalled an even great-

er tragedy." He said that Italy can "be assured of our full commitment to combatting terrorism wherever it originates and strikes." The U.S. Ambassador to Italy, Maxwell Rabb, also complimented the Italian police for their speedy and courageous response. The gun battle with the terrorists was over in three minutes. Minister of Internal Affairs Luigi Scalfaro announced yesterday that the number of plainclothes police would be increased at the airports and random spot checks will be made of all persons entering the terminals.

In Vienna, Vice Chancellor Norbert Steger said security measures at the airport were not deficient. They have been tightened several times in recent months. The attack there was on the El Al ticket counter and, according to Steger, the terrorists were not able to get close to it because of the heavy security.

#### Eye-Witness Accounts In Vienna

In Vienna, the El Al check-in counter and the adjacent counters of other airlines were crowded with passengers waiting to board morning flights. According to eye-witnesses, three "oriental-looking" men rushed toward the El Al counter shooting wildly with automatic weapons and throwing grenades. Austrian police swiftly returned the fire. The attackers fled from the terminal and, after trying unsuccessfully to grab hostages, they stole a Mercedes belonging to an airport catering company.

They left the airport area at high speed, followed by police vehicles. The terrorists shot at and threw grenades at the pursuing police cars. After a chase of several kilometers, the fleeing car was disabled by police gun fire. Inside was one dead terrorist. The two others tried to hijack an approaching car but were swiftly seized by police. Both were seriously wounded.

Austrian police said none of the gunmen carried passports. It was reported later that the terrorists in Rome used forged Moroccan passports.

#### Demand Illegal Aliens Be Ousted

The outrage in Rome has led to demands to oust the tens of thousands of illegal aliens in Italy, many of them Palestinians. An unknown number of the latter are suspected of being terrorists. It was learned over the weekend that the Palestinians who attacked the Rome airport had been in the city for some time.

They were traced to the Pensione Ferraro where they lived from December 6-15, and to the Pensione Cheries where they stayed from the 16th to the 27th. Both are obscure, cheap lodging houses on the Via Cavour.

The terrorists left the second pensione apparently unarmed. Italian authorities believe they picked up their arms at a central hideout somewhere in Rome or its environs. Police are now searching for the terrorist arsenal. It is believed to furnish terrorists with money and forged identification papers as well as weapons. The authorities have noted similarities between Friday's airport attack and two recent Palestinian terrorist attacks on the Via Veneto, Rome's most fashionable street.

#### JEWISH LEADERS CALL FOR DECISIVE ACTION TO END SCOURGE OF TERRORISM

NEW YORK, Dec. 29 (JTA) — Leading Jewish organizations this weekend urged governments around the world to take decisive action against terrorists and called for punishment of nations which provide refuge to terrorists.



At a special press conference today, Kenneth Bialkin, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, issued a hard-hitting statement saying that the Palestinian terrorist war "against the travelling public requires urgent action by the international community. The indiscriminate terror in Rome and Vienna reflects a barbarism and a primitive mentality which cannot be reached by reason or the rule of law."

#### Eight Steps To Combat Terrorism

He outlined eight steps that must be taken to end the scourge of terrorism:

\* "Serve notice that support for the PLO and other Palestinian terror groups must end. Saudi Arabia must end its payments of extortion which finances this grotesque machine; Jordan must close the PLO bases it has sanctioned; Tunisia must expel the PLO forces who train and plan; Syria and Iraq must terminate their maintenance of PLO factions; Libya must be called to account.

\* "Diplomatic support must cease; the PLO observer delegation to the UN must be expelled and their offices in New York closed. France, Turkey, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cyprus and other European countries must withdraw their recognition and diplomatic support from the PLO. PLO offices in those countries should be shut.

\* "Countries which give sanctuary or free passage to known murderers must be warned that consequences will follow their craven act. Egypt and Yugoslavia, for example, must not be free to repeat their abetting the flight of the murderers of the Achille Lauro.

\* "Leaders must be extradited and brought to justice — damage suits by victims must be heard and enforced in courts of law — and victims compensated by the PLO.

\* "Diplomatic and economic sanctions must be taken against those countries who fail to cooperate in an international program to combat terrorism and deny sanctuary to leaders and followers of the PLO. For example, aircraft landing rights might be denied to countries which support terrorism by diplomatic or financial means.

\* "World opinion must be mobilized against the deception and deceit of Palestinian radicals who clothe their cause in the language of freedom and human rights but whose real message and cause is conquest and rejection of peaceful coexistence with Israel.

\* "We support Secretary of State Shultz in his rejection of any political justification for terrorist acts, and we call upon the United Nations and the nations of the free world to develop a program of action which goes beyond the welcome words of condemnation of terrorism.

\* "Sadly, but necessarily, so long as the rule of law cannot cope with terrorism, the right and duty of national sovereignty and protection must be recognized to take action against those responsible for terrorist acts.

\* "Our Ambassador to the United Nations should call for an emergency session of the UN Security Council to censure Libya and Syria for their continuing support of terrorists in violation of recently adopted General Assembly and Security Council resolutions condemning terrorism."

The PLO in its various factions and groups have placed themselves outside the community of decent peoples and "must be sanctioned by the world community," Bialkin told the press conference.

He declared, "It is not enough to say that the murderers should be brought to justice. They are only the tools, the fanatic fools who carry out the orders that are fashioned in Damascus, in Tripoli, in Amman, in Baghdad and in Tunis. It is the leaders and planners who must be brought to justice and called to account for their crimes against innocent civilians." Continuing, Bialkin said:

"Unfortunately, rhetoric will not stop them. Those nations which decry violence and terrorism while at the same time supporting the political aims of the PLO give a double message which, in effect, encourages repetition of those outrages. So-called moderate Arab states like Jordan and Tunisia provide bases for the recruitment and training of terrorists; Saudi Arabia provides them funding; Egypt gives them sanctuary and protection; Syria and Libya arm them and launch their depredations. Iraq provides bases and arms.

"Western democracies give them support and respect by diplomatic recognition and by permitting them to have offices. Greece, Spain, Italy, Austria, and France have cordial diplomatic links; Turkey and Cyprus give them diplomatic status; the UN grants them observer status and the Soviets provide support and arms. Terrorism is encouraged by UN condemnations of Israel and by the failure to react to outrages . . . The decent people of the world can no longer permit this double standard."

#### Stop Coddling Terrorists

Gerald Kraft, president of B'nai B'rith, declared that "the time has come for all nations to stop coddling — and being cowed by — terrorists." He said that the attacks in Rome and Vienna were "the inevitable result of Italy's indecisive dealing" with the hijackers of the Achille Lauro cruise ship, which could only encourage new acts of terrorism. What happened last Friday, Kraft added, "was the inevitable result."

Abraham Foxman, associate national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said the attacks "leave us with a greater urgency to achieve concerted international action against terrorists and those who would abet them. We must begin by engaging in a worldwide offensive against terrorism. No legitimacy can be given to those involved. No nation which provides refuge should go unpunished."

#### Responsibility For Latest Outrage

David Gordis, executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee, called upon "those of our European allies who have adopted a policy of appeasement toward Arab-instigated terrorism to end, once and for all, this senseless course of action. These nations must examine their own responsibility for this latest outrage."

Rabbi William Berkowitz, president of the American Jewish Heritage Foundation, urged President Reagan, in a cable, that an "immediate world summit conference of the free world nations be convened at the highest levels in order to . . . make clear western resolve against terror, to coordinate methods of security and ways of combatting terror, and must resolve to pressure those nations which support terrorism, or play hosts to terrorist leaders to do so no more."

**MAJOR TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN 1985**

NEW YORK, Dec. 29 (JTA) — The airport massacres in Rome and Vienna last Friday capped a year of heightened terrorist attacks in Latin America, the Middle East and Western Europe. This is a list of major international terrorist acts of 1985:

Jan. 25 — The leftwing terrorist group Direct Action claims responsibility for killing French Defense Ministry official Rene Audran outside his home in a Paris suburb.

Feb. 1 — Red Army Faction terrorists kill West German industrialist Ernst Zimmerman in his suburban Munich home.

March 2 — Terrorists bomb the West German Embassy and British Ambassador's residence in Athens.

March 8 — Red Army Faction terrorists set off bombs in three West German cities in support of British coal miners who ended a year-long strike earlier in the week. In Beirut, 80 people are killed when a car bomb explodes outside an apartment building.

May 25 — An Iraqi terrorist crashes a car loaded with explosives into the Emir of Kuwait's motorcade, killing himself and three others. The Kuwaiti ruler receives minor injuries.

June 14 — Two Arab gunmen hijack a TWA jetliner, kill U.S. Navy seaman Robert Stethem and demand that Israel release 700 Lebanese Shiite Moslem prisoners in exchange for 36 American hostages. Also that day, in Beirut, two men drive a car filled with explosives into a Lebanese army post, killing 23.

June 18 — A three-day series of explosions, apparently in support of a strike by Communist-controlled unions, begins in Bogota and at least three other Colombian cities.

June 19 — A suitcase bomb explodes at Frankfurt airport, killing three people and injuring 42. In Tripoli, Lebanon, a car bomb destroys a candy shop, killing at least 60 and wounding 100. In San Salvador, gunmen fire into crowded cafes, killing 13, including four off-duty U.S. Marines and two other Americans. The U.S. Embassy blames the attack on leftist guerrillas.

June 20 — Five bombs go off in Katmandu, Nepal, killing seven people, including a National Assembly leader, and injuring 23.

June 23 — Plastic explosives kill two baggage handlers at Tokyo's airport. Sabotage is suspected in the crash of an Air India jet the same day in which 329 are killed.

Aug. 8 — Terrorists kill an American soldier and bomb the U.S. Rhein-Main Air Base near Frankfurt. Authorities blame the leftist Red Army faction.

Sept. 16 — Thirty-nine people are injured in a grenade attack at a fashionable cafe on Rome's Via Veneto. A Palestinian is charged in connection with the incident.

Sept. 25 — Three Israelis are killed on a yacht in Cyprus.

Sept. 30 — Gunmen kidnap three Soviet diplomats and an Embassy doctor in Beirut. One of the diplomats is found dead Oct. 2.

Oct. 7 — New Yorker Leon Klinghoffer is killed during the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro. They surrender Oct. 9.

Nov. 6 — Rebels seize Colombia's federal court building in downtown Bogota, and army troops recapture the Palace of Justice in an assault after a 28-hour siege. The Justice Ministry says 95 people, including 11 Supreme Court justices, are killed.

Nov. 23 — An EgyptAir plane is hijacked on a flight from Athens to Malta. Egyptian commandos storm the plane the next day, and 60 people are killed.

**TERRORISTS THREATEN TO KILL THREE JEWS HELD HOSTAGE IN LEBANON**

JERUSALEM, Dec. 29 (JTA) — A Moslem fundamentalist group that claimed responsibility for killing a Jewish hostage last week, has threatened to kill three Lebanese Jews it is holding and to strike at others "on whom we may lay our hands."

The group, calling itself the Organization of the Oppressed in the World, said it would take action if Lebanese Prisoners detained in southern Lebanon by the Israelis and their Christian allies were not freed, and if they did not cease what it called the bombardment of southern villages.

The statement, published yesterday in the Beirut daily, An Nahar, followed an Israeli radio quote last week of Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir saying Israel "will not respond to the demand of anyone abducting Jews in other countries," although it would "seek to protect them to the best of our ability."

Shamir's message had been issued after the Organization of the Oppressed said it had killed a kidnapped Jew, 39-year-old Haim Cohen Halala, in retaliation for what they called the shelling of southern Shiite villages. The body of Halala, an Iranian Jew doing business in Lebanon, was found last Tuesday.

Last month, the Organization of the Oppressed, believed to be composed of Shiite activists, offered to release the three Lebanese Jews being held hostage if 300 Lebanese prisoners, mostly Shiites, in a southern village of Al Khiyam were freed.

**RAS BURKA KILLER GETS LIFE SENTENCE**

JERUSALEM, Dec. 29 (JTA) — Israel's Ambassador to Egypt Moshe Sasson, has voiced his "confidence in Egyptian justice" following the handing down yesterday of a life imprisonment sentence on the Ras Burka killer, Suleiman Khater.

Sasson, in media interviews, noted, too, with gratification that in recent days the major Egyptian media had conveyed to the public in Egypt the full facts of the killing on October 5 of seven Israeli holiday vacationers by Khater, by a soldier stationed near Ras Burka on the Sinai coast.

Sasson's comments were excoriated, however, by a bereaved parent, Reuven Baum, whose 10-year-old son, Amir, bled to death after being hit by a bullet from Khater's gun. Baum today accused the Ambassador of "dereliction of duty" because of Sasson's public acceptance of the Egyptian court's sentence as a satisfactory expression of justice.

Baum said that since Egyptian law provided for a heavier sentence, the life imprisonment punishment could not be said — as Sasson had said — to have fully expressed justice. Baum's dissatisfaction over the sentence was echoed by other bereaved parents, too.

The demand that other Egyptian personnel now be examined regarding their behavior was voiced by Doveish Knesset member Yassi Sarid, in a cable to the Egyptian government last night. Sarid, of the Citizens Rights Movement, called for a commission of inquiry to study the denial of prompt medical aid to the victims.

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There will be no Daily News Bulletin dated January 1, New Year's Day, a postal holiday.

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** July 26, 1985

**to** Area Directors

**from** Sonya F. Kaufer

**subject** DEALING WITH TERRORISM

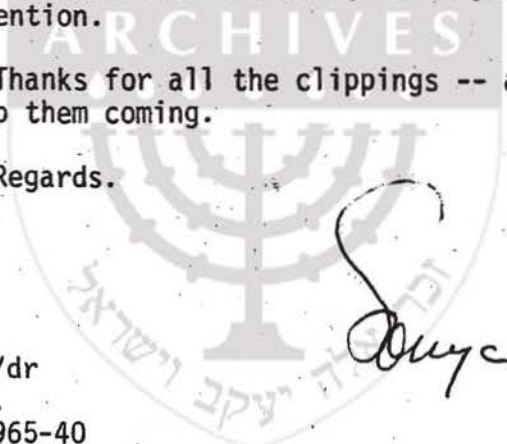
The attached op-ed on the sentencing of Jewish terrorists in Israel is particularly pertinent in light of the widespread concern about terrorism. Please give it your quick attention.

Thanks for all the clippings -- and do keep them coming.

Regards.



sfk/dr  
att.  
85-965-40



# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE **VIEWPOINT**

INFORMATION AND OPINION TO PONDER AND SHARE  
PUBLICATIONS SERVICE  
SONYA KAUFER, Director

## DEALING WITH TERRORISM

Almost always, terrorists are faceless. We know their deeds, but not their thoughts and feelings. That is because terrorists rarely get caught.

But now some terrorists have faces. The government of Lebanon announces that it has identified the hijackers of TWA Flight 847. But it has not yet arrested them, indicted them, or tried them.

At the same time, in Israel, 15 Jews accused of anti-Arab terrorist acts have been found guilty after a 13-month trial. In a country that has been besieged by Arab terrorists since its founding, it is not surprising that some people should feel driven to respond by adopting the tactics of their enemies. But the Israeli legal system has resolutely rejected vigilantism. As a state based on the rule of law, it has not only identified its Jewish terrorists; it has arrested, indicted, tried and convicted them.

Terrorists argue that a worthy end justifies any means. But terror does not produce peace, security, understanding, reconciliation, justice -- it only produces more terror. Israel is to be congratulated for recognizing and acting on that truth.



December 29, 1985

PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS - THE NEW BARBARIANS

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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For a short time, it looked as if 1986 might get off to a reasonable, even promising start. There was the Geneva Summit which suggested that tensions might be eased between the United States and the Soviet Union. There were rumors of more Middle East peace initiatives.

Then, last Friday, a small group of Palestinian terrorists cruelly murdered some 18 people, wounded 118 others in coordinated attacks on innocent civilians in the airports of Rome and Vienna. These savage massacres of human beings were rightly condemned as cowardly outrage by everybody from President Reagan to Pope John Paul II. But outrage alone will not contain this cancer of terrorism.

We need finally to face the fact that an international climate of moral hypocrisy and relative inaction have allowed terrorism to become a growth industry. Italy's Prime Minister Craxi yesterday condemned the terrorists and called for counter-action. Yet several weeks ago, he made a speech explaining why Yasir Arafat and the PLO resorted to violence. The Austrian government also deplored the killings, but Austria has long been a political playground for the PLO.

Even the United Nations finally adopted a resolution condemning terrorism as "criminal." But hidden away in that same resolution is a justification of such national liberation movements as the PLO as legitimate.

Unless and until these heads of state stop giving mixed signals to these terrorist criminals and take practical measures to isolate them from the human family, 1986 and beyond may well fall victim to the new barbarians at our gates.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee and presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

June 22, 1986

U.S. JEWS MUST OPPOSE KULTURKAMPF IN ISRAEL

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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"Why was the Holy Temple in Jerusalem destroyed in first century Palestine?" the ancient Rabbis asked. "It was destroyed because of hatred without cause -- sinat chinam." The current tragic conflict between the ultra-Orthodox and extremist secular Jews in Israel is the latest version of such causeless hatred.

The Arabs have not been able to destroy Israel with all their missiles, tanks, and terrorism. If the present pattern of hostility between the Chareidim (the ultra-Orthodox) and the secular zealots continues, they will wreak more devastation on the internal life of Israel than any external enemies can ever bring about.

The growing Kulturkampf will not be without its consequences for American and other Jewish communities around the world. I am convinced that American Jews are as horrified by the scandal of secularist bigots smearing swastikas on Tel Aviv synagogues and defacing prayer books as they are by the resort to violence against bus-stops by Orthodox zealots.

There are already more than enough tensions between Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform groups in the United States over such issues as ordaining women rabbis and patrilineal descent. The Israeli conflicts can only add ferocity to the American scene and impede conciliation between American Jewish groups.

The time has come for all Jewish religious and communal leaders to condemn publicly all resorts to violence and hatred both here and in Israel. It is important to support Israeli Prime Minister Peres' appeals for moderation, tolerance, and mutual respect. Otherwise, causeless hatred can be as devastating to world Jewry today as it was in first century Palestine.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee and presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.



**WNS**

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REV. JESSE JACKSON--'THE BAAL TESHUVA'

By Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum

"Kab-dehu v'chashdehu -- Treat him with respect, but be suspect." That Talmudic admonition pretty much summarizes the response of most representative Jewish leaders to the confessional part of the address by the Rev. Jesse Jackson before the Democratic National Convention last week.

It is a mixture of relief and skepticism. There is a genuine human response of being moved by witnessing someone admit publicly that he or she made a mistake. That suggests the virtue of humility and a willingness to change for the better.

But the skepticism toward Jesse Jackson grows out of his track record toward Jews and Israel. On Monday he demeans Jews by calling them "Hymies" or by saying that he is "sick and tired of hearing about the Nazi Holocaust." On Tuesday, he denies that he ever made the remark. Then on Wednesday, under strong media pressure, he acknowledges that he said it, didn't mean it, and "repents."

Even Christian theology acknowledges such easy repentance as "cheap grace." The Jewish discipline of teshuvah is made of firmer stuff. As defined by Maimonides, it begins with a penitent experiencing an overwhelming sense of shame over his wrongdoing, and must conclude with a change in actual behavior, a determination not to repeat the sinful act.

Jesse Jackson has "repented" over and again with flamboyant rhetoric. Only clearcut actions -- decisive giving up of his anti-Semitic barbs and his alliance with Nazi-like Louis Farrakhan's anti-Zionism -- will persuade the Jewish community that he deserves our trust.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** June 27, 1986  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Marc Tanenbaum, Director of International Relations  
**subject** Local Programming on Religious-Secular Conflict in Israel

On Friday, June 27, we held a very successful press conference during which we brought together major personalities in the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist groups to express their condemnation of recent outbreaks of physical violence among extremist religious and secular groups in Israel and their appeal for moderation and tolerance.

Enclosed please find copies of (a) the press release; (b) the joint statement; (c) the list of signators and participants; and (d) WINS radio commentary.

It occurred to us that it would be useful to try to replicate such a press conference in your community, involving major local religious Jewish personalities. You could use the text that we issued, or have local leaders adapt it.

We believe it is important to build up a counter-movement momentum that rejects extremism and violence and encourages a community spirit of mutual respect, moderation, and tolerance.

Where possible, it would be wise to invite local Israeli mass media representatives so that this message would be communicated to Israeli media. Local Israeli consul generals and their public information people might also be invited.

Please keep us informed of what steps you are able to take in this direction.

Dr. George E. Gruen, director of IRD's Israel and Middle East Division, coordinated this effort and I urge you to keep in touch with him -- especially since I will be attending meetings in Israel from June 30th to July 6th.

The time to move is now while the issue is on everybody's mind.

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

86-550



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 10/23

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO: DH

Please circulate to:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Read and return
- Returned as requested
- Please telephone me
- Your comments, please
- As requested

REMARKS:

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** October 22, 1985

**to** David Harris

**from** Sidney Liskofsky and Allan Kagedan

**subject** Comments on Terrorism for Howard Friedman speech at the NEC

1. The idea of enacting legal agreements to deter terrorism is nothing new. Anti-terrorism agreements include: The League of Nations' Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism (1937); the International Civil Aeronautics Organization's Tokyo (1963), The Hague (1970), and Montreal (1971) Conventions, focusing on airplane hijacking; the Organization of American States' Convention to Prevent and Punish Acts of Terrorism (1971); and the Council of Europe's Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (1977). Also included is the UN-derived convention for the protection of diplomats and the International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages (adopted 12/17/79 GA res.34/146).

2. In current discussions, Western scholars, policy analysts and public figures focus on three approaches to terrorism:

(a) Though doubtless loopholes exist in current instruments which should be filled, if enforced, these agreements would go a long way in deterring acts of terrorism. The fundamental problem is the lack of political will on the part of states to enforce anti-terrorism agreements. To overcome this reluctance, the publics of the democracies--at the very least--must be convinced that terrorism poses a clear threat to their civil liberties and individual rights.

(b) Efforts to deter terrorism through the adoption of an across-the-board convention by the UN seem doomed to failure because of the non-aligned movement's unwillingness to identify "national liberation movements" as terrorist, since they believe these movements have the right to pursue their goals by "all available means, including armed struggle." Therefore, the democracies should join in drafting an international anti-terrorism convention; if adopted, it would deter terrorism to some degree, and serve to educate the public about the dangers of terrorism.

(c) The key area in which work should be done is extradition - clarifying, strengthening, and multiplying extradition agreements as appropriate. This issue is receiving attention not only with respect to terrorism, but also with regard to reducing drug trafficking and other crime-control objectives.

DEC 20 1985

Committee  
for  
Accuracy  
in  
Middle East  
Reporting  
in  
America

**CAMERA**

December 10, 1985

P.O. Box 17322  
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(202) 822-8884

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Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

On behalf of the members of the CAMERA Board and myself, I wish to extend our gratitude for the \$1000 grant which you made possible from the Committee for the CAMERA conference on TERROR AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A FREE PRESS. The topic couldn't have been more timely, and the attendance and feedback was very gratifying. I am enclosing some of the papers, as well as the most recent Post Mortems. As soon as it is possible to publish the proceedings you will receive a copy.

The need for more conferences of this kind (which reached many non-Jews on the hill, among many others) becomes more and more apparent with every day. Although we have temporarily shelved plans for the next conference, we might undertake one in the spring. If you think the Committee might be interested in being a co-sponsor, I will let you know our plans as they take shape. Also, I hope to be in New York on January 7th and would like to meet with you if that is convenient.

Many thanks again for your help.

Sincerely,

*Win Meiselman*  
Win Meiselman

KEYNOTE REMARKS ON  
TERRORISM AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A FREE PRESS  
BY SENATOR MALCOLM WALLOP  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1985

Many here will counsel that among the responsibilities of a free press in a world of terrorists are not to give them too much visibility, too much access, and too much credit for not doing something far worse than they are doing. I counsel that as well, but choose here to let others deal with its specific consequences.

The responsibilities of a free press and those of elected representatives of a free society are two circles linked by common obligations yet separated by different functions in a combined dedication to perpetuating freedom.

The politician's job, my job for the past decade or so, is to reflect, and refine, and give practical consequence to, the opinions of the sovereign people. For anyone engaged in politics, public opinion must be the beginning and the end of any enterprise, the only possible basis for long-term action.

Public opinion constantly threatens to repudiate and destroy any politicians who would defy it. As Lincoln said, "With public opinion everything is possible. Against it, there is no hope of lasting success." Therefore, wise politicians have always tried to make sure that whatever they did or said would not foul the well from which they must draw for all the country's needs.

Terrorism's bombs and bullets have not frightened this politician nearly so much as the words that many in the media, and in government, have spoken about terrorism. They came most concisely in a CIA report on terrorism dated 1978: "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." I contend that those who speak such words, whether from the pages of a newspaper, from behind a microphone, on the floor of the Senate, or in an interagency meeting, are injecting a dread disease into the American body politic. That disease is their own moral illiteracy and intellectual confusion.

Bullets and bombs kill by the tens or hundreds. Our terror at the prospect of violent death may lead us to ignoble accommodations that encourage terrorism and, in time, may doom thousands. But those who, for whatever reason, speak in ways that render the American people unable to distinguish friends from enemies, better from worse, do far more damage than the terrorists themselves. They destroy the very mainspring of the mechanism by which millions must defend themselves.

Any democratic people, more than the individuals who compose it, must be able to deal with threats to their very lives arising out of controversies full of moral implications. Democracy requires people, and people require democracy, to possess the ability to judge the fine points of moral contention in international disputes that concern them, and the ability to muster up the courage, anger, and steadfastness necessary to pursue these judgments.

The debates about justice, punishment, war, prudence, and the character of men that Shakespeare presented as the province of kings now must occur within a much broader body politic. Such debates are difficult enough even when we use the fine conceptual tools that the likes of Shakespeare, and the rich heritage of history, have bequeathed to us. But when ignorant or morally vacuous people rob meaning from words such as "innocence," "right," "wrong" or "better" and "worse," reasonable judgment, measured anger, and steadfastness become impossible.

Without these qualities - qualities that can only come from clear understanding of the meaning of words - the sovereign people might as well save the money they spend on armies and navies. They will not support friends and oppose foes unless they know which is which, and why. They will not bear burdens unless they are confident that to bear them is honorable and to shrink from them would be shameful. Ironically, the sovereign people possess these qualities in good measure, while those who speak to them through the media tend not to.

I recall long debates in the Senate Intelligence Committee, mirroring ones in the Executive Branch, about the definition of terrorism. Many concluded that it could not be distinguished from war. The confusion has deepened with the application of terms such as "moderate" to some terrorists and by the insane attempt to limit the responsibility for terrorism to those who pull triggers. (Is the conduct of war, let alone battle, the responsibility of the rifleman?)

Let me suggest that those who cannot distinguish legitimate from illegitimate forms of conflict, legitimate from illegitimate reasons for adopting measures proportionate or disproportionate to the goals sought will not be able to protect themselves from terrorism - or to prepare for the kinds of military actions that a morally conscientious public must be able to undertake for its own safety.

The issues are obvious. First, there are people in the world who fight governments not by attacking their combatants, but rather by purposely attacking innocents. Do we have it in ourselves to consider such people not as men with whom one can deal in civilized ways but as rabid animals to be exterminated? We can do this only if we are willing and able to appreciate the value of innocence, of uninvolvedness in combat. That, in turn we can

do only if we dismiss the despising, so fashionable in government and the media, of ordinary people who lead ordinary lives - in short, the chic hatred of our civilization.

Second, the movements and countries that routinely fight by attacking innocents are of a very particular kind: They are "socialist" or "progressive," and are generally allied with the Soviet Union. The exceptions are also very particular: Some, but not all, non-socialist, non-Soviet-aligned Arab regimes also facilitate attacks on innocents. Indeed, according to the mass media in some but certainly not all Arab countries, it seems, the only good Jews are dead ones.

It is profoundly difficult for us to deal with the fact that many of the world's governments simply behave less as we think governments should behave, and more according to our image of criminal thugs. We speak all too often and all too lightly of the need to recognize cultural diversity in the world. But we balk when we come face to face with the fact that in some political cultures lying and the killing of innocents is the rule rather than the exception.

Do we have it in ourselves to recognize that the very formidable Soviet Union, its vast East European empire, and portions of the Arab world are run by people who, like President Assad (whose title should not lead us to confuse him with Presidents of democracies) do not hesitate to murder ten thousand political opponents and their families. Can we deal with these monstrous differences in an adult way, avoiding the temptation of moral relativism, that not only excuses thugs for being what they are, but also deprives us of the moral bases for upholding our own standards?

Our forefathers built this country on the premise that "all men are created equal" and that all are endowed by our one Creator of equal rights. The founding fathers had no illusions of being able to enforce equal rights in the world. They dealt with powerful tyrants. But they never for one moment ceased to judge these tyrannies according to the one true standard. For us to do the same we would have to offend the many in high places who have built careers on fanciful expectations of the Soviet Union's or the PLO's civilized behavior. But, I contend, it is better to offend them than to speak in ways destructive of the basic principles upon which our nation rests.

Alas, this May, Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost spoke as follows to the National Association of Arab Americans: "The bonds of sentiment of interest that link the U.S. with the Arab nations of the Middle East derive from our common aspirations; national independence, democracy, constitutionalism, the rule of law, free enterprise, and an attachment to religious values."

Surely he has never read the Koran. Moreover, it does not sound as though he has read the newspapers, or knows very much about our country. His commitment to "democracy," "constitutionalism," "the rule of law," and "religious values," if these are to be understood even remotely as they are in the Arab world, cannot have much in common with the Founding Fathers' commitment to these things.

Make no mistake (as our Founding Fathers did not) there are sound reasons for alliance, but one need not, indeed must not, contrive shared attributes to justify them. It weakens the alliance for disdain, but it weakens us even more by distorting principle.

In sum, when we speak about that torfured part of the world, and about its violent leaders, it behooves us to speak accurately. All too easily do public figures speak of the Arab government's interest in "solving the Palestinian problem." Too easily do they also speak of the Soviet Union's "interest in arms control." Too easily do they speak of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The facts, of course are very different. Arab governments have prevented permanent Palestinian settlements, and cynically manipulated the Palestinian refugees as weapons against one another as well as against Israel. The PLO, for its part, earns its place in the world not by receiving the votes of Palestinians, but by killing those who will not submit. It also does something else. Alongside Cuba, Vietnam, Libya, Bulgaria, and East Germany, the PLO has sent its people as far away as Nicaragua, and even tiny Grenada, as part of the Soviet Union's coalition.

To speak accurately is not to be abusive. Indeed not to speak accurately is to pervert the very bloodstream of democracy. A free press has its obligation to speak accurately even while some politicians do not. Indeed then more than ever we need to embrace accuracy in totality and not selectively. It more than most has the ability to illuminate the moral relativists. To do less is for the press to guarantee the prolonged terror of terror.

# Those missing contexts

**T**elevision coverage of this summer's hostage crisis in Beirut obscured important issues, played into the hands of the hostage-takers, and violated essential rules of journalistic practice.

Such were the stark conclusions that emerged from a recent Capitol seminar on terrorism and the press, sponsored by the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America. Among the participants were Republican Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, Professor William Adams of George Washington University, Arnaud de Borchgrave of *The Washington Times*, and Fred Barnes of *The New Republic*.

Of particular interest was an analysis presented by Mr. Adams, examining the coverage of the crisis provided by ABC-TV. Mr. Adams's research showed that ABC continually broadcast at face value interviews with the hostages and statements by their captors, paying little attention to necessary cautions and provisos. The result was a propaganda field day for the Shi'ite terrorists.

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## *The equivalent of this performance would be to air an unedited press release.*

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In the two-week period of June 14-29, Mr. Adams notes, ABC devoted roughly seven out of every 10 minutes of its early evening newscasts to the hostage situation. Of that amount, almost two-thirds — 65 percent — was given over to interviews with the hostages, their families, and their captors. For the most part, this material was presented with minimal scrutiny of the conditions under which the interviews were granted.

"Among issues that could have been raised," Mr. Adams points out, "were the following: the networks did not know the full circumstances surrounding the interviews; the hostages might have been pressured or fearful; the captors had selected those to be interviewed; the hostages

selected to appear before the cameras might have been those the ones most willing to support Shi'ite demands; the hostages might well have been subjected to subtle or overt lobbying on Mideast politics; the possibility of the Stockholm syndrome, whereby hostages come to identify with their captors; the interviews might have been staged to exploit U.S. television ... etc."

In ABC's broadcasts, however, such questions and issues were seldom raised. In the usual case, the network simply went on the air with interviews set up by the terrorists, statements by the terrorists themselves, and — in some cases — videotape made available by the terrorists. The result was to pass along to U.S. and global viewing audiences exactly what the terrorists wanted — including numerous hostage statements about the kindness of the Amal militia, the virtue of the Shi'ite cause, and the iniquities of Israel.

The functional equivalent of this performance would be to air or print an unedited handout or press release from a corporation or lobby group, without prominently identifying it as such. The major media would quite properly resist doing anything of the sort. Yet in the far more serious case of the Beirut terrorists, this type of press manipulation went down with scarcely a murmur of audible protest.

The failure of the network to make the points brought up by Mr. Adams is an example of what might be called "de-contextualization" — if I may coin an ungainly if fairly accurate term. Such absence of context about the hostage-takers and their conduct was equally notable in the unwillingness of the media to provide us with other background about the parties to this act of terrorism.

Amal's Nabih Berri, for instance, was presented as a moderate "good guy" vis-a-vis the original kidnapers — even though he himself has been charged with numerous acts of terrorism, and even though he was in custody of the hostages. Likewise, we were treated to lavish praise of Syria's Hafez Assad for gaining the release of the captives, without much attention to the fact that Assad is cheek-by-jowl with Mr. Berri, that he has been a major sponsor of terrorism, or that Syria controls the territory from which the hijackers operated.

Such de-contextualization involving radical terrorist groups occurs repeatedly in the media — in reporting of the Communist-controlled guerrilla forces in El Salvador, for instance, or in covering the actions of the Communist-dominated African National Congress in South Africa.

Such reportorial failures not only serve the interests of the terrorists; they also badly disserve the public's "right to know."

---

*M. Stanton Evans is a nationally syndicated columnist.*





by William C. Adams

## The Beirut Hostages: ABC and CBS Seize an Opportunity

ARCHIVES

The 1985 hostage crisis was in some ways a rerun of events in Iran. About fifty Americans were again held captive by fundamentalist Moslems in a Middle Eastern country. Certain things were different, though. Five years ago, some blamed the hostage television blitz on the Carter White House and its early all-consuming preoccupation with Iran. In 1985, however, the White House tried to downplay events and imposed a partial news blackout. This time it was clear who set the news agenda, and it was not the man who would have preferred to spend a week on his California ranch.

Much of the controversy surrounding this year's hostage coverage stemmed from its sheer volume, which critics said blew the event out of proportion, displaced other significant news stories, complicated the negotiation process, and rewarded the hijackers and captors. These sentiments led Henry Kissinger, Margaret Thatcher, and Ed Meese to fantasize about news blackouts, should such events occur in the future.

The extent of the press coverage of the Beirut hostages was staggering. ABC devoted an average of two-thirds (68 percent) of *World News Tonight* to the hostages, compared with 53 percent of the early evening news time it had given the Iran captives during the first sixteen days of that crisis. CBS went from 50 percent to 62 percent, and NBC was up from 48 to 63

percent. On four separate nights, ABC spent less than two minutes on all non-hostage news.

What most press critics found most objectionable this time was the remarkable succession of TV interviews, with American hostages—several of whom defended their captors' cause, motives, and behavior. Henry Kissinger was the most prominent—though by no means the only—critic of broadcasting the hostages' statements.

How did the networks present the hostage interviews? This study focused on ABC (which, thanks to correspondent Charles Glass's interviews, was widely seen as scooping the competition) and CBS (which is the ratings leader). Limits on time and resources excluded NBC from the study. The research centered on the flagship early-evening newscasts, which have by far the largest audiences of any news programs. Using tapes from the Vanderbilt Television News Archives, researchers coded all hostage-related stories on ABC *World News Tonight* and CBS *Evening News* from June 14—the first night the networks broke the hostage story—through June 29—the last newscast before the hostage release. These newscasts together aired more than seven hours of Beirut hostage stories.

Hostage interviews dominated coverage of the topic that dominated the evening news. ABC ran interviews

in eleven stories over ten nights; CBS had thirteen stories with hostage interviews over nine nights. They were used as the lead stories seven times on ABC and eight times on CBS.

To appreciate just how successfully the hostage tapes took precedence, consider the allocation of airtime to sources (the seconds given to non-network people speaking about the situation either on or off camera). On ABC about four out of every ten minutes came from the hostages themselves—especially Allyn Conwell and Captain John Testrake. The hostages (37 percent), together with their families (13 percent) received half of all ABC's source airtime. If hostage interview time is added to the time given to Nabih Berri and other Shiites (15 percent), then a majority of ABC's airtime went to the captors and those under their control (see figure 1).

President Reagan received 5 percent of ABC's source airtime, and all other U.S. administration, congressional, and military sources received 7 percent. The remaining source airtime went to terrorism experts (7 percent), assorted former government officials (6 percent), Israelis (6 percent), and released Beirut hostages (4 percent).

CBS trimmed the length of the hostage interviews (30 percent), but aired a larger dose of hostage relatives (17 percent). Otherwise, the pattern on CBS was fairly similar to that on ABC. Thanks to the Amal's insistence that ABC share its interviews, CBS had access to and used nearly the same series of interviews that appeared on ABC.

After settling down in Beirut, the networks began to carry an almost daily succession of hostage material. To recap the series as it ran on ABC, recall the following:

- Still standing on Shiite soil, the almost airborne Demis Roussos—one of the first men released—praised his captors as "so nice" (June 18).

- The exclusive Charles Glass interview with the TWA crew. With a gun held to his head, Captain Testrake was asked if he favored a rescue attempt; he did not (June 19).

- The first rowdy press conference where Shiite gunmen had to instruct the Western press corps on the need for restraint and civility. The seven hostages said they wanted their families to know they were "OK" and were being treated fine (June 20).

- Excerpts of comments by Allyn Conwell and other hostages from June 20 interviews (June 21).

- A short voice clip from Testrake who said the crew was in good health (June 22).

- The Lebanese-taped session with eight hostages saying they felt fine and hoped they would be released soon (June 24).

- A control-tower interview with TWA crew member Philip Maresca about the severity of an insect bite (June 26).

- Long, outdoor cafe conversations with hostages

Allyn Conwell, Ralf Traugott, and Father James McLoughlin in which they expressed strong sympathy with the Shiites; Conwell indicated these were the group's sentiments (June 27).

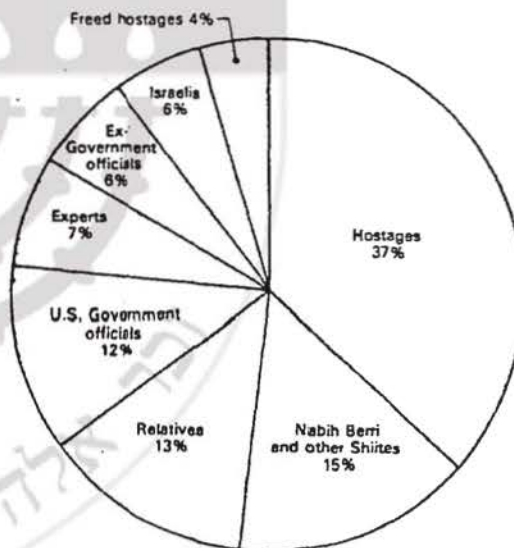
- Long, seaside cafe talks with eleven hostages, expressing mixed emotions and frustration. Included pleas for release of the Shiite "hostages" in Israel (June 28).

- Excerpts from *Good Morning America* telephone comments by Conwell and Simon Grossmayer, with Conwell denying sympathy with terrorists (June 28).

- The "farewell party" of most hostages at a restaurant, described by ABC as "courtesy of the captors" and including "fun, food, and phone calls" (June 29).

How were these remarkable interviews presented? What degree of critical scrutiny was used? No journalist would advocate broadcasting a self-interested, public relations press release without alerting viewers and placing it in context. So it is reasonable to expect that the

Figure 1  
ABC NEWS AIRTIME ALLOCATION, JUNE 14-29, 1985



same level of care would be taken with the Amal-arranged interviews in Beirut.

Among issues that could have been raised were the following: The networks did not know the full circumstances surrounding the interviews; the hostages might have been pressured or fearful; the captors had selected those to be interviewed; the hostages selected to appear before the cameras might have been the ones most willing to support Shiite demands; the hostages might well have been subjected to subtle or overt lobbying on Mideast politics; the possibility of the Stockholm Syndrome, whereby hostages come to identify

with their captors; the interviews might have been staged to exploit U.S. television, to attempt to influence public opinion, and to pressure the Reagan administration.

### CBS Scrutiny

CBS, as it turned out, did raise most of these questions and did put the interviews in a critical context. Especially during the second week, CBS was scarcely a naive conduit for staged spectacles as some critics have claimed. Consider the way CBS discounted the tape aired on June 24:

**Dan Rather:** The videotape was made and released by their captors . . . Shiite Muslim kidnapers released the latest videotapes of victims . . .

**Bill Redeker:** In the scenes recorded three days ago by the Amal at an undisclosed location in West Beirut, twelve of the hostages are shown on camera. However, since the tape has been edited by Amal before being given to CBS News, not all of those shown here will be heard from. Those statements that are included reveal that some of the hostages are extremely reserved and nervous when asked how they feel.

Thus, CBS told people four times that the Amal had made and edited the tape. A voice-over mentioned it yet again while it was shown. Dan Rather and Redeker stressed that the material should be viewed warily. The

next segment—a major piece by Tom Fenton—immediately evaluated the psychological pressures on the hostages and explicitly discounted their candor (emphasis added):

**Tom Fenton:** Once again, some of the hostages have been paraded in front of the cameras. On each occasion, *what you heard was what their captors wanted you to hear.*

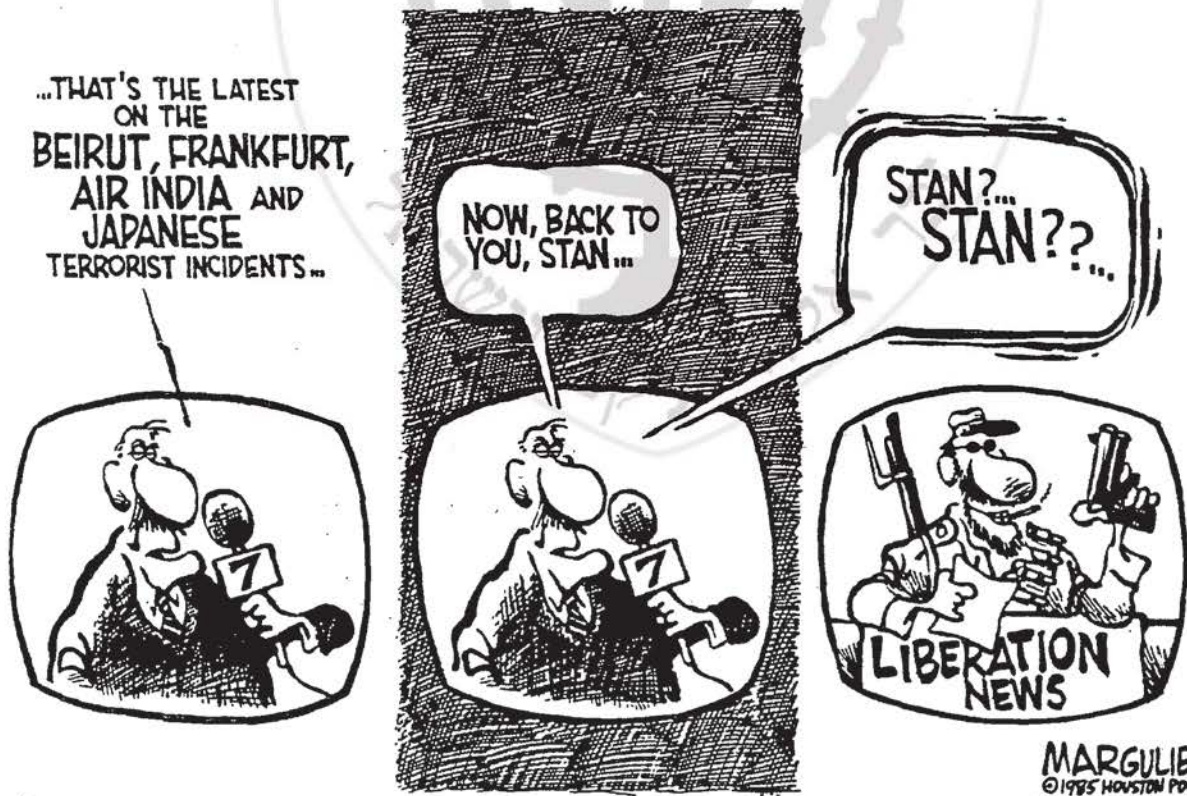
**Hostage:** Without any force, we're free to speak here as we wish.

**Dr. James Thompson:** You see, here is someone saying something we know to be untrue. "Without any force"—I really question that. . . .

Nor did CBS neglect the Amal's motives. In a long story on the subject, Bruce Morton minced no words:

So Amal is using the hostages and their families and using the American news media to make its case for the release of the Lebanese held in Israel. . . . The media strategies are elaborate. . . (June 27).

When Rather introduced hostage tapes on June 28, he cautioned viewers: "You may want to keep in mind that these men spoke as prisoners." Later in that same newscast, CBS ran two major stories examining the media's role, especially in airing the hostage tapes. The Lesley Stahl segment included the administration's argu-



ment that hostages who failed to echo the Amal line were kept away from the microphones. Susan Spencer's story talked about the captors' efforts to manipulate the media, and both pieces highlighted comments by critics of coverage.

Several other important examples of analytical and cautious CBS work could be cited to illustrate that the *CBS Evening News* raised important questions about the context and candor of the hostage interviews. Moreover, each day CBS seemed to grow more reflective and sensitive to the dilemmas involved in airing the hostage tapes.

### ABC Omissions

That was not the case at ABC. *ABC World News Tonight* rarely or never raised critical questions about the interviews they featured. Only once did an ABC reporter on *World News Tonight* endorse the idea that hostage comments might be driven by fear. It came in a brief remark by Richard Threlkeld, who said that "beneath the strained courtesies of this public appearance, you could sense some of that fear and frustration" (June 21). And only once was the audience explicitly told that Amal and not ABC decided which hostages were to be heard, but it was also important to the anchor to note that the story was an ABC "exclusive":

Three of the hostages, who were chosen by their captors, gave an exclusive interview to ABC correspondent Charles Glass . . . (June 27).

One might have expected ABC reporters to have questioned Mr. Berri's reason for allowing Charles Glass so much selective access. Yet *World News Tonight* mentioned motives only once. Charles Glass suggested that the Amal's intentions might have been humanitarian or might have been meant to influence public opinion:

Amal may have granted this interview as a gesture to show the American people that the men are well, or they may be trying to use American public opinion . . . (June 28).

On the evening that ABC broadcast lengthy excerpts of videotape that had been delivered to the networks, Peter Jennings made some brief agnostic qualifications about the hostages who were to appear:

We do not know what additional pressures they may have been under when they were being questioned. . . .

We do not know . . . the circumstances under which they were interviewed (June 24).

That was it. There were no other instances, even as mild as these, of ABC personnel scrutinizing the credibility or intentions of these interviews. On *World News Tonight*, before ABC's largest audience, the hostage tapes were given top billing, and were left uncontroversial and largely unquestioned. *World News Tonight* never explored the Stockholm Syndrome and

never hinted that Mr. Conwell's continued visibility might have had something to do with his usefulness to his captors.

The three and one-half hours of hostage stories on ABC included only three brief instances when *World News Tonight* let its audience hear non-ABC people discounting the interviews. The strongest was paraphrased by anchor Kathleen Sullivan (emphasis hers):

Henry Kissinger is sharply criticizing news organizations for publicizing statements that *he says* the hostages were *forced* to make by their captors (June 22).

Kissinger was angered that the interviews were broadcast at all. The problem, however, was not that they were aired, but that lengthy segments were broadcast uncritically. Reporters at ABC knew how to discount rhetoric from the president, and they deftly reminded viewers that Reagan typically talks tough and does nothing:

Some observers say to date his deeds have not matched his words (Barry Serafin, June 18).

Yet *ABC World News Tonight* avoided similar serious analysis of the hostage interviews—so many of which were conducted by ABC's Charles Glass. People who waited around until midnight could have caught some thoughtful exchanges about the candor of the hostage interviews on ABC's outstanding *Nightline*, but of course most viewers had by then gone to bed.

Some impressive, insightful stories did appear on ABC. That network paid more attention to the social and political context of the Beirut hostage seizure than was the case in the early days of the Iran crisis. Stories by Bill Blakemore and by Betsy Aaron set an especially high standard. But despite their strong performances, one significant topic—critical scrutiny of the hostage interviews—was rarely explored by *World News Tonight*.

In the freedom of July, the world learned that Allyn Conwell's favorable remarks about his captors did not represent consensus views, and that conditions in Beirut were far less than "fine" for a number of the hostages. Moreover, as freed hostage James Hoskins told the *New York Times*: "When someone takes control of your life, you tell them what they want to hear." Former captive Richard Herzberg said: "You cannot understand what that means, to know you could be murdered at any minute of the night or day." And Arthur Toga told the *Times*:

You don't ever bite the hand that feeds you. When a man brings you food every day, you learn to like him. I expect in the next few days I will speak differently than I did at that time.

Amid the calls for news blackouts, it is important to remember that covering up the story is no solution to the dilemmas of covering a hostage crisis. The solution is to cover it, but to do so carefully and critically. ☞

June 30, 1985

AMERICA: MUST NOT CAPITULATE TO SHIITE TYRANNY  
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY  
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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The phrase that will be quoted most frequently during this week marking our nation's birthday will be the Biblical verse that America's Founding Fathers engraved on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. That verse is: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

That Biblical motto of America's freedom suggests that our nation's struggle for independence simply cannot be understood apart from its rootedness in the Biblical and Hebraic values of liberty and human dignity. The Declaration of Independence, adopted on July 4, 1776, refers four times to a divine source as the foundation of our nation's birth. All "human beings are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," which can be neither given nor taken away by any other powers.

Beyond that, the Founding Fathers of the Republic, inspired by the Prophets of Israel, believed and demonstrated that a free people must be prepared to risk their lives and substance to defend their rights.

Those bedrock values of democracy link together today the peoples of America and of Israel in their shared determination to liberate all the American hostages from the brutal tyranny of the Shiite extremists. Those violent hijackers are now cynically barring the release of our fellow Americans in order to extract a promise of no retaliation from America.

The real issue is not American retaliation but rather a Shiite commitment to stop playing revolutionary roulette endangering the lives of innocent civilians.

The message of July 4 is that America did not capitulate to British tyranny, and we will capitulate no less to Shiite tyranny against our fellow Americans.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

rpr

July 7, 1985

TERRORISM VIOLATES PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION  
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY  
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Last Thursday, I flagged down a taxicab whose driver happened to be an Iranian. We soon got to talking about the Shiite hijacking of American hostages, and what a relief it is that they were returned safely, except unfortunately, for Navy man Robert Stethem.

The talk then connected with the war between Iran and Iraq. I said it was horrible that some 140,000 people have been killed on both sides during the past four years, and nobody seems to care, including the media. The Iranian cab driver then said, somewhat stoically, "In Iran and in other places there, people are like pigeons."

That statement depreciating the value of human life was shocking. It was especially upsetting to hear it on July 4th, our nation's Independence Day.

I suddenly recalled a comment by a French author, Father Bruchberger, in his book, Image of America, (Viking Books). The American Revolution, he wrote, is best personified by Thomas Jefferson. His ideal, highly revolutionary indeed, was entirely to incline government, institutions, and laws toward respect for men. In contrast to the French and Russian revolutions, he wrote, the American revolution put man first, ahead of the political system he lives under.

That revolutionary political idea was the engine behind our nation's determined effort to save the lives of 39 innocent civilians, hijacked by the fanatic Shiite Muslims. That humanistic idea must now motivate us to mobilize effectively during the coming months to combat further acts of terrorism which violate every principle that we honor this July 4th weekend.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

## **FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

**NEW YORK, Dec. 27....**The American Jewish Committee today condemned vehemently the attacks this morning by Arab terrorists on civilians in the Rome and Vienna airports. The text of the AJC statement, issued by David M. Gordis, AJC Executive Vice-President, follows:

The American Jewish Committee deplores the latest brutal and barbaric act of Arab terrorism which has claimed the lives of innocent civilians at the Rome and Vienna airports. How many more such victims must there be before the international community finally resolves to make a concerted effort to combat the scourge of terrorism, as it has recently pledged to do in a unanimous decision in the United Nations? The UN resolution "unequivocally condemns, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism whenever and by whomever committed," and urges states to cooperate in measures to prevent terrorism and bring its perpetrators to justice. On the other hand, the regrettable equivocation of that world body, as evidenced most recently by the passage last week of yet another resolution calling for the total isolation of Israel from the world community, only serves to encourage terrorists who perpetrate their violence against Israel.

In addition, we call upon those of our European allies who have adopted a policy of appeasement toward Arab-instigated terrorism to end, once and for all, this senseless course of action. These nations must examine their own responsibility for this latest outrage. In the words of Secretary of State George Shultz, "Extremists must be resisted, not appeased. They must be shown that...negotiation is the only possible hope for achievement of legitimate Arab objectives."

The civilized world cannot and must not be satisfied with bland denials of this latest heinous crime by official PLO spokesmen. While the PLO may have condemned and repudiated those guilty of the crime, it is undeniable that the pattern established over the years by the PLO has once again led to today's tragedy.

Finally, although the intent of the terrorists was clearly to obstruct the progress toward Middle East peace negotiations, we remain hopeful that reason will prevail and that the peace process will not be deterred by such inhumane acts of violence.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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CSAE 1707

"Post Mortems", originally created as a commentary on the accuracy and advocacy of the Washington Post's reporting on Middle East affairs, has enlarged its focus in the past year to critique other large newspapers, and occasionally TV, in their coverage of this area as well.

It is published ten times a year and is distributed to a wide-ranging mailing list including all members of Congress and the Senate, key staffers on Hill committees dealing with foreign affairs and U.S. foreign policy, major media outlets across the country, all Jewish newspapers and publications listed in the American Jewish Yearbook, local and national Jewish organizations, over 100 non-Jewish groups and individuals, and our mailing list of members and influential policy-makers throughout the United States.



# Post Mortems

Vol. II No. 6

October 1985

## A REVIEW OF ACCURACY AND ADVOCACY IN AMERICAN MEDIA

### "PROCESSED PEACE"---A View Worth Hearing Talk by Israeli Editor, Yohanan Ramati

**QUESTION:** What's the best way to destabilize Israel, increase the likelihood of war between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and reduce American influence worldwide?

**ANSWER:** Pursue peace talks between Israel and Jordan under the auspices of the Reagan plan.

This was the disturbing but thoughtful appraisal offered by Israeli editor Yochanan Ramati to a Washington audience recently.

Ramati, a Likud member of the Jerusalem City Council, former managing editor of the Israel Economist, and a frequent contributor to Midstream and other journals, expressed views at odds with the conventional wisdom of Washington's diplomatic and media circles. Nonetheless, Ramati's analysis is based on a thoughtful examination of the evidence and coincides with the views of at least 50% of the Israeli electorate. His point of view deserves attention.

As Ramati sees things, the real issue is not whether it is possible for Israel to negotiate with the PLO, but whether it is wise or feasible for Israel to negotiate with King Hussein. Ramati observed that the King's basic problem is that he is the Hashemite ruler of a Palestinian Arab country. The population of Jordan is 65% Palestinian Arab, not counting the "West Bank". The population of the capitol, Amman, is 80% Palestinian Arab.

Ramati recalled for his listeners the King's slaughter of large numbers of Palestinians during the 1970 Black September uprising. There is not much love lost between Hussein and the Palestinians, especially those in Judea and Samaria. In addition, there has been a long-standing tendency for the pro-Jordanian sector of the population to move out of the West bank to the East Bank of the Jordan River, or to points further east, in the Gulf states. The people who remain are largely hostile to Hussein and his

Cont. P. 5

## ISRAEL'S MILITARY LEAD QUESTIONED

A Washington Times (Oct. 30) article, part of a series on The Middle East by Bill Kritzberg, points up the threat to world peace due to the erosion of Israel's military edge against its Arab adversaries. Israel's economic crisis, a Soviet-American and European-fed Middle East arms race, and demographic factors have played a part in the deterioration of the military situation. In spite of the Soviet-sponsored Syrian military

buildup since 1982, their work on electronic countermeasures to neutralize Israeli air power, and the potential combinations of forces that could be arrayed against Israel, the administration, believing Israel's military edge is unchallengeable, is going forward with major arms sales to Jordan and possibly Saudi Arabia. Kritzberg has facts and figures to show "the trends are clearly against Israel".

## LEGISLATIVE ACTION PROPOSED AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA FOR FREEING ABBAS

Excerpted from Joseph Polakoff - October 25, 1985

Yugoslavia's protection from possible U.S. prosecution of Mohammed Abbas Zaida, or Abul Abbas, who master-minded the Achille Lauro hijacking, has brought consideration of legislative action against it by three Congressional committees and exposure of its treatment of Palestinian terrorists and Italian government complicity.

Central to Congressional action against the Belgrade Government, which has adhered to a pro-Arab policy for more than 30 years, are Reps. Jim Courter (Republican, N.J.) and James Sensenbrenner (Republican, Wis.). Courter is in his fourth term and Sensenbrenner in his fifth in Congress.

Courter's disclosure of Yugoslavia's actions related to the Achille Lauro affair came in an article in "Why Abbas Chose Yugoslavia", which was first published in the Wall Street Journal (Oct. 23) and later placed in

the Congressional Record at the instance of Rep. Tom Lantos (Democrat, Calif.).

Sensenbrenner's legislation would enable the President to withhold economic and military aid to any country which has an extradition treaty with the U.S. and refuses to extradite a terrorist who committed a terrorist act against a U.S. citizen or property. Studying his proposal are the House Foreign Affairs, Judiciary, and Ways and Means Committees. Capitol sources said the State Department is reluctant to support the legislation since it wishes to put U.S. relations back to normal with Italy, Egypt, and Yugoslavia.

November 25th update: A bounty of 1/4 million dollars has now been offered by the State Department for Mr. Abbas.

CLIPS

### OMISSION EARNS "DART"

"Double take journalism" is how the Columbia Journalism Review characterizes the Washington Post's coverage of Louis Farrakhan's July 23rd visit (September/October issue). The Review accredited the Post with a dart noting that the first article on Farrakhan's appearance completely overlooked his mockery of the Holocaust and anti-Semitic attacks.

### SCAPEGOATS AGAIN

When the Soviet Union recently suffered its first terrorist kidnapping of four diplomatic officials in Lebanon, the Soviet television news report blamed Israel for destabilizing Lebanon. The translation of that news report was broadcast on American network news without comment. A proper accounting could have pointed out that the Soviet Union's only real complaint might be that their chickens are coming home to roost--at last.

### CLARIFICATION, PLEASE

"Israel's attack upon the Tunis PLO headquarters is equivalent to Nicaragua attacking the United States, or Cuba attacking the United States because of our actions against Nicaragua and Cuba". So spoke Hodding Carter on David Brinkley's Sunday morning "THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY" television show, October 6.

If you can make sense of this statement, please let us know.

During the summer CAMERA members remained active on many projects. One national success was achieved on July 30, 1985 when a CAMERA member was able to ask a question on the nationally broadcast show "VIEWPOINT". This show, hosted by ABC's Ted Koppel, was entitled "TV: UNDER THE GUN" (July 30th) and dealt with the issue of the hijacking of TWA 847 and the surrounding media coverage of that event. CAMERA was among the selected groups invited to participate in the audience questioning.

CAMERA also gained a useful insight into how Washington Post editors handle controversial issues. In August Post Mortems reprinted two photos from The Post. The first, a fairly innocuous picture of the pilot of the TWA hostage plane and a hijacker, both smiling, ran on the front page (June 20th). The second, a far more sinister view, of the same two men but with the hijacker's hand over the pilot's mouth and his pistol at the ready, ran on page 31 of the same edition. CAMERA President, Win Meiselman asked The Post's Executive Editor, Benjamin Bradlee, about this misleading placement of the photos.

WM: Mr. Bradlee, what made you choose to run these pictures where you did? The one that got to the front page made the terrorist look like nothing more than a mischievous kid with a gun, while the other, showing him with his hand over the pilot's mouth and a far more threatening pose was placed back on page 31.

BB: Oh that. Yeah, we saw that, but we were concerned over the ABC label. (The second photo had a sign reading "ABC News Exclusive") so we decided to run it there.

WM: You could have cropped it.

BB: We never crop pictures at The Post!"

The photo with the ABC label did appear later on the front page of the Baltimore Sun and in a feature news story in U.S. News & World Report.

So much for Mr. Bradlee's lame excuse!

Meanwhile, a column on the hijacking, written under the auspices of the Camera Writers Group (CWG), was published in several papers around the country at the same time.

Our readers are encouraged to report any CWG columns in their local publications. Please credit CWG and send us copies of the article.

Cont. from P.4

Readers will find Sir James Goldsmith's paper "Soviet Active Measures versus the Free Press" of particular interest. Goldsmith, publisher of L'Express News-magazine, Paris, is known as a leader in exposing disinformation plants.

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## AND, MORE RECENTLY...CAREFUL MONITORING PRODUCES RESULTS

On the 1:00 P.M. news report, Sunday, December 1, 1985, the Cable News Network announcer made the following statement:

"Senator Moynihan (D. NY) is speaking out on the alleged spy activity of Jonathan Pollard and the Israelis. Here's what he had to say on (ABC's) THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY TODAY:

'I think we should be alarmed and I think we should start pulling out fingernails to make clear it's not funny, it's not worth it and it won't be tolerated.'

Sounds reasonable? But it isn't! Senator Moynihan's comments were in response to the following question by George Will: "Why is it that this sort of thing (spying in general) used to be done for ideological reasons, out of moral passion, sympathy with the politics of the other side? Now, espionage seems to be a kind of squalid commercial transaction. Should we be alarmed in some way about the moral tone that makes this kind of transaction multiply?"

The "fingernail" comment by Senator Moynihan therefore referred to Pollard only in part, but not at all to "the Israelis" to quote CNN's original broadcast. It also especially referred to the several American spies who had sold out their country's secrets to the Soviet enemy for money.

An alert CAMERA member who had taped the ABC interview quickly contacted the CNN headquarters in Atlanta and spoke to the producer of the news report about the distortion occasioned by lack of context, and referred him to Mr. Will's original question. He also pointed out that the Senator, himself, would be quite perturbed to learn how his words were being portrayed nationally by an otherwise responsible news network.

The producer agreed to check the original tape, and after doing so informed his caller that he was correct, and that CNN would change the context of the Moynihan clip for the 5:00 and 6:00 PM shows. The call ended with a "Thank you very much" from CNN and a correct version of the Senator's comments on the later shows. Moral of this story is that responsible criticism can help produce responsible journalism. We urge other members to tape critical video shows such as Ted Koppel, the Sunday news interview shows and evening news broadcasts to use as reference for response.

CAMERA will soon begin forming regular monitoring groups to coordinate the many efforts made by individual members. If you would like to learn more about these groups please call Zelda Zeldin at (202) 332-6469.

## MUST READING

Proceedings of the CAMERA-Heritage Foundation conference on "Soviet Disinformation and the News" held last May in Washington, D.C. are now in print and can now be ordered from the CAMERA office for \$3.00.

The papers reveal the Soviet technique of "disinformation", whereby misleading or false propaganda is interjected into the non-Communist press (the more conservative and/or accepted, the better) in ways that are difficult to uncover and disprove. Participants included former KGB station chief in Tokyo, Stanislav Levchenko; Richard Shultz and Roy Godson, who authored "Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy"; Ralph K. Bennett, Senior Editor, Reader's Digest's Washington Bureau; and Kenneth Jacobson, Director of Middle East Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Cont. from P.1

rule. For Hussein to take in the population of Judea and Samaria would lead to civil disorder in Jordan. The Reagan plan, which calls for the transfer of Judea and Samaria to Jordanian rule, would therefore lead to a destabilized Jordan. This would hardly be a benefit for American influence in the region.

The Reagan plan would also lead to a destabilized and divided Israel. Fifty percent of the Israeli electorate is not prepared to cede Judea and Samaria to Jordan under any conditions. A politically unstable Israel would no longer be a strategic asset to the U.S.

"WHERE CAN YOU PUT 4,000 TANKS IN A COUNTRY ONLY 10 MILES WIDE?"

In addition, Ramati believes that an agreement between Jordan and Israel which involves territorial concessions by Israel would increase rather than decrease the chances for war between the two countries.

For one thing, it is not possible for Hussein to divorce himself from the PLO. To do so would be suicide. Relations between Israel and Jordan have actually deteriorated already, because Hussein now plays host to Arafat.

Secondly, Ramati observed that an agreement between Israel and Jordan would do nothing to solve the Palestinian problem. The economy of Judea and Samaria is not big enough to support the Arabs who live there now. Eighty thousand Arabs from the West Bank commute to work inside the borders of pre-1967 Israel, in addition to all those who have migrated to work in the Gulf states. Rather than relieving the Palestinian pressure on Hussein's rule, territorial concessions by Israel would drastically increase the pressure on Hussein to finally "solve" the Palestinian problem by going to war against a strategically weakened Israel.

As Ramati sees the situation, the

incentives for a combination of Arab states to make war against a territorially shrunken Israel would be irresistible. Israel would be unable to mobilize its tank divisions within the reduced frontiers. "Where can you put 4,000 tanks in a country only 10 miles wide?" he asked with telling effect. A conventional defense would not be feasible. A pre-emptive strike must also be ruled out, given the improvements in missile and early warning technology in the Arab states. The only deterrent left would be the nuclear option. This alternative may be favored by some of Prime Minister Peres' advisors, but it is a frightening thought to most Israelis. The nuclearization of the Arab-Israeli conflict is also not in the strategic interests of the United States. Conventional conflicts between Israel and its neighbors have not touched off a wider war involving the superpowers. A nuclear confrontation very well might.

The reason why Ramati and many other Israelis are so skeptical of the land for peace formulation rests on their understanding of the history and culture of the Arabs. Ramati believes that the Arab approach to Israel is determined by the basic Islamic precept that it is not acceptable for lands which were conquered in the name of Islam to be ruled by non-Muslims. The only situation in which this condition can be accepted is if the Muslims are not strong enough to destroy the non-Muslim state. Therefore, anything which weakens Israel damages the chances for relatively peaceful co-existence in the region.

The only reason, according to Ramati, that Hussein and the other so-called moderate Arab leaders are now willing to broach the subject of negotiations with Israel is because Israel at present has defensible borders. They see negotiations as the only way to change these borders, since they have run out of military alternatives. Once the borders are changed, Israel will no longer be seen as too strong to

Cont. P. 6

Cont. from P. 5

attack, and it will become the duty of every loyal Muslim to try to over-run the illegitimate infidel or "dhimmi" state.

In Ramati's view, this motivating dynamic behind Arab hostility to Israel also applies in the case of Egypt. Sadat went to Jerusalem only after he had tried his military option against Israel and had failed. Because Egypt now has what it wants from Israel, it has increased its level of hostility. For instance, Egypt for some time has been exerting pressure on African states to prevent them from resuming diplomatic relations with Israel, even though Egypt itself has such relations.

Ramati's analysis also touched on the strategic value to the U.S. of Israel's support of NATO's southern flank. He also stressed that we need to carefully consider what we mean by peace. In a volatile region such as the Middle East, peace essentially means the absence of armed conflict between states, and the reduction of terrorism to a minimum. Peaceful

coexistence above all depends on a perception that the situation can be stabilized, not on a search for comprehensive and ultimate solutions. Concessions by Israel lead to a perception of weakness rather than a perception of stability, and a perception of weakness leads to war.

Yochanan Ramati concluded his talk by stressing that Americans need to remember that sometimes it is best to do nothing. This attitude is difficult for a nation with our "can-do" optimistic heritage to accept. But in Ramati's view the status quo in the Arab-Israeli dispute can in fact be stabilized, and the major U.S. interest in the region is in stability. If the American administration would allow the unpublicized but apparently ongoing contacts between the warring parties to continue without "bold" (but futile or self-defeating) initiatives for peace, this could possibly lead to a more stable and lasting peaceful arrangement than any other scenario.

Dora Esten

Subscriptions are \$15.00 per year. For membership information call 202/822-8884 or contact: CAMERA, P.O. Box 17322, Washington, D.C. 20041

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JAN 06 1985

FO/SFB

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** December 30, 1985  
**to** Harold Applebaum  
**from** Ernest H. Weiner  
**subject** Chapter program on terrorism

As we discussed this morning, this program was in the works and the timing is good. This will be our second program this year on the subject of terrorism. There have been predictable expectations among our chapter leaders for the past year that AJC nationally would have zeroed in on terrorism as a major program area. When I urged that this be done one year ago at the staff retreat in Geronimos and was told convincingly that this would be a rapidly developed program area, I shared that response with our chapter leaders. Since virtually no activity on a national level was forthcoming, the judgement was made to at least do it on a local basis.

Best regards,



Samie

enc:

cc: William Trosten  
Eugene DuBow  
Marc Tanenbaum  
David Harris  
Mort Yarmon

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 14, 1985  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Allan Kagedan  
**subject** Terrorism

As you requested, here are some initial thoughts on possible AJC programming regarding terrorism.

1. AJC is devoted to spreading ideas and encouraging policies beneficial to human rights, Jewish concerns and the U.S. national interest. Our programs must aim to influence the American public and government decision-makers on a proper understanding of the terrorist threat, and about how to respond to this challenge. <sup>of the nature</sup>

2. The approach we favor is that advocated by Secretary of State George Shultz. To say this is to point out the problem: Shultz has been unable to prevail in debates within the Administration regarding terrorism; and Shultz will not be there forever to advocate his view. There is a need to support Shultz's understanding, and to deepen and broaden support for it in the American public. (Perhaps Shultz could be asked to address the terrorism issue when he appears at the Annual Meeting).

3. The principal danger on the terrorism issue is that it will be used, by the media and by our adversaries, to weaken American popular support for Israel. Again, this makes it crucial to educate the public on how terrorists and their support groups have motivations, aims and objectives reaching far beyond the Palestinian question.

4. In light of these considerations, a conference on terrorism which AJC co-sponsors could address the following issues:

Who are the terrorists? Which governments support them, how and why? Why do terrorists attack Americans and Europeans, as well as Israelis?

What can, and what can not, be achieved through diplomacy? Why are the Europeans so reluctant to act? When would unilateral U.S. action against terrorism be appropriate?



Israel, a prime target of terrorists, has been remarkably successful in defending itself against acts of terror. What are the ingredients of Israeli success? How has Israel protected its airports? How has Israel "negotiated" with terrorists? What role has the Israeli media played in terrorist incidents? (This discussion not only might produce valuable lessons for us, but it would encourage pro-Israel sentiment).

5. Terrorism can conjure up many more topics (the role of the media, international legal remedies, etc.), but our aim should be to influence U.S. policy and public opinion on issues that we feel are vital.

6. Alas, there have been enough terrorist incidents over the past two decades for us now to have a body of writing and a number of persons with professional knowledge of the subject. A key contact person in this area could be a member of our Steering Committee, Michael Ledeen, of Georgetown University, who, I understand, has just edited a book on terrorism titled Hydra of Carnage. Between Ledeen, and our contacts in the U.S. and Israeli governments, we should be able to assemble an impressive expert group.



# ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS  
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

## HIJACK TERROR

(Press Summary - June 23, 1985)

The hijacking of TWA Flight 847 on June 14 initiated a new episode of terror in the Middle East. Though most of the hostages were Americans (including some with "Jewish-sounding" names), Israel appeared to hold the key to their freedom. For according to the hijackers and their spokesman in Beirut, the hostages would be released only upon the release of the 766 Lebanese, mostly Shi'ites, being held in an Israeli detention camp in Atlit near Haifa.

Barely two weeks earlier, Israel had exchanged more than a thousand Palestinians and other terrorists, including many Shi'ites, for three Israeli soldiers captured during the war in Lebanon. The Shi'ites held in Atlit had been arrested as security risks by Israeli security forces before their withdrawal from Lebanon earlier this month, and were being detained until the situation in southern Lebanon stabilized. After the TWA hijacking, Israel was faced with the choice of either maintaining the position adopted by the U.S. Administration of refusing to negotiate with terrorists, or of releasing the detainees in exchange for the American hostages.

The choice was not an easy one. Israel has long been on record as refusing to negotiate with terrorists for the release of hostages. Yet, her own departure from that rule in the recent prisoner exchange (see Press Highlights, "Prisoner Exchange", May 27, 1985), made it difficult not to release the Shi'ites if American lives were at stake. At the same time, Israelis were troubled by the seemingly contradictory signals from Washington. While President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz insisted that they opposed yielding to terrorist demands or asking Israel to do so, lower-ranking U.S. officials declared that Israel's detention of the Shi'ites was a violation of international law. This position was not new; the U.S. had earlier objected to Israel's decision to move the prisoners from its IDF (Israel Defense Force) detention camp at Ansar in Lebanon to Israel. But the timing of the latest American pronouncements was seen in Israel as an indirect U.S. appeal for the exchange of the Shi'ites for the TWA hostages, and led Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in an interview on U.S. television, to call on the Reagan Administration "to not play games," but state clearly what it wants Israel to do.

The Reagan Administration was angered by the Rabin remarks, and in a speech to members of the Zionist General Council in Jerusalem (June 21), Prime Minister Shimon Peres sought to tone down Mr. Rabin's criticism. "The real problem," he said, "is not only how to deal with each hijacking, but also how to act in organized and systematic fashion against all manifestations of terrorism. If no organized or consistent international responsibility emerges ... terrorism will continue to run rampant, and will threaten the lives and well-being of innocent

men, women and children. On the other hand, if the world organizes against terrorism, there is every chance that terrorism will fade."

"As far as I know," Mr. Peres added "there has been no change in the U.S. position, nor has the U.S. approached Israel with a request that it take any action. We are not indifferent to the fate of the hostages -- irrespective of nationality or religion. But from our experience we know that an operation to free hijacked persons must be carried out in a unified fashion. There is no one method of dealing with the release of hostages, because hijackings themselves are not the result of one single method." Mr. Peres stressed the importance of "centralization" in dealing with the problem, explaining that "it is for this reason that Israel is refraining from giving advice or making declarations."

Commentators in the Israeli press, however, had much advice to offer, motivated by the reaction of the Israeli public to the recent exchange of the 1,150 Palestinians and other terrorists for three Israeli soldiers. Many Israelis feel that move -- which led to the release of convicted murderers and the return of some of them to their homes in Judea and Samaria -- has opened the door to new acts of terror and hostage-taking, and point to the hijacking of Flight 847 as an obvious aftermath.

Prime Minister Peres is not inclined to accept that argument. Responding to a question at the Zionist General Council meeting, he insisted that there was no connection between Israel's recent release of the convicted terrorists and the TWA hijacking, noting that this was the eighth time the Shi'ites had hijacked a plane. "As far as I know, the planning of the current hijacking was carried out before the [prisoners] were released," he declared.

But a number of leading Israeli columnists felt that Israel's earlier release of the terrorists left her with little choice but to exchange the Shi'ites in Atlit for the TWA hostages. In a front-page editorial entitled, "To Find a Formula -- and to Announce: This Is the Last Time" (Yediot Achronot, June 21, 1985), Ya'akov Kruz calls on the Israel Government to yield to the demands of the hijackers. "If the Government's approach, before it decided on the prisoner exchange last month, had been distinguished by the same vigor and determination that has characterized the declarations of its leading members during the past 24 hours, its position with respect to the hijacked American plane would almost certainly be different than it is now. The adamant position that Israel is now demonstrating towards the U.S. should have been expressed then towards the terrorist organization of Ahmed Jibril." [It was Jibril's radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command that held the three Israeli soldiers exchanged last month.]

Nor is Kruz pleased by the declarations of some U.S. officials that the Shi'ites in Atlit are being held by Israel contrary to international law. "To compare at this moment, even by implication, the status of the Shi'ites in Atlit with the status of the TWA hostages in terms of international law, was not the most tactful..." he writes, arguing that the circumstances require a formula "that will not be disrespectful of Israel or harm the prestige of the U.S., and that will rescue the hijacked plane and all of its passengers, including those 'suspected' of being Jewish." In other words, Israel should accommodate the

U.S. by offering to release the Shi'ites "that were due to be released anyway." Kruz believes that after such an exchange, Israel will be able to regain its credibility by announcing that this was "the last time Israel will act in this way, and that it intends to return to dealing with terror in the way that befits terror..."

Erol Guney, also writing in Yediot Achronot (June 21), suggests that Israel can end the hijack affair by releasing the Shi'ites it holds without appearing to surrender to terrorist demands. He believes that while Israel and the U.S. should not negotiate with terrorists, the present circumstances are different. "[The Shi'ites] held in Israel are there, in any case, under doubtful legal justification; and the U.S., the country directly involved in the hijacking affair, is, in fact, claiming that they are being held illegally. Therefore, the hijacking -- which is an illegal and violent act -- appears in American eyes to be the outcome of another illegal act, executed by Israel -- while those suffering are Americans."

Guney acknowledges "that among the original group which hijacked the TWA plane were a number of relatives of the (Atlit) detainees." "A few weeks ago the IDF announced its intention to release 341 Shi'ites," he writes. "That intention was not carried out because of the kidnapping of the Finnish UNIFIL unit by the SLA (Southern Lebanese Army). That incident was ultimately solved, as such incidents usually are. So why not implement the decision to release the Shi'ites?" Guney asks.

Once Israel decides to release the prisoners held in Atlit, he suggests, the Americans, and they alone, will be in the position to negotiate for the release of the TWA passengers, with the help of the Red Cross.

Yoel Marcus writes in Ha'aretz (June 21): "If the U.S. is in distress -- and certainly the hijacking of the plane is distressing -- one can cite three good reasons why we should help her:

"a) The U.S. does something for us at all levels and the regular and special American aid is what stands between us and total bankruptcy. If we can help her in her distress, and repay her partially for what she has done for us, why not? Especially since the price is cheap, almost a bargain, compared to the 897 convicted murderers and terrorists we released, and since we were getting ready to release the detainees ... after completing the withdrawal from Lebanon.

"b) As it becomes more and more clear in the U.S. that the release of the plane and the hostages depends upon us, public opinion there will turn against us. Many think that much of the trouble of this sort... is because of us in any event; and all we need is for it to appear that our stubbornness has enmeshed the U.S. We can imagine the commotion if, as a result of the stand taken by Peres and Rabin, the hijackers begin killing a hostage every eight hours. I don't believe that we are in a position to be heroes at the expense of American lives, when we were far from being heroes with our three soldiers. Israel will risk its relationship with American public opinion and, in the end, still find itself forced to release the Atlit detainees.

"c) Finally, there is no reason why Israel, as a good friend that still belongs to the sane world, should help humiliate the U.S. [The U.S.] took enough in Vietnam and Teheran, and there is no reason it should be forced to bow to terror.... Once we were the lighthouse, the "Rock of Gibraltar" of no-surrender-to-terror; but in the case of the three [Israeli] soldiers this stance was dealt a mortal blow. If not surrendering to the blackmail of terror is important to us, and if we want to raise that flag again in partnership with the U.S., we cannot allow a situation to develop where hijackers force the surrender of the greatest superpower. We must make our small contribution so that the U.S. does not lose face, and accept the role it is attempting to dictate to us -- that we release the detainees so that she, the superpower, will not have surrendered. Thereafter, we can return to the policy we created, and for which there is no substitute -- that one does not give in to blackmail and terror."

Rafael Mann, a Ma'ariv columnist who often presents the unofficial view of the Israel Government on many issues, claims (June 21) that Israel is prepared to release the Shi'ites in Atlit without negotiating with the terrorists, and as a gesture to the U.S. "The hijacking of the plane has provided the Israeli Government with a dual challenge: on the one hand, Jerusalem must be careful not to enter into negotiations with the hijackers, so as not to be seen again, after the prisoner exchange, as surrendering to terror. On the other hand, there are voices in the U.S., especially in view of the prisoner exchange last month, that are calling for the release of the Shi'ites in order to save American lives. The death of additional hostages could cause American public opinion to point an accusing finger at Israel for refusing to do so."

Mann notes that "Israel has decided to publicize its position: a readiness to consider the release of the detained Shi'ites, who were due to be released anyway, if [Israel] receives an official request from the ranking levels of the American Administration. In any event, Israel will not agree to be a party to the negotiations with the hijackers. This means the release of the detainees is possible on the level of Israel-U.S. relations, as a gesture to Washington, but not as part of negotiations with the hijackers. But, before that, it must be made clear that this is an American problem, since it was a TWA plane, with an American crew and American passengers, that was hijacked."

Edited by Sonya F. Kaufer

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# The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

June 28, 1985

TO: Chapter Presidents and Members of the CSC

FROM: Meta S. Berger, Chairman

I last wrote on June 11th to let you know that the Board of Governors would be meeting June 24th to discuss the agency's budget for 1985-86. I reported that AJC was having financial difficulties this year and that it might be necessary to curtail our services to the communities.

The Board, indeed held its meeting and the outcome was quite extraordinary. There was a genuine outpouring of support from our Governors for a continued, strong chapter movement throughout the country. Many of you had taken it upon yourselves to communicate with our officers and your voice was heard.

The Board of Governors voted, for the first time ever, to dip into the agency's capital budget (usually reserved for upgrading office machinery, repairs to the Institute building, etc.) to specifically see to it that our community services staff would not suffer undue retrenchments. However, we did lose some positions and are being forced to close one of our field offices. However, it was a great vote of confidence in the importance of our chapters and local leadership around the country.

This outstanding show of support for our field operation, by the Board of Governors, carries with it certain responsibilities. AJC's currently plateaued fundraising campaign can only resume its normal growth pattern through the hard work and dedication of its leadership in the communities. Simply put, a more intensive and extensive campaign plus the addition of new fundraising events, are necessary. Our agency prides itself on being participatory in its program. It must be the same in its institutional support system. We do not have a hidden or secret constituency to do fundraising while we do the program. Both responsibilities fall on our shoulders. If AJC is to continue as a vital force in American Jewish life, it must have the funds to do so.

The support given the chapter by the Board also carries with it the responsibility to continually reevaluate and, perhaps, reorganize the chapter movement to keep it healthy and productive. I have given a lot of thought to this subject and I want to extend to you an early invitation to our next CSC meeting on September 9th at 10:00 AM. I have a few proposals to make regarding the structure and program of our community based operations and I want to share them with you at that time.

I wish you all a wonderful summer and I look forward to seeing you on September 9th. I think the 1985-86 program year is going to be a good one for AJC chapters and I invite you to be part of it.

My best personal regards.

MSB/br  
85-300-76

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Tuesday, June 11, 1985

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## Jewish leader extends hand to Arabs

By RUTH SEYMOUR  
Free Press Religion Writer

Already there was one framed picture on the tabletop. But Detroit Edison senior vice-president and general counsel Leon Cohan hastened across his 24th-floor office suite with two more in one arm and another hidden behind his back.

Cohan is the newly elected — and already controversial — president of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Detroit (JCC).

"If I leave any message with you today at all it is: I have a granddaughter," he said, depositing the three treasures on the tabletop. "Look at that face . . ."

**COHAN'S GRANDAUGHTER**, Leila, is both Jewish and Arab; her mother, Sacha, is Egyptian. It is precisely Cohan's call for closer Arab-Jewish relations that has drawn immediate attention and controversy to his new leadership role.

"The metropolitan Detroit Arab community is the largest in the United States," Cohan said in a speech after his May 23 election. "While agreement on the issues of the Middle East may not be possible, this should not and will not prevent us from working together on the host of other problems and opportunities which we share and upon which we can agree."

Cohan also is calling for closer Jewish ties with blacks and Hispanics. He suggests that Detroit-area housing and economic development might be issues for joint action.

Local relations between leaders of Arabs, blacks and Hispanics, who will make up the largest minority in the United States by 1989, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, have been warming for years.



Free Press Photo by WILLIAM ARCHIE

Leon Cohan is a behind-the-scenes politico from way back, known for his energy, astuteness and warmth.

"Nobody has ever had this kind of outreach between Jews and Hispanics," Cohan said.

**COHAN IS** a behind-the-scenes politico from way back, known in Detroit and elsewhere for his energy, astuteness and personal warmth.

### The call for closer relations between Arabs and Jews has drawn attention and controversy.

The 56-year-old Detroit-born lawyer, a resident of Bloomfield Township, joined Detroit Edison in 1973 after 12 years as deputy state attorney general, and refers to Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, U.S. Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., and Michigan Gov. James Blanchard as "old, dear friends."

But now he is treading new ground. He admits he asked an Arab friend, over lunch, for help with a mailing list of recognized leaders in that community.

It is unclear whether diverse Detroit-area Arabs will welcome overtures from Jews.

Abdeen Jabara, 44, national vice-chairman of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, said he believed strong, conflicting emotions over the Middle East would preclude coalition-building in Detroit.

"The mainstream Jewish community is tied in with an American foreign policy which is denying Palestinian rights," he said. "Let's say a German-American organization that supported Nazi Germany had gone to members of the Jewish community and said, 'Come on, let's work together on jobs programs, on questions of housing, let's eliminate discrimination against Jews in the United States.'"

"How would members of the Jewish community have felt about that?"

See **COHAN**, Page 3B



## Jewish leader envisions ties with Arabs

COHAN, from Page 1B

"Or if a South African community here said to Detroit blacks: 'Come on, let's work together on the question of black rights and jobs for blacks and discrimination against blacks here.'"

"I personally," said Jabara, "do not want people who support in a material and political way the oppressors of my people to be made to look good by engaging in some public-relations program."

But Don Unis, 46-year-old president of the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services, heartily supported Cohan's call for Arab-Jewish relations.

"With my Jewish friends, we have discovered we usually agree on everything else except the Middle East. There are many like me in the Arab community . . . maybe if all of us would do less talking and more listening, maybe we would find common ground."

Leon Cohan is determined to forge Jewish-Arab ties in Detroit:

"Most people are people of good will. That is not a pie-in-the-sky attitude. It is a fact. You disagree about a particular political issue, but you find common interest and concerns about life.

"You can almost always break down barriers by talking about children."

Or (and Cohan has pictures in his back pocket, too) grandchildren.

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# Ideast concerns top any Arab-Jewish agenda

*Abdeen Jabara is the national vice-chairman of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee. This is his response to Leon Cohan, the president of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Detroit, who recently called for an Arab-Jewish coalition on local issues ("Jewish leader extends hands to Arabs," Free Press, June 11).*

By ABDEEN JABARA

WHEN I was approached by a Free Press reporter a few weeks ago to give my reaction to Leon Cohan's call for an Arab-Jewish coalition on local issues, I was both delighted and annoyed.

I was delighted because after years of being ignored by the mainstream Jewish community, Detroit's Arab-Americans were being noticed. Cohan's call attests to the accomplishments of our community, of which we are justly proud. I was annoyed because I learned of it through a reporter's query and not from Cohan directly.



Jabara

MY RESPONSE to Cohan's call for co-operation between our two communities was conditioned by his stipulation, as conveyed to me by the Free Press reporter, that the Middle East would be off the agenda. Our dialogue would be confined to local issues: housing, civil rights and education. My answer, of which only a small part appeared in print, stressed that many of Detroit's Arab-American leaders have consistently sought to raise several key issues of concern with Jewish community leaders, particularly Israel's denial of Palestinian Arab rights and the impact of the Middle East conflict on our two communities.

Cohan's call for Arab-Jewish ties masks the existing ties between our communities. Arabs and Jews have been meeting, dialoguing, and in some cases, working together on certain projects in Detroit for some time now.

There have been sporadic meetings between local Jews and Arabs, mostly businessmen and professionals, who have deliberately agreed to omit Palestinian rights from their agenda. To my knowledge, these meetings have become get-acquainted social gatherings that have little or no bearing on either the domestic or the international scene.

Other Arab-Jewish encounters, however, have centered on efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that would insure the rights of all peoples in the Middle East.

This type of Arab-Jewish experience holds out greater promise.

We — mostly progressive Arabs and Jews — do not always agree, of course, on key issues. But we do agree on the necessity of working together whenever possible on a basis of equality. Mutual understanding and mutual recognition are our starting points, and social and political justice is our goal.

AS PART of this experience, Arabs, Jews and blacks have celebrated peace Seders together; Arabs have spoken in synagogues, and we have jointly sponsored U.S. tours by Israelis and Palestinians. Arabs and Jews worked with many other groups on the August 1984 March in Washington, D.C., under the banner of "Jobs, Peace and Freedom."

I welcome Cohan's call for greater Jewish community outreach to Detroit's black, Hispanic and Arab-American communities. Cohan is right in urging greater Jewish community involvement in civil rights and other minority issues. Sen. Carl Levin recently warned that American Jews are in danger of being viewed as a single-issue group.

As Arab-Americans committed to building a better America, we want to work with all Americans, especially

## local voices

Jewish Americans. Cohan, however, should be sensitive to our concerns. We cannot put the Middle East conflict "off the agenda." It has a direct impact on both our communities.

Detroit's Arab-Americans cannot put aside nearly two decades of Israel's occupation and depredation of the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. We find it equally difficult to erase the memory of Israel's three-year-long invasion of Lebanon, which has — according to Lebanese government sources — taken the lives of over 17,000 Palestinians and Lebanese civilians, and injured and maimed tens of thousands more. Much to our chagrin, the mainstream American Jewish community has strongly supported these policies of invasion and occupation.

To be sure, we are in favor of an Arab-Jewish dialogue. We welcome it. But, we want a dialogue without conditions. There is much to talk about.

# America sure isn't standing tall now

By NORMAN PODHORETZ  
News America Syndicate

THE MINUTE Ronald Reagan decided against using force in response to the hijacking of TWA Flight 847, he ensured that the power of the United States, which it had originally been the main mission of his presidency to restore, would suffer yet another incalculable decline.



Podhoretz

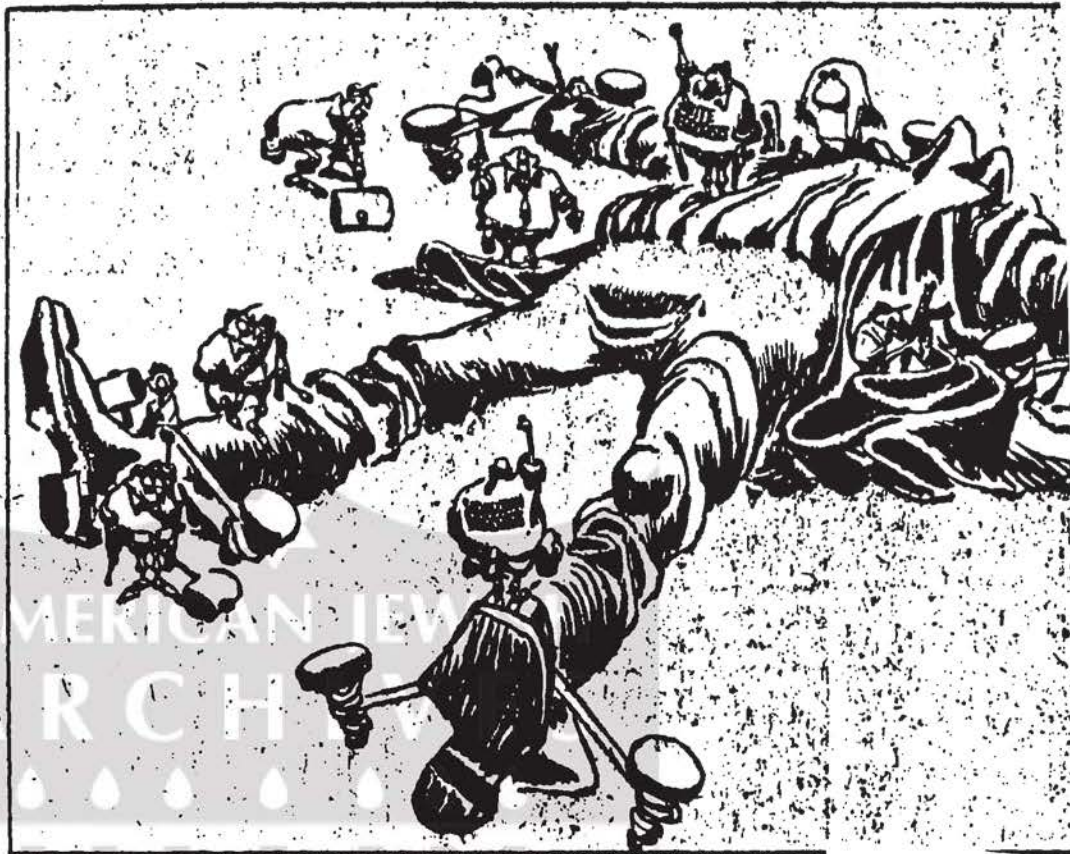
At his press conference on June 18, the president justified his failure to take military action with three astonishing reasons.

First, he said, "I would probably be sentencing a number of Americans to death if I did it." No doubt he would; but in making the safe return of the hostages his primary goal, Reagan was also making a mockery of his claim that America is "standing tall" again.

STANDING TALL, if it means anything, means comporting oneself with pride. Yet Reagan, no less than Jimmy Carter did when the U.S. Embassy was seized in Iran in 1979, is permitting the United States to undergo a protracted humiliation.

Standing tall, if it means anything, means being ready to risk life itself in defense of the national honor. Yet Reagan, like Shakespeare's Falstaff, in effect announces: "What is honor? A word... Who hath it? He that died a Wednesday... Therefore I'll none of it."

Standing tall, if it means anything, means behaving like a free people. Yet



Reagan, by putting the safety of the hostages above all other values, is embracing what philosophers from Aristotle to Nietzsche have derided as the morality of the slave.

THE SECOND reason Reagan gave for refusing to retaliate was that this was a "crime of unidentified people" and "you can't just start shooting without having someone in your gun sights." But the simple truth is that we know very well who the criminals are. They are Shiites, mostly of the Amal faction and a few belonging to the Hezbollah, or Party of God. We also know very well who their leaders are and where they can be found. Indeed, we see Nabih Berri on television every night, and the address of Hezbollah's headquarters has even been published in the papers.

If only, the president went on, these terrorists "could be linked to a country" or to a "source." But Hezbollah is directly linked to Iran, and no terrorists based in areas under Syrian control can operate without Syrian permission or perhaps even instigation. Is Syria not a country? Is Iran not a source?

From these mockeries of his own principles and of the truth, a third reason follows for Reagan's refusal to

use force. Since "you have no way of knowing" who the terrorists are and to whom they might be connected, "you're left with only one form of retaliation and that is that you just aim in the general direction and kill some people; well, then you're a terrorist, too."

HEARING REAGAN speak these words, I wondered for a minute whether he had been briefed by Noam Chomsky or Edward Said or Richard Falk. He might as well have been, since he was here adopting an argument that these academic apologists for terrorism habitually use in trying to equate the deliberate murder of civilians with the collateral and inadvertent damage to civilians that may result from a military action against a military target.

In taking over this argument as his own, Reagan, who declares that he will never give in to terrorism, has made the greatest of all concessions to it. On the one hand, he obversely endorses its claim to moral equivalence with legal military operations; on the other hand — given the terrorists' favorite tactic of always hiding behind women and children and in schools and hospitals — he de-legitimizes any possible military action against them.

Of course, this is not the first time Reagan has practiced unilateral disarmament in the face of terrorist aggression. During his period in office, U.S. embassies have been bombed, American officials have been murdered, American citizens have been kidnapped — and no American finger has been raised. Worse yet, after the massacre of the 240 marines in Beirut in October 1983, nothing whatever was done, even though there was no lying talk about the difficulty of identifying the responsible parties.

THEN, as now, however, there was much talk from the administration of "limits to our patience" and future retribution. Again, one of Shakespeare's characters comes to mind, this time King Lear: "I will do such things — what they are yet, I know not; but they shall be the terrors of the earth!" That such "terrors" remain imaginary only persuades real terrorists that attacking the United States is both easy and cheap.

Reagan's liberal enemies had been hoping against hope that he was becoming a lame duck, but little could they have expected that he would reveal himself so soon into his second term as a pitifully crippled hawk. Still less did those of us who had trusted him to preside over a renewal of American power expect that he would instead lead us step by step down to where we were under Carter in 1979. A reprisal after the hostages are released, assuming they ever will be, would at least do something to lift us back up, but by now I for one would be surprised if Reagan were capable even of that.



# NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION

214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 220  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 543-3515

January 28, 1986

Dear Friend:

On behalf of the National Forum Foundation, I would like to invite you to attend a Capitol Hill conference entitled "Governmental and Counter-Terrorism Responses." The conference will be held from 9:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. on FEBRUARY 21, 1986 in ROOM SD-562 of the DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

This day-long conference is being sponsored by the National Forum Foundation in cooperation with the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism (SUNY) and the Institute for Social and Behavioral Pathology (University of Chicago). The meetings will be organized into two sessions, with individual presentations followed by general discussion. Lunch will be served in the Dirksen Building in a room convenient to the conference room. The cost for lunch will be approximately \$10.00, payable at the door.

This is the first in a series of three conferences the National Forum Foundation will hold during the first half of 1986 on the subject of international terrorism. A second conference, scheduled to take place in Washington on April 14, 1986, will address the responsibility of the news media in covering terrorist incidents. The third conference, scheduled for June 16, 1986 in Houston, Texas, will address the threat facing American businesses and their role in countering terrorism.

I look forward to seeing you on February 21. Seating will be limited and offered on a first come basis. If you wish to confirm your attendance, please complete the coupon below. For further information contact Ed Lynch at (202) 543-3515.

Sincerely,

  
Jim Denton  
Executive Director



NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION  
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GOVERNMENTAL AND COUNTER TERRORISM RESPONSES

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The Institute for Studies  
in International Terrorism  
(SUNY)

and

The Institute for Social  
and Behavioral Pathology  
(The University of Chicago)

Friday, February 21, 1986  
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 562

9:00 - 9:15 OPENING REMARKS:

James S. Denton  
Executive Director  
National Forum Foundation

Professor Lawrence Z. Freedman  
Director, Institute for Social  
and Behavioral Pathology  
University of Chicago

9:15 - 12:30 MORNING SESSION:

CHAIR: Dr. Yonah Alexander  
Institute for Studies in International Terrorism  
State University of New York

PANELISTS:

Hubert Williams  
President  
The Police Foundation

Peter Goss  
Control Risks (London)

Professor Harvey Ingharsh  
Graduate Business School  
Georgetown University

David Epstein  
Counter Terrorism Office  
State Department

Dr. Robert Eriedlander  
Office of Senator Orrin G. Hatch

Dr. George Carver  
Center for Strategic  
and International Studies

Oliver Revell  
Investigations Office  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Louis O. Giuffrida  
Former Director  
Federal Emergency Management Agency

12:30 - 2:00 p.m. LUNCH BREAK

2:00 - 5:15 AFTERNOON SESSION:

CHAIR: Professor John Norton Moore  
Center for Law and National Security  
School of Law  
University of Virginia

PANELISTS:

Dr. Allan Gerson  
Office of Legal Counsel  
Justice Department

Joel Lisker, Director  
Subcommittee on Security  
and Terrorism

J. Robert McBrien  
Enforcement and Operations  
Treasury Department

Bernard Campbell  
Foreign Service Institute  
State Department

Bernard Stewart  
Senior Systems Analyst  
SRI-International

Captain David McMunn  
Vice President's Task Force  
on Combating Terrorism

Ambassador Louis Glenn Fields, Jr.

Max Singer  
President  
The Potomac Organization

5:15 - 5:30 CLOSING REMARKS:

Edward A. Lynch  
National Security Policy Analyst  
National Forum Foundation

Dr. Eric Willenz  
The Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace

The panel discussions will be followed by a wine and cheese reception.

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**  
**HOWARD L. BERMAN**  
**26TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA**

February 28, 1986

Dr. Neil Sandberg  
The American Jewish Committee  
6505 Wilshire Boulevard #315  
Los Angeles, CA 90048

Dear Dr. Sandberg:

Antiterrorist rhetoric has reached a peak in Washington, but the Reagan Administration's actions do not begin to match its words. United States policies on terrorism are still inconsistent, sporadic and weak.

I have introduced legislation to impose an arms embargo against countries that support terrorism. My bill would bar all military sales to the few countries in the world which grant safehaven and bases to terrorists. The ban would cover all arms, aircraft, helicopters, militarily significant dual use equipment and goods useful in terrorism.

This is a bipartisan bill. Congressman Henry Hyde, a conservative Republican with whom I disagree on many issues, joined me in introducing it. We fully concur on the need for an antiterrorist policy that has some teeth.

Since I first came to Congress nearly four years ago, I have been working to strengthen United States policies against terrorism. In early 1983, I introduced legislation to restore Iraq to the list of countries supporting terrorism -- at a time when Abu Nidal was based in Iraq and was engaging in worldwide attacks against Jews, Israelis, moderate Arab diplomats and advocates of Middle East peace. The Reagan Administration wanted to court Iraq and strongly opposed putting it on the terrorist list.

My 1983 bill also would have restored controls -- lifted by the Reagan Administration -- on aircraft and helicopter sales to countries supporting terrorism. Terrorists freely use their patrons' airlines in transporting weapons, explosives and murderers. The Reagan Administration was more concerned about making aircraft sales than opposing terrorism, and worked to defeat this provision as well.

Recent terrorist murders of so many innocent civilians on the Achille Lauro, the TWA airliner and at the Rome and Vienna airports have shown that sales to terrorist-supporting governments come at too high a human cost.



page two

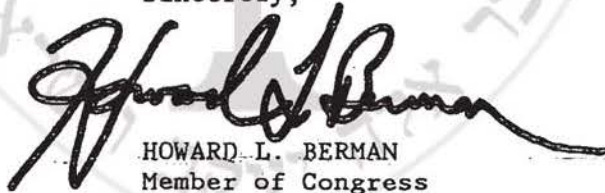
Administration officials loudly threaten military retaliation against terrorists. In the real world, however, it is very hard to pin down where these secretive international outlaws are at a given time. We do know which countries provide bases, training and safehaven for terrorists. International sanctions against those countries could help put terrorists out of business.

Our allies have been reluctant to cooperate with United States sanctions in the past. This embargo, however, already has their unprecedented support. The European Community recently banned sales of arms and military equipment to countries supporting terrorism.

Terrorism is the greatest obstacle to peace in the Middle East. King Hussein and moderate Palestinians rightly fear for their lives when asked to take bold steps toward peace. Israeli citizens rightly wonder if there can be real peace when terrorists repeatedly attack unarmed civilians and children.

For too long, the Administration has allowed other considerations to take precedence over the fight against terrorism -- the quest for military sales, the pursuit of ties with countries that use terrorism as an awful, inhumane tool of their policy. The United States must be willing to impose at least military sanctions against nations that support terrorism, if we are to have any real antiterrorist policy, or any real Middle East peace policy.

Sincerely,



HOWARD L. BERMAN  
Member of Congress

HLB:mas

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 3/12/86

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO: Marc Tanenbaum

Please circulate to:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Read and return
- Returned as requested
- Please telephone me
- Your comments, please
- As requested

REMARKS:

Barry Schweib gave  
this to me.

EMBASSY OF GREECE  
OFFICE OF PRESS AND INFORMATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 1986

ATHENS AND OTHER GREEK AIRPORTS  
AMONG WORLD'S SAFEST

Exhaustive and Up-to-Date Precautions  
Rigorously Enforced

The following facts prove that Athens Airport, in common with the other airports of Greece, is among the safest in the world.

Recent repeated inspections by investigating teams sent by the International Air Transport Association (IATA) and the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) confirm that the security system at Greek airports, the equipment, and its vigilant use by security personnel, who are rotating every 30 minutes, fully meet and in many ways exceed the highest international standards required by those authorities.

All security equipment in use at Greek airports is rigorously tested and carefully maintained and renewed when required.

While the security arrangements are enforced across the board and affect every aspect of airport operations, special attention is routinely paid to aircraft originating from airports where security measures are not up to standard, or where, for whatever reason, special security precautions are indicated.

The success of these efforts to ensure the safety of planes and passengers passing through Greek airports is proved by their place, statistically, among the safest in the world; and by the demonstrated confidence of the world's air travelers who use Greek airports in ever-increasing numbers.

The following is a brief summary of some of the main features of the security system in place at Athens and other Greek airports:

1. Passengers are required to check their baggage in person. Greece is among the few countries where no aircraft is allowed to take off with unaccompanied baggage. To ensure this, the number of emplaned passengers is checked against the number recorded at the check-in counter. If there is a discrepancy, all baggage is unloaded and each passenger is required to identify his or her own. Any bags not so identified are isolated and subjected to special examination. They are not re-loaded on the plane.

2. Passengers are checked as they enter the transit area, whether they have arrived from outside the airport or on another aircraft. The checks include a

walk-through magnetic test, X-ray inspection of hand luggage (some of which is also opened for examination at random), and body searches when necessary.

The same checks are made on all crew members and ground staff, all of whom must display their official identity tags when on duty.

3. In addition to these checks performed by the airport authorities, individual airlines are permitted to conduct their own second screening, using their own equipment, if they so wish.

4. Only official vehicles are permitted to enter the secure areas of the airports. All such vehicles, strictly limited in number, must display their identity and are subject to frequent screening at check points.

5. Airport perimeters and the areas within them are strictly guarded. At the Athens Airport, the 10-kilometer perimeter fence has recently been reinforced to ICAO standards and has elevated guard posts manned on a 24-hour basis by security guards. Within the perimeter, the airport is also secured by a 24-hour patrol car surveillance which is especially intensive in the areas where aircraft are parked. Also areas outside the airport are patrolled on a 24-hour basis. There is also closed-circuit TV surveillance of all sensitive points of the airport.

In addition to the above routine security arrangements, special classified precautions are taken in response to particular circumstances as they arise, or as information may be received from domestic or international authorities.



# TERRORISM RISK STATISTICS

Most voluntary activities are far more dangerous than the terrorist threat to American travellers in Europe. Some examples are bicycling, eating meat, swimming and riding in a car.

## ACTIVITIES AND THEIR RISKS TO AMERICANS

- **Terrorism in Europe** 6.6 million Americans travelled to Europe last year, **10** died from terrorists.<sup>1</sup>
- **Bicycling** **870% greater risk** of death than from terrorists in Europe [1 out of 75, 494 American bikers is killed in bicycle accidents].<sup>2</sup>
- **Eating** **960% greater risk** of death than from terrorists in Europe [1 out of 68,497 Americans chokes to death].<sup>3</sup>
- **Swimming** **3,240% greater risk** of death than from terrorists in Europe [1 out of 20,354 American swimmers drowns].<sup>4</sup>
- **Riding in a Car** **15,210% greater risk** of death than from terrorists in Europe [1 out of 4,338 Americans is killed in auto accidents].<sup>5</sup>

## OTHER FACTS

- Murders each year<sup>6</sup>

New York City	1,645	
Greece	65	
- Some of the 256 hijackings in the last 8 years<sup>7</sup>

Miami	14	Chicago	4
New York City	10	Greece	3
Turkey	5		
- One of 116 Americans dies each year (all causes).<sup>8</sup>
- Nearly twice as many Americans were killed by dogs than by terrorists in Europe in 1985.<sup>9</sup>

## IRRATIONAL FEARS

*Heightened by media and film attention*

- **Shark Attacks** An average of **4 people** die from shark attacks worldwide each year.<sup>10</sup>
- **Flying** There are over 15,000 American commercial airline flights **each day** in the U.S. Worldwide only 2 have gone down in the last 3 years and 8 months.<sup>11</sup>
- **Terrorists** One out of 660,000 Americans visiting Europe died from terrorism in 1985.<sup>12</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> 1985 Data from the European Travel Commission [composed of 23 Western European national tourist organizations]; the Office of the Ambassador at Large to Counter Terrorism, U.S. State Department; and the U.S. Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> 1983 Data from the National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and the Bicycle Manufacturers Association of America.

<sup>3</sup> 1983 Data from the National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

<sup>4</sup> 1980 Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1984 (104th edition) Washington, D.C. 1983 [estimated that 53% of the population swims].

<sup>5</sup> 1980 Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1984 (104th edition) Washington, D.C. 1983.

<sup>6</sup> 1980 Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1984 (104th edition) Washington, D.C. 1983.

<sup>7</sup> "Aircraft Hijackings and other Criminal Acts Against Civil Aviation Statistical and Narrative Reports" Federal Aviation Administration, Office of Civil Aviation Security, 1985.

<sup>8</sup> 1980 Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1984 (104th edition) Washington, D.C. 1983.

<sup>9</sup> 1983 Data from the National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

<sup>10</sup> David Baldrige, *Shark Attack*. Anderson, South Carolina: Drock House Publishers, 1974.

<sup>11</sup> Air Transport Association.

<sup>12</sup> 1985 Data from the European Travel Commission [composed of 23 Western European national tourist organizations]; the Office of the Ambassador at Large to Counter Terrorism, U.S. State Department; and the U.S. Library of Congress.

3/13

REPRODUCTION

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

REMINDER

**date**      March 3, 1986

**to**         See Below,

**from**       David Geller

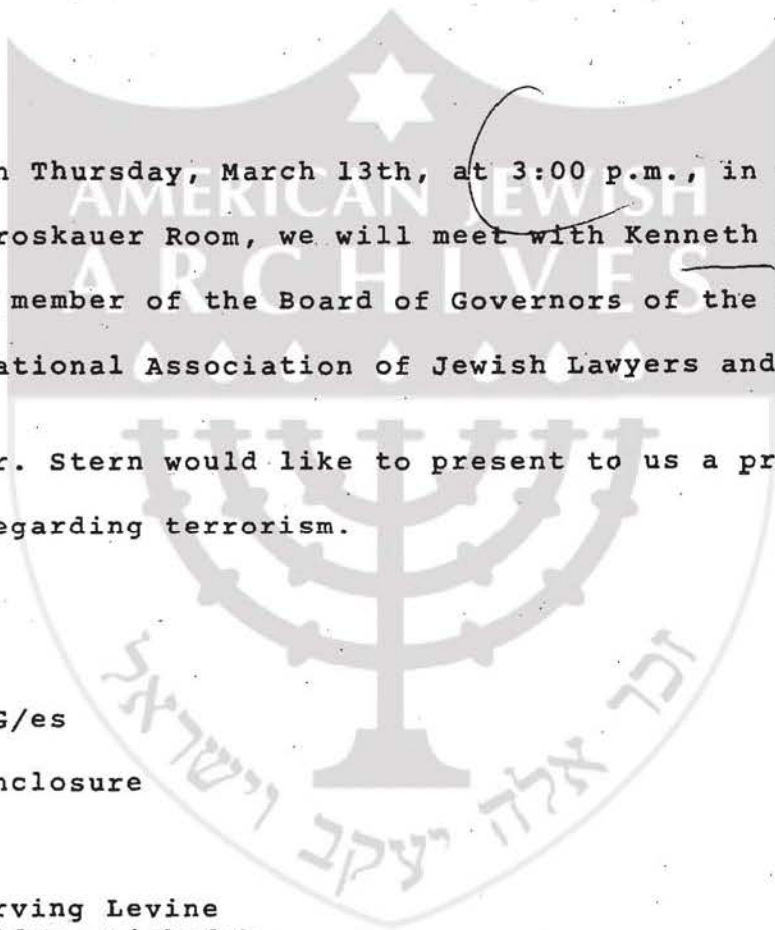
**subject**   Meeting on Terrorism

On Thursday, March 13th, at 3:00 p.m., in the Proskauer Room, we will meet with Kenneth Stern, a member of the Board of Governors of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists.

Mr. Stern would like to present to us a project regarding terrorism.

DG/es  
Enclosure

TO:      Irving Levine  
           Sidney Liskofsky  
           Samuel Rabinove  
           Gary Rubin  
           Marc Tanenbaum ✓  
           Jacob Kovadloff  
           George Gruen



## AN INVITATION

Dear Association Members, Friends, and Colleagues:

It is with much pride that we announce our Third Annual Meeting and invite you to attend. The Meeting will be convened in New York at the Cardozo Law School April 20-21, 1986.

Much has happened with the American Section in the past year. We had a very successful Annual Meeting in Washington last year, our membership has grown, and we have undertaken two significant projects. One of those projects concerns how, as lawyers, to deal with terrorism. Thus, it is altogether fitting that this be the focus of our Third Annual Meeting.

The Annual Meeting committee, under the Chair of our Vice-President, Judge Jerome Hornblass, has gathered together an impressive array of experts on every aspect of terrorism, from the psychological to the legal, focusing upon the domestic, the international, and the purely Jewish aspects of the problem. From this in-depth treatment of the problem, it is hoped that there will emerge some real approaches to significant questions of what our Association can and should do productively in this area. Ken Stern, who heads up our terrorism project, will be very live to the suggestions that emerge from both our experts and from those in attendance.

We are especially honored by the significant participation of Mayor Edward Koch of New York, who will be our keynote speaker, and by Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, Benjamin Netanyahu, who will deliver the featured address.

We are also honored that three organizations have joined with us to sponsor the program on Terrorism: the Brandeis Society of Queens, the Cardozo Law School, and the New York District of the American Judges Association. Each has contributed meaningfully to the building of the program. We look forward to joining with them in the exploration of this topic of such significance to all of us.

Special events will include two luncheons and a festive reception, where both panelists and participants may mingle and discuss this important subject in a more informal atmosphere.


This year's winning entry in the Law Student Essay Contest will be announced, with the winner participating as a special guest of the Association. In addition, resolutions will be presented for ratification by those in attendance. All resolutions must be submitted in writing no later than April 10th to be presented to the Meeting by our Resolutions Committee.

Hotel and air reservations should be made immediately. Reduced rates have been secured at the St. Regis-Sheraton Hotel at Fifty-Fifth Street, convenient to the conference site. Chevy Chase Travel has been appointed the official travel agent and can arrange hotel and air reservations for you at the least expensive rates.

Detailed travel information is included in this brochure.

It has been a full and busy year for the American Section. All of us—our staff, Board of Governors, Offices, Annual Meeting Committee, and our guests—look forward to greeting you in New York for a provocative and informative session.

Sincerely,

  
Sherman L. Cohn  
President  
American Section

## ROSTER OF SPEAKERS

### Third Annual Meeting of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists (American Section)

#### Conference Theme:

*"The Legal Community's Response to Terrorism"*

**Keynote Speaker:** Honorable Edward Koch, Mayor of the City of New York

**Featured Address:** Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations

**From Israel:** Judge Hadassa Ben Itto

#### Presenters

**Professor Yonah Alexander, Director, Institute for Studies on International Terrorism, State University of New York**

**Topic:** *"Threats of Terrorism; Domestic Vulnerability"*

**Steven Pieczenik, M.D., Ph.D., Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Author of *The Mind Palace*, with co-panelist, Ambassador Frank Devine, Former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, author of *Embassy Under Attack*.**

**Topic:** *"The Mind of the Terrorist"*

**Professor Arie David, Pace University Law School, counsel to victims of Entebbe hijacking, with co-panelist, Professor Yoram Dinstein, New York University School of Law**

**Topic:** *"Coping Legally with Terrorism"*

**Professor Aaron Schneider, Tel Aviv University Law School, Jewish Law scholar**

**Topic:** *"Jewish Law and Terrorism"*

**Dr. Brian Jenkins, Political Violence Study Center, the Rand Corporation**

**Topic:** *"Waging War Against Terrorism"*

**Honorable Joseph Lieberman, Attorney General of the State of Connecticut with co-panelist, Thomas Sheer, Deputy Assistant Director, New York FBI**

**Topic:** *"Domestic Terrorism"*

**Rabbi Henry Michaelman, Executive Vice President, Synagogue Council of America**

**Topic:** *"Threats of Terrorism to Jews Internationally"*

**Barry Slotnick, Esquire, attorney involved in terrorism litigation, co-panelist Kenneth Stern, Esquire, Board of Governors of American Section of the International Association.**

**Topic:** *"Litigation Involving Terrorism"*

**Professor Malvina Halberstam, Cardozo Law School, Assistant Counsel for Secretary of State**

**Topic:** *"U.S. Government Response to Terrorism"*

Also,

**Special Seminar:** Kenneth Stern, on the development of the IAJLJ Center on Terrorism Research and Litigation.

**Membership Events:** Board of Governors Meeting, Elections, Resolutions and Business Session.

**Reminder:** Please submit resolutions for consideration at membership meetings by April 10, 1986.

## Members of the Annual Meeting Advisory Committee

Justice Jerome H. Hornblass  
Vice President, I.A.J.L.J., American Section Chairperson, Annual Meeting Advisory Committee

#### From New York City:

Judge Joseph Rosenzweig  
Judge Ira Raab  
Elaine Rudnick Sheps, Esquire  
Fred Mehl, Esquire  
Shannon V. Taylor, Esquire  
Martin Ritholz, Esquire

#### International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists

##### International President

Justice Haim Cohn,  
Jerusalem, Israel

**President, American Section**  
Professor Sherman L. Cohn,  
Washington, D.C.

##### Honorary President

Justice Arthur J. Goldberg,  
Washington, D.C.

##### Vice-President

Justice Jerome Hornblass,  
New York, New York

##### General Secretary

Judge Seymour Fier,  
Little Neck, New York

##### Treasurer

Judge Jair S. Kaplan,  
Silver Spring, Maryland

##### Executive Director

Marjorie D. Spitz,  
Washington, D.C.

#### Board of Governors—

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Chief Judge Arnold Shulman

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Ruth T. Wigor, Esquire

##### Oregon

Kenneth S. Stern, Esquire

##### Pennsylvania

Judge Paul M. Chalfin

##### Texas

Professor Roy M. Mersky

##### Washington, D.C.

Susan Goldberg, Esquire\*  
J. Mark Iwry, Esquire  
Max M. Kampelman, Esquire  
Edward N. Leavy, Esquire  
Nathan Lewin, Esquire  
Judge Abner J. Mikva  
Marc A. Pearl, Esquire  
Rabbi David Saperstein

##### Wisconsin

Craig H. Zetley, Esquire\*

\*sharing one seat

#### Nominations Notice

This year a number of positions on our Board of Governors will become available as terms of office expire. If you would like to submit a name for consideration, including your own, please notify the association by mail, attaching a resume of the individual recommended, by March 20, 1986.

### Travel Information

Chevy Chase Travel of Washington, a leading conference coordinator, has been appointed official travel agent for the 1986 Annual Meeting. You are encouraged to utilize their services to take advantage of low cost hotel arrangements at the St. Regis Sheraton, 2 East 55th Street. In addition, the least expensive airfares can be booked from any city in the U.S.  
Hotel Rates: Single \$125.00/Double \$150.00  
Please call Victor Christiansen at 1-800-424-8282 immediately to set up your chosen program.

### Registration Fees

Fees include all sessions, two lunches, cocktail reception, conference materials.  
For all IAJLJ members (who have paid 1986 dues) ..... \$100  
Non-members (includes all features noted above plus reduced rate 1986 membership) ..... \$130  
Accompanying Persons ..... \$65  
Students ..... \$45  
Single Day Participation (either day; one lunch only) ..... \$60  
Please mail your check, with the reservation form below, by April 1 to ensure your reservation.

Checks should be made payable to:  
IAJLJ/American Section  
and mailed to:  
IAJLJ/American Section  
PO Box 65784  
Washington, D.C. 20035/5784

Special Note: Please call our Executive Director, Marjorie Spitz, at 202-463-1960 if you have any questions on any aspect of the program.

### Annual Meeting Registration Form

Please complete and return this form no later than April 1, 1986!

I/We want to participate in the Third Annual Meeting of the American Section of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists, April 20-21, 1986.

Member  Non-Member  No. of Acc. Persons \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Tel No. ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Amount Remitted \_\_\_\_\_



### Preliminary Information/Participation Intention Form

**The Seventh International Congress of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists**  
August 31-September 4, 1987 in Jerusalem

#### Theme:

*"Racism in Criminal and International Law"*

#### Tentative General Program

Monday, August 31

Opening Ceremony, President Reception

Tuesday, September 1

Full day seminar program with luncheon keynote

Evening Reception hosted by Mayor of Jerusalem

Wednesday, September 2

Full Day Seminar Program with luncheon keynote

Evening Reception by the Minister of Justice

Thursday, September 3

International Council Meeting

National Sections Meetings

Cocktail Reception with the President of Israel

Gala Dinner

Friday, September 4

Morning seminar at Hebrew University

Congress ends at Noon

#### Special Optional Events and Features

Accompanying persons cultural program

Extensive sightseeing tours

Nine day pre-congress tour of Israel

European post-congress tour (in preparation)

"On Your Own" extension in Israel

A brochure with full details, and costs, will be mailed to you later this year.

#### Intent Form\*

I/We plan to attend the Seventh International Congress in Jerusalem.

Name(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Member: \_\_\_\_\_

Non-member: \_\_\_\_\_

Accompanying Persons \_\_\_\_\_

I am interested in:

Congress program only, August 30-September 6, 1987  
(including travel days)

Congress program, plus Israel tour, August 23-September 6

Congress program plus "On Your Own" extension in Israel

Please indicate approximate dates \_\_\_\_\_

(Individual itineraries can be arranged)

Congress program plus post-congress tour

France  United Kingdom  Other \_\_\_\_\_

Additional comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Please return as soon as possible to:

Marjorie Spitz

Executive Director

International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists

PO Box 65784

Washington, D.C. 20035-5784



# ADVANCE PROGRAM

## Third Annual Meeting of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists

Sunday, April 20-Monday, April 21, 1986

Cardozo School of Law  
Yeshiva University  
55 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

Including preliminary information  
on the 1987 International Congress  
in Jerusalem

TERRORISM PROGRAMME CO-SPONSORS  
The Brandeis Society  
American Judges Association, New York District  
Cardozo Law School



International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists'

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM

PROJECTED OPERATING BUDGET

(1986)

PERSONNEL COSTS:

N.O.A.T Director (attorney)	\$50,000.00
Associate N.O.A.T Director (attorney)	37,500.00
Executive Director-IAJLJ Am. Sec. (1/2 time)	6,250.00
Secretary-office manager	28,000.00
Bookkeeper (1/2 time)	9,000.00
FICA	9,218.00
Unemployment tax	2,877.00
Local taxes	785.00
Employee accident insurance	870.00
Employee benefits at 25%	32,688.00
TOTAL PERSONNEL COSTS:	\$177,188.00

OFFICE EXPENSES:

Rent	32,000.00
Furniture and fixtures	2,850.00
Computer purchase	9,000.00
Office equipment	800.00
Stationery and supplies	1,600.00
Duplicating	1,350.00
Telephone	11,500.00
Postage	2,650.00
Auditing and accounting services	3,000.00
Officers expenses	300.00
Insurance	980.00
Publications (subscriptions, treatises)	1,500.00
TOTAL OFFICE EXPENSES:	\$67,530.00

PROGRAM EXPENSES:

Meetings	6,000.00
Travel	10,000.00
Publication	6,000.00
Meals, functions, lodging	1,500.00
Printing (brochures, letters)	4,000.00
Data Processing	500.00
Professional dues and fees	5,000.00
Consultants	5,000.00

TOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES: \$38,000.00

TOTAL EXPENDITURES: \$282,718.00



JAN 17 1986

1/18

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Center for Strategic & International Studies  
Georgetown University • Washington DC

Dr. Amos A. Jordan  
President, CSIS

and

Admiral James L. Holloway, III, USN Ret.  
Adjunct Fellow, CSIS

Cordially invite you to attend  
a Reception to Honor

Dr. Ray S. Cline and Dr. Yonah Alexander

on the Publishing by Hero Books of

Terrorism: As State-Sponsored Covert Warfare

January 28, 1986 6:00 - 7:30 P.M.

The International Club, Club Room

1800 K Street, Northwest

Washington, DC

RSVP: 775-3212

Informal

**ORDER FORM**

Quantity	Terrorism as State-Sponsored Covert Warfare	Price	Total
		\$12.95	

Subtotal \_\_\_\_\_

Less 10% faculty discount \_\_\_\_\_

VA residents add 4% sales tax \_\_\_\_\_

Postage and handling (\$2.00 one book, \$.90 ea add'l book) \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

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Fairfax, VA 22031

**Ray S. Cline** is Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University and Professor of International Relations. Dr. Cline began a career in intelligence during World War II with the U.S. Navy and the Office of Strategic Services. Later Dr. Cline was Deputy Director for Intelligence for the Central Intelligence Agency where he played a major role in the Cuba missile crisis of 1962. Subsequent to that service he was appointed as Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the Department of State. Dr. Cline is the author of several books on military planning, intelligence, and terrorism. Dr. Cline has also been a contributor to a number of influential journals.

**Yonah Alexander** is Professor and Director, The Institute for Studies in International Terrorism, State University of New York. He is also a member of the senior research team, The Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University. Dr. Alexander is editor of *Terrorism: An International Journal* as well as *Political Communications and Persuasion: An International Journal*. He has authored, edited, and co-edited a number of books, many on terrorism.

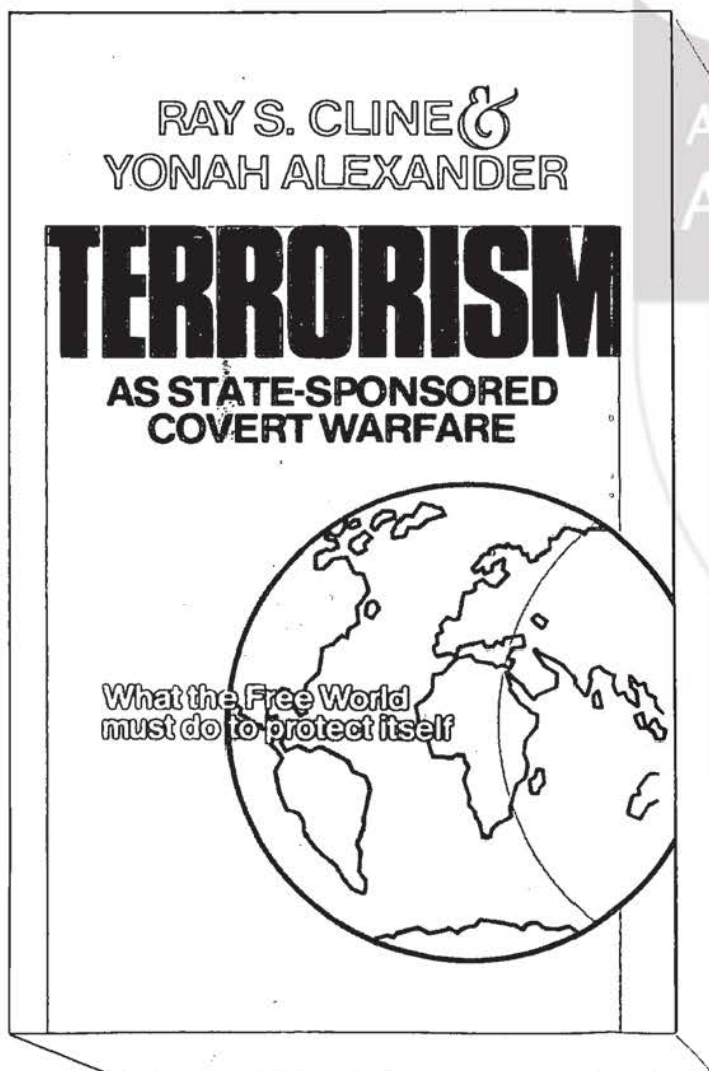
RAY S. CLINE &  
YONAH ALEXANDER

# TERRORISM

AS STATE-SPONSORED COVERT WARFARE

A work of importance, and certainly very timely, this book is the first serious and thoroughly researched study of the current phenomena of *State-Sponsored Terrorism*, which more accurately should be called *Covert Warfare*.

The basic material in this work is the subject of a highly respected report made to the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism chaired by Senator Jeremiah Denton. The report was made at the behest of the Senate to aid its members in their deliberations as to the actions that can and should be taken by the United States and other free nations to combat terrorist action supported by renegade nations.



The staff of the subcommittee provided some of the research, but the real digging out of the specifics with all the documentation was carried out by Ray Cline and Yonah Alexander along with their staff at The Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.

The frightening multitude of terrorists that abound throughout the world and the countries that support them with money, training, and safe harbors are clearly identified along with proof of their actions. Reproduced in English is a directive from Ayatollah Khomeini to all the chiefs of the Iranian government outlining "The Creation of an Independent Brigade for Carrying Out Unconventional Warfare in Enemy Territory". This document is irrefutable proof of the Iranian involvement in *State-Sponsored Terrorism*.

The book is also replete with illustrations of terrorist activities, documented proof of training in the USSR and other countries, and statistics of terrorists acts throughout the world.

This book is a necessity for those people who are involved in governmental affairs, the media, the military, and certainly those who despise the heinous acts of terrorists and who are concerned with the safety and security of our nation.

The conclusions drawn by the authors are succinct and very much to the point. These conclusions lay out a course of action that the Congress and the Administration should take to shape a firm United States policy. Such a firm policy is absolutely necessary as it is the only hope of free nations of gradually bringing this strategic peril of the 1980s under control.

*The U.S. and its allies are at war with state-sponsored terrorists around the world. This analysis of that war is far and away the most important yet to appear.*

-Arnaud de Borchgrave, Editor-in-Chief  
The Washington Times

*As a veteran observer of terrorist activity and the frustration of governments and private citizens in defining the role of nation states in perpetrating such acts and responding appropriately to such acts, Ray Cline has performed an important public service. He has clearly defined the nature of terrorist acts, the role of states in utilizing terrorism, and the options which governments, such as ours, have to respond. Tough decisions remain but he has prepared the way for clearer thinking within a framework of very difficult choices.*

-Richard G. Lugar, United States Senator

*Cline and Alexander's "Terrorism As Covert Warfare" provides in dispensable understanding of terrorism, and both men bring to this task experience and background which is unequalled, with clarity of an extraordinary character.*

-Leo Cherne, Executive Director,  
The Research Institute of America, Inc.

*This book offers a fresh treatment of the problem, from an in-depth analysis of its definition to provocative ideas for developing effective policies to combat increasing terrorist threat. The authors provide the reader with a detailed accounting of terrorism's history and an excellent study of the most insidious of all terrorist phenomena—state sponsorship.*

*This work clearly reminds us that combating terrorism is not easy, and there is not a set of clear-cut solutions readily available to deal with each incident. This book goes a long way in underscoring our task as Americans—to understand and effectively respond to the challenge.*

-J.L. Holloway, III, Admiral, U.S.N. (Ret.)

*This exciting documentary treatment of the Soviet role in promoting terrorism as a means of destabilizing the western societies should be mandatory reading for all who believe in a democratic way of life. With case examples, terrorist interviews and official terrorist training documentation, this book sometimes reads like an exciting adventure novel, but it is chilling in that it is another factual statement of how the Soviet Union will use criminal and murderous methods to achieve its objectives.*

-Bernard L. Stewart, SRI International



United States Department of State

The Legal Adviser

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 18, 1986

*Sherman Cohen, civil procedure  
Georgetown*

Kenneth N. Stern, Esq.  
152 Westminister Road  
Brooklyn, New York 11218

Dear Mr. Stern:

Thank you for your letter of January 16, regarding the project currently being carried out under the auspices of the American Section of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists concerning legal redress for victims of terrorism.

*A. Goldberg  
Harm  
Cohen*

This is a subject which, in my view, warrants very serious attention from both government and private organizations. Far too little study has been devoted to it so far, and all of us concerning with combatting terrorism must welcome an effort such as the one you describe in your letter. The importance of this matter will continue to grow as our efforts to meet the challenge of international terrorism intensify.

"I" regret that we were not able to arrange a meeting during your recent trip to Washington, but I was pleased to make available Mr. Levitt of my staff to meet with you. I understand that he provided you with some relevant information and references, which I hope you will find useful as you pursue this project.

Thank you for keeping us informed of your efforts in this timely and vital area.

Sincerely,

Abraham D. Sofaer

*Melie Marcus -  
Telleran case*

*AIPAC - Steven Rosen  
Bob Friedlander  
- RICOH - Andrew  
Crosby  
civil title Idaho  
damages (insurance)*



THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

March 6, 1986

Mr. Kenneth S. Stern  
152 Westminster Road  
Brooklyn, New York 11218

Dear Mr. Stern:

Thank you for your recent letter to the Vice President regarding the National Organization Against Terrorism.

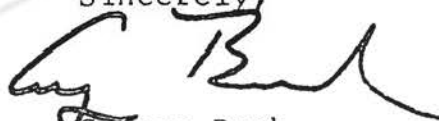
International terrorists are nothing more, or less, than common criminals, who assault innocent men, women, and children. We will see an end to their war on open and democratic society only when we join with other democracies to meet this challenge in a cooperative way. International terrorism demands an international response.

I have shared your letter with officials at the Office for Counter-Terrorism and Emergency Planning, Department of State. I have asked that they correspond with you directly and that they provide my office with a copy of their response.

Please be assured that President Reagan and I share your concern for the victims of terrorism and that we will continue to work for the elimination of terrorism.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



George Bush



הארגון הבינלאומי של עורכי-דין ומשפטנים יהודים

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH LAWYERS AND JURISTS

AMERICAN SECTION

P.O. Box 65784 Washington, D.C. 20035-5784

**INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT**

Justice Haim Cohn  
Jerusalem, Israel

**KENNETH S. STERN**

IAJLJ's NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM

152 Westminster Road

Brooklyn, New York 11218-3444

[718] 856-2177

February 28, 1986

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

I want to introduce your organization to a unique and important venture being undertaken by the American Section of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists -- its NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM.

Until now, no organizational attention has been given to the plight of American victims of international terrorism. That plight is a serious one.

Between 1968 and 1981, 189 Americans were killed in international terrorist attacks. Almost half were victims of indiscriminate killings. However, in 1981 (a year during which 258 international terrorist incidents were directed against Americans or their property) an ominous trend began. All the Americans killed that year were assassinated because of their nationality. Of the nearly 300 Americans who have been killed by international terrorists between 1982 and 1984, most were direct targets rather than incidental bystanders.

Although statistics are not yet available for 1985, it is clear that if one is an American, one is an especially attractive target for terrorists. And if one is a Jew, American or not, one is an even more enticing victim. Such attention to and selection of victims by nationality and religion occurred this past year during the TWA hijacking, the Achille Lauro incident, and the hijacking of the Egyptian airliner.

American civil law is dedicated to the proposition that if one is intentionally or negligently injured by an act of another, one can seek compensation. To enforce judgments, assets of a defendant can be seized. Yet, in the few isolated legal attempts to date, Americans who have been victimized by terrorists have been unsuccessful in suits against those directly responsible for their injuries -- the terrorist organizations and those who support and finance them.\* The meshing of international law concepts with those of civil damage law has not been a smooth one.

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Rabbi David Saperstein

**WISCONSIN**

Craig H. Zetley, Esquire\*

\*sharing one seat

As the first and most important part of its work, IAJLJ's N.O.A.T. is dedicating itself to opening up American courts to damage suits by victims of terrorism. It will do so by drawing together experts to develop new legal theories and litigation plans, and by providing assistance to those engaged in this type of litigation.

This April's national meeting of the IAJLJ-American Section will be devoted to the topic of law and terrorism. Thereafter, N.O.A.T. will publish articles and legal memoranda, hold symposia, file amicus briefs, and otherwise forcefully pursue the legal interests of the victims of terrorism. The result will be a less ad hoc as well as a better thought out sequence of litigation by victims against those who are responsible for their experiences of terror. Coordination and information sharing among litigants can only help the prospects for success in this virgin legal field.

Incidental benefits of this project will be many. For the first time, victims of terrorism will have a place to turn to for help. Over time, human resources needed for litigation (e.g. experts on psychology, media, etc.) can be networked to provide direct services to victims.

The IAJLJ-American Section is uniquely qualified to undertake this project. Not only does this non profit, tax exempt organization boast an exceptionally able and talented membership (three of its Board of Governors argued before the U.S. Supreme Court in recent weeks), but it is also ~~a part of~~ a worldwide network of eminent jurists, attorneys, and legal scholars.

We require \$283,000 for our first year of operation, and are seeking funding from a variety of sources. We request a grant of \$5000.00 from your organization.

I would appreciate an opportunity to talk with you and explain our organization and its new project in more detail.

Very truly yours,

Kenneth S. Stern,  
Director, IAJLJ's NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM

KS:ks  
encs.

cc: Professor Sherman Cohn, President IAJLJ-American Section  
The Honorable Arthur Goldberg, Honorary President IAJLJ-American Section

\* If suing the PLO, for example, sounds like a farfetched idea, consider the following. First, in addition to its diplomatic mission at the UN, it runs an office known as the "Palestine Information Office" in Washington, D.C.. Second, the PLO reportedly owns holdings in several US corporations and real estate concerns. (NY Times Magazine, 8/18/85) Chemical Bank has confirmed that it holds an account for the PLO. (NY Times, 1/10/85) As of 1978 the Arab Bank Ltd. (which has a branch office in New York) was reported as holding a 60 to 100 million dollar PLO portfolio. (Wall Street Journal, 9/7/79) As of 1983 more than 70 million dollars in PLO money was reported invested in US property. (NY Times News Service, 4/13/83)



**Around  
The Americas**

**Panama:  
a 'social  
time bomb'**

**Ex-envoy voices  
worry on economy**

3/11/86  
By TOM BOWMAN  
States News Service

WASHINGTON — Former U.S. Ambassador to Panama Ambler Moss, a dean at the University of Miami, told a Senate panel Monday that Panama is a "social time bomb," and urged the United States to help revitalize the economy and support democracy in the Caribbean nation.

Recent changes in political leadership and a heavy foreign debt have "produced a genuine concern over Panama's economic and political health," said Moss, who served as U.S. ambassador to Panama from 1978 to 1982.

Moss, dean of the graduate school of international studies at U.M., made his comments at a hearing before the Foreign Relations subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, chaired by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C.

Helms said he was concerned that the domestic situation in Panama will prevent the country from bearing the responsibility for the Panama Canal. Under a 1976 treaty, Panama will take over the canal in the year 2000.

"In the last 45 months, Panama has had five presidents, three of whom were removed by pressure from the military," Helms said.

Moss told the panel that Panama's estimated \$3.7 billion foreign debt, one of the highest per capita in the world, continues to grow, creating zero economic growth. As a result the country's young — who are streaming into the job market — will be unable to find work.

"The result is a social time bomb waiting to go off," said Moss.

The former ambassador recalled that former Panamanian President Nicolas Ardito Barletta said such problems were "an immediate danger to internal stability." And Moss said Barletta made those comments in Miami, several weeks before he was prodded to resign by the military last September.

"His words were prophetic — in a sense, he was the first victim in our time of the debt crisis," Moss said. "How many more will follow?"

Moss said the United States can play an important role by making "a reduction in interest rates a top priority," along with an investment tax credit and increased economic assistance to the country.

Moss said that debt must be restructured "not merely rescheduled" so the country can achieve economic growth.

In return, Moss said, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the affected country must continue to promote domestic economic policies.

klc:tc, Jamesbaum S Modelstjez

Yehoshua Trigor is the general of Israel for Florida and Puerto Rico. He wrote this article for The Miami News.

**YEHOSHUA TRIGOR**  
Special to The Miami News

*M. Tamaddon*  
*3/1/85 M. Dabach*

Immediately following the Palestinian terrorist attacks against the Rome and Vienna airports, I was asked by a friend if I thought that the news from Europe, as shocking as it was, would have an effect on tourism to Israel. "Why should it?" I replied.



**Trigor**

The U.S. State Department agrees. In the aftermath of the Rome and Vienna massacres, no travel advisory was issued regarding Israel, and Americans contemplating visits to Israel were not urged to alter their plans in any way. Numerous articles appeared in print calling El Al, the national airline of Israel, the safest in the skies, and praising security measures at Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport as the most stringent and successful in the world.

The spurious suggestion that tourism to Israel might be affected by the incidents in Rome and Vienna is instructive, however, because it reveals a serious misunderstanding about Arab terrorism.

Both inside and outside of the Middle East, the vast majority of Arab terrorist incidents are directed against Arab targets, and have absolutely nothing to do with Israel. This is especially the case with Arab terrorism against civilian air traffic.

In the year-and-a-half from January 1984 through June 1985, there were 24 airline hijackings, mostly into or out of the Middle East — none of which had even the slightest connection to the Arab-Israel conflict.

The very first airline hijacking of 1985 is a case in point. A Cyprus Airways plane was commandeered in Beirut on Feb. 7 of that year. The terrorists, members of the Shiite "Black Brigade," demanded the release of two Lebanese who were jailed in Cyprus on June 23, 1983, for having hijacked a Libyan-chartered Romanian jetliner in a vain attempt to force Libya to tell what it knew about the disappearance and presumed murder, in Libya, of the Lebanese-Shiite leader Imam Musa Sadr. Such is the Byzantine cobweb of inter-Arab terror.

The Jordanian national airline, Alia, has been one of the most consistent targets. Last March 21, for example, explosive devices were thrown at Alia offices in Nicosia, Rome, and Athens. A caller on behalf of "Black September" claimed responsibility, vowing to continue its attacks until the Jordanian regime is overthrown.

In 1984, Alia was victimized on two occasions.

On April 4, a rocket was fired at one of its airliners as it was taking off from Athens. Thankfully, the shoulder-launched rocket failed to explode and no one on board was hurt. "Black September" once again claimed credit, as it had for a rocket attack against

**Both inside and outside of the Middle East, the vast majority of Arab terrorist incidents are directed against Arab targets, and have absolutely nothing to do with Israel.**

— Yehoshua Trigor,  
consul general of Israel

the Jordanian Embassy in Rome that took place the day before.

And on June 11, an Alia aircraft was hijacked from Beirut to Larnaca, Cyprus, then on to Palermo, Sicily, before being forced back to Beirut. Responsibility for this act was claimed by the Lebanese-Shiite Musa Sadr Brigades.

It will come as no surprise that the Iranians have been involved up to their necks in air piracy.

On July 31, 1984, an Air France jet flying out of Frankfurt was hijacked over Luxembourg and forced to land in Tehran. The hijackers were Shiites who belonged to a terrorist organization that claimed responsibility for the attempted assassination of former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar in Paris in July 1980. They demanded the release of five of their comrades jailed in France. Incidentally, the men arrested for attempting to murder Bakhtiar, while initially claiming to belong to a hitherto unknown organization called the "Guards of Islam," later admitted that they were acting under orders from the ubiquitous Yasser Arafat, the godfather of international terrorism.

Arafat and his ilk, therefore, keep themselves busy by plotting terrorism against each other. Inter-Arab terrorism has been part and parcel of the Middle East landscape for centuries upon centuries, and would be there today even if Israel didn't exist.

Middle East terrorism, however, does teach us two important lessons.

First, if Arabs find it so difficult to live in peace with each other, it will be even more difficult for them to learn to live in peace with Israel — the only non-Arab, non-Moslem state in the region to achieve independence and maintain it.

And second, despite the endemic nature of terrorism in the Middle East, Israel remains an oasis of stability and Western values in a desert of conflict.

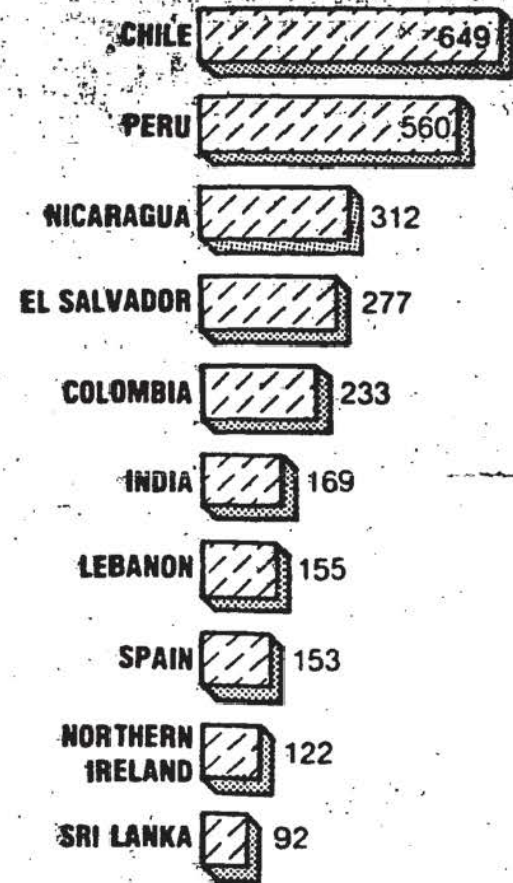
It will continue to be so, for the sake of all its people, and all its friends who come to visit with us in peace.

## terrorism: high-risk nations

In 1984, South American countries held down the top five spots for nations with high risk of terrorist activity. Chile topped all countries with 649 reported terrorist incidents.

### TERRORIST ACTIVITY: HIGH-RISK COUNTRIES

In number of incidents:



SOURCE: Risk International, Inc.

M. Tamburini, D. Harris, R. Dabach  
J. Russo

16A The Miami Herald / Tuesday, March 11, 1986

# The Miami Herald

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## Fighting Terrorism

**A**FTER YEARS of official hand-wringing and blustering rhetoric over the threat of terrorism, measures to prevent and to cope with it are finally and appropriately moving to center stage of the U.S. political arena.

A Presidential task force on terrorism urges a new emphasis on infiltrating terrorist groups, offering rewards of up to \$1 million for information, and setting standards to determine whether a military response is appropriate. International terrorism is now recognized as a form of warfare, but the U.S. Government remains properly wary of retaliation that might, in Vice President Bush's words, "wantonly destroy human life."

Similarly, the task force's recommendation to impose the death penalty on terrorists who kill their hostages requires analysis. It may offer some protection for hostages, but it must also define terrorist and terrorism in a manner consistent with U.S. foreign policy on human rights.

As Vice President Bush made his presentation, the House Foreign Affairs Committee was endorsing a \$4.4-billion bill to improve U.S. embassies' security and to establish the State Department's first Bureau of Diplomatic Security. The bill is being pushed by Florida Rep. Dan Mica, who served on the commission.

The measure calls for the rebuilding or remodeling of 79 embassies and 175 other U.S. buildings abroad that are deemed vulnerable to terrorist attack. In some instances the estimated costs of construction — \$38 million in Bulgaria, \$40 million in the Ivory Coast, \$57

million in Colombia — appear inexplicably high. The bill also provides for badly needed security training for embassy staff and families, and it authorizes boards of inquiry to establish responsibility when breaches of security occur.

House Democratic leaders say that Mr. Mica's bill will become part of an omnibus anti-terrorism bill to be voted on within the next two weeks. The omnibus measure also includes provisos to establish a list of 10-most-wanted terrorists and to provide funds for improved security at domestic airports, ports, and other public facilities.

Even as these measures finally get their deserved political attention, the sad reality remains that terrorism is likely to continue — and to spread to the United States. Coping with that possibility will be made easier by taking timely steps to limit the damage.

International terrorism is now recognized as a form of warfare, but the U.S. Government remains properly wary of retaliation that might, in Vice President Bush's words, 'wantonly destroy human life.'

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FEB 10 1986

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February 6, 1986

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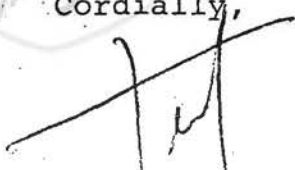
Mr. Bruce M. Ramer  
6400 Sunset Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90028

Dear Bruce:

I am informed that the session in Los Angeles on Monday on Terrorism was extremely productive and that your chairmanship was particularly effective.

I am enclosing some materials which may be of some interest to you.

Cordially,

  
Theodore Ellenoff

TE:sf  
Encls.

cc: Mr. Irving Levine w/Encls.  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum w/Encls.



## A NEW PHASE IN ISRAEL'S RELIGIOUS WARS

(Press Summary - June 12, 1986)

The long-simmering feud between Israel's Orthodox and secular Jews erupted on June 11 when a Tel Aviv synagogue was set afire in retaliation for the burning of bus shelters by ultra-Orthodox Jews who consider the shelters' advertisements to be obscene. A note affixed to the door of the synagogue, signed by the "People Against the Ultra-Religious" read in Hebrew, "We will burn a synagogue for every bus shelter set ablaze."

Over the past half year, well over 50 modern bus stop shelters displaying large illuminated advertising posters have been vandalized by ultra-Orthodox zealots (called "haredim," lit., "pious ones") in Jerusalem and in Bnei Brak, the largely haredi suburb of Tel Aviv. Over 30 were torched or otherwise totally destroyed; the rest were defaced with black spray paint. Most of them, but not all, showed scantily-clad female models in bathing suits. The haredim claimed that they were deeply offended by this display of "immoral nudity" in public.

The individual cases of such attacks have now turned into an organized campaign which has spread from the haredi neighborhood of Mea Shearim in Jerusalem to clearly secular neighborhoods in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Petah Tikva. Evidence of the new organized phase of the campaign came last week when the rabbi of the Kiryat Shalom quarter of Tel Aviv was apprehended by the police as he was spray-painting a bus shelter. Rabbi Eliezer Shach, who is the spiritual mentor of both the "Lithuanian yeshiva" wing of the haredi Agudat Israel party and of the new Sephardi haredi party, Shas (Sephardi Torah Guardians), also came out in favor of such actions. One of the two Agudat Israel Knesset members, Menachem Porush, declared that he personally would also take part in the defacing of the offending posters. It was reported that he was persuaded not to do so by the police. The competing haredi dailies and weeklies outdid each other in urging the campaign to proceed.

On the evening of June 7, haredim in Bnei Brak hung posters which read: "Our brothers in Jerusalem are fighting a holy war. Will we sit back quietly here in Bnei Brak, where one of the advertising firms responsible for the abomination is located? Every G-d-fearing Jew must come out to protest against the Abboudi advertising firm which is desecrating the Holy Name."

On the following day, thousands of Bnei Brak haredim joined in a public rally and marched on the premises of the allegedly offending company. On the way, they attacked passing motorists at

random, and called a number of secular female passers-by "prostitutes" and "shiksas." According to news reports, the police did not enter Bnei Brak during the whole course of the rioting. The level of frenzy to which the campaign has reached is evidenced by the fact that the Abboudi company was attacked although, in fact, it was not responsible for the offending posters and that the posters now being destroyed and defaced include innocuous ones for El Al and mayonnaise, among others, in which no women appear.

Nadav Shragai, one of Israel's few media experts on the haredi community and its internal workings, writes in Ha'aretz on June 6 that the campaign began nearly a year ago when a splinter group of Natorei Karta ("Defenders of the City") zealots in Jerusalem, headed by a Rabbi Katznelboigen, began attacking the "arrogant posters." His example was followed by the main body of Natorei Karta headed by Rabbi Uri Blau, and then by the larger Eda Heharedit ("Pious Community"), and finally by the even larger Agudat Israel party.

Shragai writes: "Katznelboigen has several scores of adherents; Blau, several hundred; the Eda Heharedit and the Aguda tens of thousands each. These four concentric circles of similar haredi Jews followed one after another...The leaders of each group...were the ones to decide to widen the circles."

"Behind the 'holy war' lies the very mundane matter of money. A number of Jerusalem press photographers can personally attest to how the photo industry burgeoned after the events of the past few days, with members of different sects competing to buy photos of their heroic actions, for good money, for the purpose of sending them to their supporters and financial backers abroad. The entire purpose was to ensure the continued flow of dollars to their impoverished treasuries."

Ha'aretz writes in its editorial of June 6: "The campaign against the posters is but a new, not entirely unexpected, phase in the broader struggle that has been gnawing away at Israeli society. President [Chaim] Herzog was absolutely correct when he said recently that relations between the haredim and the secular [Jews] in Israel were worse than those between Arabs and Jews in the capital [Jerusalem]...Most researchers [of Israeli social tensions concur] that this is perhaps the most intense of the various confrontations that beset Israel, and that it will in all likelihood get worse as the Jewish ethnic confrontation [between Ashkenazi ("European") and Sephardi ("Oriental") Jews] continues to subside.

"Many things bother the haredim: what the average Israeli eats; how he spends his Friday nights; his desire to travel on the Sabbath with his family on inexpensive public transportation; what the Israeli woman wears. Gradually, haredi violence is penetrating to all walks of life. There is absolutely no reason for the secular public to believe haredi politicians who claim that the whole fight is just about safeguarding their way of life...Israel is home to many different communities, who are each entitled to [live according to] their different life-styles. None

of the targets of the brutal haredi attacks could justify denying those groups their rights. The fact is that the haredim are determined to impose their way of life over the secular community.

"There is always the temptation to empathize with the haredim who rise up in arms when such posters are put up in their quarters. But that, of course, is not the problem. For the Porushes and their ilk [see p. 1] will never be satisfied with such examples of secular understanding. They will always extend their torching and trashing outside the confines of their own quarters, for their goal is to dictate their own way of life to others rather than merely to defend their own.

"It will not work in other parts of the country -- in Petah Tikva, Haifa, Tel Aviv and even in Jerusalem -- where there is already a counter-struggle to ensure the principles of life without coercion. It will be a difficult and protracted struggle, but one that should not be shirked. The trouble is that the police, whose function it is to treat such predators as they treat all other common criminals, have not proved up to the task. The secular public must learn to understand that this is a crucial struggle for the future character of Israel. That perception should spur them on to take part in the struggle by all legal and appropriate means. Secular passivity in the face of brutal haredi aggressiveness can mean the beginning of defeat in that battle."

Ma'ariv writes in its editorial on June 5: "The destruction of public property is an offense, and those found guilty of it should be made to pay the price. When the perpetrators are part of a nationwide campaign -- as in the present case -- the haredi trashers and their supporters should be treated even more severely. When the campaign goes beyond the confines of the haredi areas, it is doubly reprehensible, as is the support of the rabbis and larger circles of the haredi community.

"Such a phenomenon cannot be confronted by merely routine police action. It is thus surprising that the police have so far failed to enforce the law in these cases. It is all the more surprising that senior police officers are trying to take the easy way out by pleading with the likes of Knesset Member Porush and by urging the advertising companies to remove their posters so as not to enrage the haredim.

"It is the function of the police to impose the law equally on all and not to seek to mollify those who declare themselves in opposition to the law. We believe that it is high time to put an end to the lawlessness of the haredim and to the self-restraint... [of the police]."

The Jerusalem Post writes in its June 4 editorial of proposals supported by Prime Minister Shimon Peres for the establishment of a forum between religious and secular Israelis that would facilitate a rapprochement between the two communities: "Understanding, to most of the Orthodox community, means non-Orthodox acceptance of the natural monopoly of Orthodoxy as the only legitimate and authentic expression of Judaism. The Jewish culture of the secular is disdainfully rejected as, by

definition, not Jewish and hardly a culture. The haredim are not fighting to shelter their own quarter from the blight of obscenity (for it is hermetically sealed to outsiders), but to save the souls of the uninstructed secular, and to remake Jerusalem in their own image. It is a mitzva -- a virtuous deed -- they are performing, so the haredi 'court of justice' has ruled.

"The chief rabbis of Israel, with their seat in Jerusalem, have shrugged off such hooliganism as the work of an unruly and insignificant minority, but have had scarcely a word of condemnation for the perpetrators, even after the massive burning and daubing outburst of the past few days...and neither have the three Orthodox government ministers who conceived the joint forum. One of them, Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, the Minister of Interior, in fact sprang into action over the last weekend to obtain the release of one of the daubers arrested by the police.

"Before there is any hope of rapprochement between the two communities, Orthodox leaders must themselves accept that it will never be achieved without abandonment of any effort at religious coercion, and without the appreciation of the fact that -- to the non-Orthodox -- individual freedom is a value in its own right, and not merely a synonym for licentiousness."

Nadav Shragai writes in Ha'aretz (June 6) that in the midst of all the escalation in tempers "it comes as somewhat of a surprise that other voices are being heard, too, in the haredi camp. They are still very few (those of Haifa's Sephardi Chief Rabbi Bakshi-Doron, Rabbi Shaul Israeli of the Supreme Rabbinical Council, and former Agudat Israel Knesset Member Rabbi Ya'acov Gross), and they are being directed inward to the haredi camp itself, rather than to the general public. They are not the voices of the current political or spiritual leadership -- such as [Sephardi Chief Rabbi] Ovadia Yosef and Rabbi Eliezer Shach [see p. 1] -- but they have elicited echoes in the haredi camp.

"Rabbi Bakshi-Doron has called to 'consider well the seeking of a confrontation with the seculars, for it might bring on tragic consequences, and possibly even prevent the drawing close of the secular public to the Holy Torah.' Bakshi-Doron says there are many reasons for the secular public's hatred for Judaism, 'but we cannot deny our responsibility in that matter....It is in our hands to avoid hatred. Much depends on our attitudes to the secular public. The basic principle should be that we should not invite a counter-reaction by our publications and by the atmosphere that we create. We can achieve the same goals in regard to the things we consider positive and desirable by presenting them in a pleasant manner to the secular public. Of course, there is always the alternative of presenting them in a way that will lead to a backlash. It is a heavy responsibility that we bear.'"

Shragai concludes: "The beginnings of this seeming change in the haredi camp would seem to be more tactical than substantive. But one should not forget that the solitary individuals who have dared sound such voices in the haredi camp are very much part of the people at large and are not interested in burning their bridges to them."

(Edited by Harry Milkman)



Joel A. Gallob  
501 12th Street, First Floor  
Brooklyn, NY 11215

April 23, 1986


Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

I am sending you an essay I have written on terrorism and the Mideast. Unlike most such liberal/left polemics, it refuses to deny that Khadaffy is a killer with a political cover; unlike the President's reprisal, it does not further ingrain the idea that only violence works against violence.

It is a call to action of a special kind, and I hope that you will read it and be moved. If you are, please consider working on it, and pass it on to other appropriate people and outlets.

Thank you.

  
Joel Gallob  
(o) 212 503-6837  
(h) 718 965-2192

P.S. For those of you receiving this who are not Jewish, "Dayennu" is a Hebrew word meaning "it would have been enough" and it is used as a refrain in a Passover song.

cc: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
Rabbi Jim Rudin  
Rabbi Balfour Brickner  
The Rev. Bishop Paul Moore  
Rev. William Sloan Coffin  
Congressman Chuck Schumer  
Congressman Stephen Solarz  
Congressman Major Owens  
Congressman Ron Dellums  
Mr. Elie Weisel  
Ms. Joan Baez  
N.Y. Mobilization for Survival  
Long Island Jewish World  
Peace Now, NY Office  
The New Jewish Agenda

## ISRAEL AND LIBYA

### A PASSOVER MEDITATION ON THE USES OF VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

By Joel Gallob

"Violence is the last resort of the incompetent."

- Isaac Asimov

For perhaps the first time since WWII, we have seen an American military action in which the U.S. was not seriously compromised by the usual moral ambiguities of foreign intervention. In striking at Libya, President Reagan was not hitting an enemy whose enmity was more theoretical than practical, or whose threat to us was not in some degree a just defense of its own labor, land or independence.

As an American and as a Jew, I therefore found myself cheering a President who I usually find frightening or embarrassing. And I found myself arguing with the protestors on the TV news, whose ranks in years not so distant I had often joined. Didn't they know, didn't they feel, that Libya had it coming, even if our attack had but little hope of reducing, let alone ending the terrorism. Khadaffy had taunted the tiger too often, and his time was overdue.

When the anger passed, I found myself wondering what one might say to these protestors. And what better solution one could recommend to them.

One might start such an effort by challenging the protestors to recognize the way things really are. Khaddafy, or more exactly, he and his kind (for though Libya was the target of the attack its object was of wider geographic spread) wears the blood of innocent civilians. Killing civilians is a war crime. And whatever the responsibility for any given act of terror, Khaddafy has made himself so publicly, pridefully, close to so many bloodlettings that the issue of whether he was responsible for the West German disco blast seems almost immaterial.

He, the PLO, Syria's Assad, the Ayatollah, and a few others are political murderers. Their bombs do not discriminate between the apathetic or the impassioned; they have killed infants and oldsters, Peace Now kibbutzniks and nationalist fanatics. They have not yet found the courage to attack a Kfir jet factory.

What Khadaffy is, in fact, is one more killer in a world saturated with killers proclaiming their revolution or counter-revolution to be the shining path. They have nothing to offer to our hopes for a saner, peaceful future. If the protestors truly believe in peace, they must see that Khadaffy is not on their side.

Yet in saying this, it is not enough. Or, in the spirit of Passover, Not Dayenu.

For it is also true that we must also recognize that, as Americans, we now have the blood of an innocent 15 month old baby on our hands. This child could hardly know the hate that possesses her father. She could be no more responsible for any Jewish suffering or American deaths than could the children of Ma'alot be responsible for the annexation of the West Bank.

And still, this truth too, is Not Dayenu.

Will Khadaffy learn from the loss of his daughter, one should ask the protestors. (I, for one, doubt it.) But perhaps more important, since we are in the most free nation on earth, will we learn from it? And if we would learn something from it, what lesson would that be, and how might we act on it?

The lesson is this: the Khadaffys of the world justify the Reagans of the world to their countrymen, just as the Reagans of the world justify the Khaddafy's to theirs. Men of the sword justify each other; they constitute a kind of open conspiracy against the peaceful people of the world, for only by each other's actions do they find the justification for their own existence.

For centuries their rhetoric of blood and iron, fear and aggression, has taken its toll. Yet in this age of nuclear weapons and space lasers, war must soon be obsolete, if it is not to make us so. Planeticide is a real possibility.

Yet even if all this be true, it does not give us any visionary or pragmatic next step. Lessons alone are also, Not Dayenu.

There is only one alternative to violence, and that is, as it has always been, the way of wisdom, of challenge, of moral ju-jitsu. Non-violence.

But can anyone claim that this alternative really works? Aren't the instances of its success nothing but happy aberrations? The question raised is always the same - could it have worked against Hitler? Equally, could it work against the Russians in Poland?

It worked against the British in India, but then the British are basically decent chaps; it drove Marcos out of power and put Mrs. Aquino in - but the Philipinos are an unusually peaceful people; and it ended the Vietnam War, but then, Americans do have a conscience.

There is an answer to this question, which is something that men and women of conscience have sought for decades. Non-violence is no more certain to succeed than is anything else. And yes, it is true that violence often works. The Third Reich was defeated by a supreme effort of flame not of love. But if we gave non-violence half the time, half the thought, half the money we give to violence, it might solve more problems, more effectively, than violence ever did.

Many of us recognize that the old rules are getting us nowhere while the weapons pile higher, and the little wars sputter and threaten to become bigger wars. So I would say that there is not only a lesson from the President's Libyan reprisal; there is also an action that can be taken to directly challenge the premises of terrorism, to try to reduce the carnage, and to help free Israel's future from the trap that it has helped the world weave around it.

Let us as American Jews picket the PLO UN observer mission, sit-in there, and non-violently demand that the PLO renounce violence and itself use only non-violent resistance against the state of Israel. If, by some miracle of self-transcendence, the Palestinians were moved by the protest, their adoption of civil disobedience would be a watershed in Mideast history, one that might even break the present deadlock and offer them the chance to negotiate themselves a genuine solution.

No Jewish government could stand against a pray-in at the Knessett. Such a tactic would topple any administration, and it would tear Israel apart. But it would also ultimately put Israel back together again, and make it more whole when the process had run to term, the way the Civil Rights movement led to an America in which black opinion holds the north now more racist than the south. And the lesson of this fact might, just might, transform the Palestinians as well - both the weepers and the killers.

Before you say "impossible", let me ask who in 1964 could have foreseen that George Corey Wallace would win his last re-election with a large majority of the black vote. While the hatreds of the Mideast are even worse than those of American racial division, such voter returns tell us much of the power of non-violence.

By taking up such an action, American Jews could signal their universal concern for justice at the same time that they defended Israel's right to life and security.

Now that we Jews have given the lie to the old belief that the Jew is an easy target, that the Jew does not fight back, can we take our own evolution another step further?

We can of course simply gratify our own hunger for a well-justified revenge, but only at the price of justifying somebody else's hunger for the same. We can do that - or we can start to break the chain of events that ensnares Israel, and America.

Only such a bold break with the past holds out hope for the future. That, and only that, would be Dayenu.

April 23, 1986  
(9325k)



*Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum*



The American Jewish  
Committee

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Office of the Executive Vice President

December 31, 1985

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Dear

I am writing this in the midst of the outrage over the latest terrorist attacks -- these against innocent civilians at El Al airport counters in Rome and Vienna. While details of these incidents are still confusing, what seems perfectly clear is that the pattern established over the years by the PLO continues, and will continue until the civilized world stops giving center stage to the political agenda of the terrorists rather than to their murderous deeds. As you may have seen and heard, we were on the air immediately with this message throughout a number of television and radio interviews.

Meanwhile let me share with you some AJC thinking on two issues of long-standing concern that recently have surfaced prominently in the press. One is the so-called sanctuary issue, the other the intensive advertising campaign of the Jews for Jesus movement.

Sanctuary, of course, is really just a part of the refugee issue, and I am sure you know how important a role AJC has played over the years in developing American refugee policy and how much influence our positions have commanded.

Currently, sharp debate has been sparked by the efforts of some churches and municipalities to give sanctuary to men and women fleeing war-torn countries of Central America, and particularly El Salvador.

AJC has adopted a precise and humane reaction, based in part on the belief that the U.S. has retreated somewhat from our refugee relief efforts of the beginning of the 1980s. In 1980, we took in more than 200,000 refugees but this year we will accept less than 70,000, and AJC has strongly advocated a return to refugee admissions at least above the 100,000-per-year level.

Moreover, we have criticized the way the U.S. has been deciding the cases of people who flee to the U.S. and apply for asylum once in this country. Many current decisions are being influenced by considerations of foreign policy rather than, as the

law requires, the degree of danger the individual would face if returned to his or her home country. Asylum applications are being denied at a 4-to-1 ratio. We recently convened a task force in the field that recommended a new independent commission system for deciding asylum claims, and we are now working on a bill that would put these proposals into effect.

AJC has also endorsed the DeConcini-Moakley Bill, which would suspend deportations of Salvadorans back to their homeland until the U.S. can make an objective study of the actual danger they would face if returned there. We believe this is a reasonable, fair and legal way to handle the controversy that has arisen over Salvadoran asylum-seekers, and AJC is seen as a key part of the coalition pressing for this legislation.

But we do not endorse breaking the law to give sanctuary to Salvadorans and other Central Americans seeking refuge here. In our view, viable legal options to handle the problem exist and should be pursued. Moreover, in many cases the sanctuary movement has been driven as much by criticism of U.S. involvement in El Salvador as by concern for individual refugees, and this cannot be the basis for a fair refugee policy.

In sum, AJC has maintained a leadership position in advocating a generous, humane and workable refugee policy. We have been responsive to flows of people seeking a haven from Indochina, Africa, Poland and the Soviet Union as well as from Central America. I know you agree with our determination to continue our vigorous efforts in this field.

There is much less complexity about our responses to the Jews for Jesus movement. Over the years we have been heavily concerned with the issue of cults and missionaries, of which the Jews for Jesus movement is a part. Our response continues to be both external, to the larger society around us, and to the internal Jewish community.

For example, AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department has been involved in interpreting to both the general American and the Christian community just why the Jews for Jesus group and others like it are illegitimate expressions of the Jewish religious tradition. Rabbi James Rudin, who heads our Interreligious Affairs Department, and his wife Marcia clearly exposed the Jews for Jesus duplicitous proselytizing techniques in a landmark article in the summer 1977 issue of Present Tense. (Jim and Marcia are co-authors of the standard book, "Cults: Paradise or Prison?")

With large-scale advertising by the Jews for Jesus movement the latest problem, we are coordinating a public Christian response that will be highly critical of the Jews for Jesus movement, developing a set of what we are calling "Fair Proselytizing Guidelines" -- somewhat like "Fair Election Guidelines." These guidelines will stress that fair and honest principles be followed in all forms of religious recruitment in the U.S. We have every reason to believe that such Guidelines will bring on positive responses from America's religious leadership.

Our AJC chapters throughout the country are being urged to respond immediately when the Jews for Jesus ads appear locally: by getting letters-to-the-editor signed by AJC leaders, and by urging Christian leaders to do the same to the general and religious media, exposing the true intentions of the Jews for Jesus group in their own language.

AJC will continue its long-standing cooperation with the appropriate Jewish and interreligious bodies that keep watch on all cult and missionary activities in the U.S. as well as in Israel.

In the long run, of course, the best refutation of the cults and missionaries does not lie in negative counter-information alone but rather in creating a vibrant and vital Jewish community that will be so attractive that those in search of transcendence, values, and self-fulfillment will find their way to our Jewish institutions and programs. The Winter 1983 issue of AJC's William Petscheck National Jewish Family Center newsletter, published by our Jewish Communal Affairs Department, included an essay indicating how cults and missionary groups seem to provide the dimensions of family that many Jews find lacking in their own lives and communities.

How serious a problem are we talking about? Estimates of the numbers of Jews affected vary widely, but experts suggest about 150,000 Jews in the cults, but they have no numbers about the effectiveness of the Jews for Jesus movement. We do all agree, though, that the Jewish people, which suffered such demographic losses in this generation, cannot afford further losses, small or large.

We are now preparing for publication an analysis of why some Jews seem vulnerable to the spurious claims of the Jews for Jesus movement while we detail why their claims are simply unacceptable to the Jewish community.

But I am sure you agree that the problem of the cults and missionaries alone would give validity to AJC's work in promoting Jewish values, enhancing Jewish community, and emphasizing the importance of Jewish education as the strongest responses we can give to the challenges of the cults and missionaries.

I have taken a lot of time, I know, in trying to explain these two problems and how AJC is facing them. Please let me have your own views and comments.

Cordially yours,



David M. Gordis

DMG/cpa



# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 10:30 A.M.  
FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1986**

NEW YORK, June 27 . . . Sharply denouncing the violence that has erupted between extreme religious and secular groups in Israel, leaders of the major religious bodies of American Jewry today called on Israelis and Jews everywhere to condemn all fanaticism in the Jewish state, whether secular or religious, and to seek an immediate end to "these mindless resorts to violence and hatred."

Speaking at a news conference at American Jewish Committee headquarters here, top officials of the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist arms of American Judaism expressed their horror "that Jews could engage in acts historically associated with anti-Semites," and urged support for "major efforts to promote moderation, tolerance and mutual respect."

"In such a heterogeneous and pluralistic society," the officials said in a joint statement, "it is difficult to demand that everyone love his neighbor as himself. But as Hillel so wisely formulated it, the minimal guideline for coexistence and survival is that 'what is hateful to you, do not do unto your neighbor.'"

Making plain that their denunciations were aimed equally at all parties to the violence, the statement continued: "We deplore provocative actions that have violated religious sensibilities regarding 'modesty in dress' in places of worship and in traditionally Orthodox neighborhoods. But insensitivity on the part of secularists to religious observances cannot be a justification for religious zealots, or any other persons, taking the law into their own hands and carrying out acts of intimidation and of destruction of public or private property.

"Jewish ethics and democratic ideals do not sanction the resort to extra-legal violence as instruments for enforcing public piety....

"By the same token, it is nothing short of bigotry and hooliganism to carry out acts of reprisals against synagogues or institutions of Torah study . . . . Tearing up holy prayer books and sacred Bibles, desecrating tefillin and the Arks of the Law, and defacing synagogue buildings with swastikas are unbearable to Jews of conscience and memory throughout the world."

.....more

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees.

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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"We urge all Jews," the group concluded, "to join in supporting Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Deputy Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in their appeals for a cessation of physical violence and the undertaking of major efforts to promote moderation, tolerance and mutual respect. The precious democracy that Israel has forged must not be allowed to become hostage to irrationality and uncontrolled passions...."

"At this critical hour in Israel and in the Diaspora it is urgent that the entire Jewish people return to the sacred principles of mutual love and respect, the keystone of Jewish survival."

Theodore Ellenoff, American Jewish Committee president, chaired the conference. He said that the conference "dramatized the consensus that exists among the vast majority of American Jews who oppose vigorously the violation of Jewish law and ethnics by those who resort to violence, whatever their religious and ideological motivation. The American Jewish Committee is intensifying its activities in Israel during the coming months to help contain such extremist actions and to promote increased respect among all religious and ethnic groups in Israel."

Participants in the conference were: Rabbi Daniel Syme, Vice-President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, representing UAHC President Alexander Schindler; Rabbi Yaakov G. Rosenberg, Vice Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, representing Chancellor Gerson Cohen; Rabbi Herschel Schacter, Director of Rabbinic Services, Yeshiva University, representing Dr. Norman Lamm, Y.U. President; Rabbi Benjamin Kreitman, Executive Vice-President, United Synagogue of America; Rabbi Walter S. Wurzburger, Chairman, Inter-religious Affairs Commission, Synagogue Council of America; Rabbi Henry D. Michelman, Executive Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America; Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, First Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America; Rabbi Haskel Lookstein, President, New York Board of Rabbis; David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President, American Jewish Committee, and Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations Department, American Jewish Committee.

In a related development, Rabbi Milton H. Polin, President of the Rabbinical Council of America, said: "We are in basic agreement with this joint statement. However, we have already issued our own statement together with several other Orthodox groups (Agudath Israel of America, National Council of Young Israel, and Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America), which enabled us to say things to our brethren in Israel that could not appropriately be said in a joint statement."

The conference was convened by AJC's International Relations Department, which carries out a program of improving intergroup relations and human rights in Israel and other parts of the world.

The complete text of the statement is attached.

## STATEMENT OPPOSING RESORT TO VIOLENCE

As representatives of major religious bodies of American Jewry, we join together in expressing our grave concern, outrage and sadness over the resort to violence on the part of militant elements in both the religious and secular sectors of Israeli society.

We are cognizant of the deep differences regarding Jewish law, tradition and belief that divide Jews today both in Israel and in the Diaspora. These in turn result in differences in practice and lifestyle, some of which one group or another may find unacceptable.

In such a heterogenous and pluralistic society it is difficult to demand that everyone love his neighbor as himself. But as Hillel so wisely formulated it, the minimal guideline for coexistence and survival is that "what is hateful to you, do not do unto your neighbor."

In practical terms this means giving due consideration to the feelings of others and exercising self-restraint.

We therefore deplore provocative actions that have violated Jewish religious sensibilities regarding "modesty in dress" in places of worship and in traditionally Orthodox neighborhoods. But insensitivity on the part of secularists to religious observance cannot be a justification for religious zealots, or any other persons, taking the law into their own hands and carrying out acts of intimidation and of destruction of public or private property. Jewish ethics and democratic ideals do not sanction the resort to extra-legal violence as instruments for enforcing public piety. Moreover, such measures only exacerbate tensions and arouse enmity for Jewish tradition among the non-observant. Teaching, preaching and personal examples of pious practice are the only legitimate and ultimately the only effective means of persuasion; violence and coercion are not.

By the same token, it is nothing short of bigotry and hooliganism to carry out acts of reprisals against synagogues or institutions of Torah study. Over and above our repudiation of their acts of physical violence, we are especially horrified that Jews could engage in acts historically associated with anti-Semites. Tearing up holy prayer books and sacred Bibles, desecrating tefillin and the Arks of the Law, and defacing synagogue buildings with swastikas are unbearable to Jews of conscience and memory throughout the inhabited world.

We call upon all elements of Israeli society and of world Jewry to repudiate these mindless resorts to violence and hatred, as well as the religious and secular fanaticism which have incited them. We urge all Jews to join in supporting Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir in their appeals for a cessation of physical

violence and the undertaking of major efforts to promote moderation, tolerance and mutual respect. The precious democracy that Israel has forged must not be allowed to become hostage to irrationality and uncontrolled passions.

The Jewish people have survived over 4,000 years and across some thirty civilizations because at crucial moments of Jewish history the core values of Ahavat Yisrael ("Love of one Jew for another") and sense of mutual responsibility have dominated Jewish consciousness. At this critical hour in Israel and in the Diaspora it is urgent that the entire Jewish people return to these sacred principles of mutual love and respect, the keystone of Jewish survival.

SIGNATORIES

Rabbi Mordechai Leibling, Executive Director, Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot

Rabbi Richard Hirsh, Executive Director, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association

Rabbi Ira Schiffer, President, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association

Dr. Arthur Green, President, Reconstructionist Rabbinical College

Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, President, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

Rabbi Herbert M. Baumgard, President, Synagogue Council of America

Dr. Gerson Cohen, Chancellor, The Jewish Theological Seminary

Rabbi Walter S. Wurzbarger, Chairman, Interreligious Affairs Commission, Synagogue Council of America

Rabbi Benjamin Kreitman, Executive Vice-President, United Synagogue of America

Dr. Norman Lamm, President, Yeshiva University

Rabbi Haskel Lookstein, President, New York Board of Rabbis

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Rabbi Kassel Abelson, President, Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, Executive Vice-President, Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Henry D. Michelman, Executive Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America

Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, First Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America

-----  
For the American Jewish Committee: Theodore Ellenoff, President; Dr. David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations Department; Dr. George E. Gruen, Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs Division

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APR 11 1986



STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK  
STATE UNIVERSITY PLAZA  
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12246

DONALD M. BLINKEN  
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES  
466 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

April 9, 1986

Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

Further to our recent correspondence, I enclose a copy of a letter from Dr. Sherry Penney, together with some material on the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at State University College at Oneonta. If you don't already know Dr. Yonah Alexander, please feel free to call him, if you wish, at my suggestion.

Professor Walter Reich spoke with me on the phone the other day and said, in passing, that he was looking forward to getting together with you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Donald M. Blinken

DMB:eb  
Enclosures



State University of New York

State University Plaza  
Albany, New York 12246

Vice Chancellor for Academic  
Programs, Policy and Planning

March 27, 1986

Mr. Donald M. Blinken  
466 Lexington Avenue  
New York, New York 10017

Dear Don:

The Institute for Studies in International Terrorism was established at Oneonta in the spring of 1977 under the direction of Dr. Yonah Alexander. The Institute has addressed a number of questions, and has provided opportunities for seminars, conferences, and press conferences as the terrorism question has continued to generate greater and greater interest in the United States.

Since the founding of the Institute, seminars have been conducted in Geneva, Washington, D.C., New York City, and at the University of California at Los Angeles. Senior New York State Senator Daniel P. Moynihan has been a participant, and in December 1983 was the principal speaker at a conference entitled "Terrorism: Future Threats and Responses" held at the City College of New York. In October 1984, another conference involving Dr. Alexander was held in Albany, entitled "Terrorism and Religion: Threats and Responses."

Thus, The Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at the State University College at Oneonta has been a small but active participant in the study of terrorism. The curriculum at the College includes, in the area of international studies, seminars on the subject of international terrorism, as well as a colloquium on international law and a number of special topics courses that have been evolved by Dr. Alexander. I am enclosing a brochure which describes the credit-bearing seminar in London in 1977.

Dr. Alexander has published widely. Some of his early publications are listed in the enclosed materials, but he continues to produce one or two books a year on the topic. He also edits two journals: Political Communication and Persuasion and Terrorism: An International Journal. In addition, a film on terrorism has been completed and will be available for purchase or rental. Because of Dr. Alexander's affiliation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, he is sometimes identified

Mr. Donald M. Blinken

- 2 -

March 27, 1986

with that institution rather than with his SUNY home. Dr. Alexander was interviewed widely on television and quoted in the press on the TWA Flight 847 incident.

Attached are additional materials which may be of interest.

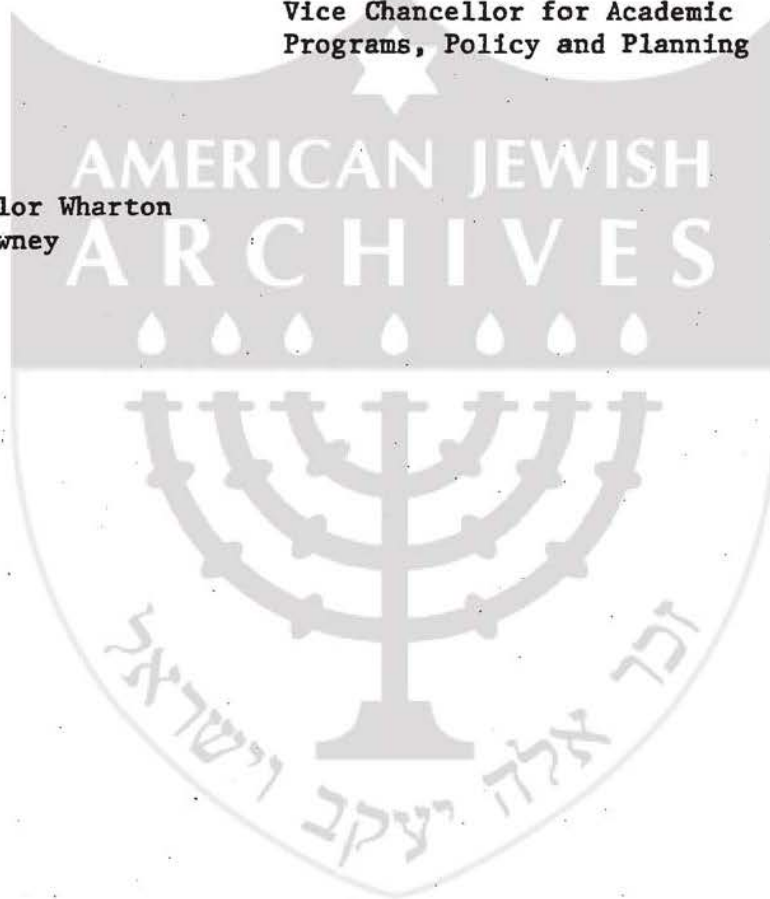
Most sincerely,



Sherry H. Penney  
Vice Chancellor for Academic  
Programs, Policy and Planning

Enclosures

cc: Chancellor Wharton  
Miss Downey



Sponsors and Staff

The seminar is organized and conducted by SUNY (at Oneonta) in cooperation with various academic and research institutions in London. Lecturers will include professors, researchers, diplomats, journalists, members of parliament and other experts.

Registration Deadline:

March 1, 1977

For inquiries and application forms:

Professor Y. Alexander  
International Studies  
State University College  
Oneonta, New York 13820  
Telephone (607) 431-3709 or (607) 431-3369

.....  
SUNY SEMINAR IN LONDON ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Please send me an application form:

Name (Print) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Current College or University  
Affiliation or Place of Employment \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

.....  
Administered by the  
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK  
COLLEGE AT ONEONTA

State  
University  
of  
New York



COLLEGE AT ONEONTA



1977 Seminar  
on

International  
TERRORISM

in

London





## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Academic course work in the field of political and ideological violence is becoming mandatory for those students interested in understanding contemporary society. SUNY's interdisciplinary seminar in London are designed to deal with the resurgence and control of international terrorism as seen from a European perspective. British expertise in this imperial experience and the current situation in Ireland.

These programs afford undergraduate and graduate students the opportunity to hear lectures on various aspects of terrorism by outstanding authorities located in London.

## Seminar Topics

1. Definitional focus on terrorism
2. Historical aspects of terrorism
3. Theories of terrorism
4. Terrorist movements
5. The IRA
6. Victims of terrorism
7. The media and terrorism
8. National responses to terrorism
9. International responses to terrorism
10. The future of terrorism

## College Credits

Students completing the academic program (predeparture readings, lectures in London, and completion of a satisfactory research paper upon return to the U.S.) will receive 2 semester hours of credit in International Studies 290 - Seminar in International Terrorism from SUNY (Oneonta).

## Touring and Cultural Events

As part of the program students will have an opportunity to participate in a sightseeing tour and river cruise of London, and to attend four-to-six plays or musicals (preselected by the participants).

## Duration of the Program

March 18-26, 1977.

**Eligibility:** Undergraduate and graduate students of other persons interested in the study of international terrorism are eligible to apply. Applicants need not be currently enrolled at a SUNY institution.

## Cost:

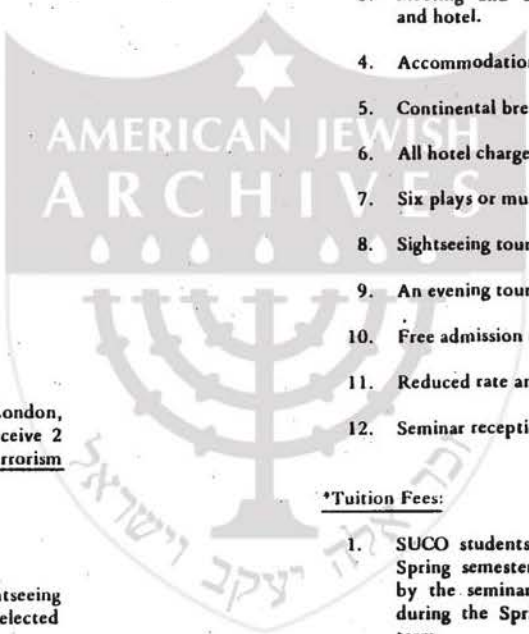
The eight day program (March 18-26, 1977) will cost \$450.00, plus SUNY tuition (if required\*).

The above cost figures include:

1. All academic program expenses in London.
2. Round-trip air transportation via British Airways jet, New York-London-New York.
3. Meeting and assistance in London, and round-trip transfers between airport and hotel.
4. Accommodations with private bath for the duration of the program.
5. Continental breakfast.
6. All hotel charges and taxes.
7. Six plays or musicals.
8. Sightseeing tour and river cruise of London.
9. An evening tour of London.
10. Free admission to various activities.
11. Reduced rate and discount opportunities.
12. Seminar reception.

## \*Tuition Fees:

1. SUCO students who will be attending college on campus full time in the 1977 Spring semester need not pay any additional tuition for the 2 credits offered by the seminar. Credit will be awarded on completion of the required research during the Spring 1977 term and payment of the regular full tuition for that term.
2. SUNY students from other campuses should expect to pay tuition on their home campus. As stated above for SUCO students, it is our understanding that if other SUNY students are to be full-time students in the Spring 1977, they need not pay any additional tuition for the 2 credits offered by the seminar. Details must be arranged on the home campus.
3. Non-SUNY students must register at SUCO and pay required SUNY tuition for the 2 credits offered by the seminar.



American Jewish Congress  
15 East 84th Street  
New York, New York 10028  
(212) 879-4500, Ex. 217



## **TERRORISM:**

AN EXAMINATION OF FUTURE TARGETS AND METHODS  
AND HOW TO PROTECT OURSELVES

### SPONSORS

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS  
THE INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM,  
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1983  
8 A.M. - 4:30 P.M.

Third Floor Auditorium  
Graduate Center  
City University of New York  
33 West 42nd Street  
New York City

The generosity of Henry Margolis, which  
helped make this conference possible,  
is gratefully acknowledged.

**TERRORISM:**  
An Examination of Future Targets and Methods  
and How to Protect Ourselves



**8 A.M.** Registration and Coffee

**8:50 A.M.** **Opening Remarks:**  
Howard Squadron, President, AJCongress  
Dr. John Mather, Associate Vice Chancellor, SUNY

**10 A.M.** **Future Threats**  
Professor Lawrence Z. Freedman, University of Chicago  
*Chairman*  
Brian Jenkins, The Rand Corporation  
Dr. Thomas Cochran, Natural Resources Defense Council  
Professor John Murphy, University of Kansas School of Law

**10-11 A.M.** **Future U.S. Responses**  
Professor John Norton Moore, University of Virginia Law School  
*Chairman*  
Terry Arnold, Deputy Director, Office for Combatting Terrorism,  
U.S. Department of State  
Inspector Donald Moss, Commander, Public Security Section,  
New York Police Department

**1 A.M.—  
2 Noon** **Future Multinational Responses**  
Professor Oscar Schachter, Columbia University Law School  
*Chairman*  
Professor Thomas M. Franck, New York University Law School  
Allen Gerson, Special Assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

**2 Noon—  
P.M.** **Luncheon Break**

**2:00 P.M.**

**2-3 P.M.**

**3-4 P.M.**

**4:00 P.M.—**

**4:30 P.M.**

Dr. John A. Granito, Vice President, SUNY, Binghamton  
*Chairman*  
U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan  
"Congressional Efforts to Arrest Terrorism"

**The Role of the Media**  
Professor Louis Henkin, Columbia University Law School  
*Chairman*  
Professor W.P. Davison, Columbia University School of Journalism  
Michael J. O'Neill, former President, American Society of Newspaper Editors,  
Newspaper Editors Association  
Robert Chandler, Senior Vice President, CBS News  
Barry Rosen, former Press Attaché, U.S. Embassy, Teheran

**The Role of the Business Community**  
Theodore E. Mulford, Vice President, Singer-Link  
*Chairman*  
Warren Metzner, Director of Security, Exxon Corporation  
Carl Akerman, Director, Control Risk (London)  
Richard M. McCormick, Vice President and Director of Corporate Security,  
Chemical Bank

**Closing Remarks**  
Professor Yonah Alexander, Director, Institute for Studies in International Terror  
SUNY, *Conference Co-Chairman*  
Phil Baum, Associate Executive Director, AJCongress  
*Conference Co-Chairman*



news

# Institute for Studies in International Terrorism

## United Nations Seminar

Thursday, April 20, 1978  
UNITAR and U.N. Headquarters  
New York City

Sponsored by Institute for Studies in International Terrorism (SUNY)  
and The Ralph Bunche Institute on  
The United Nations (The City U. of N.Y.)  
in Cooperation with United Nations Institute for Training and Research

### PROGRAM

- 10-11:00 a.m. Dr. Robert Jordan  
UNITAR Hqs. Director of Research, UNITAR  
"The New International Economic Order"
- 11:15-12:15 Dr. John G. Stoessinger  
UNITAR Hqs. Professor of Political Science  
Hunter College, CUNY  
"The U.N. and the Middle East"
- 12:15-1:45 p.m. Lunch
- 1:45-2:45 Dr. Berhanyk un Andemicael  
UNITAR Hqs. UNITAR  
"The U.N. and Southern Africa"
- 2:45-3:45 Dr. Abraham Bargman  
UNITAR Hqs. Professor of Political Science  
Brooklyn College, CUNY  
"The Special Session on Disarmament"
- 4:00-4:30 Ambassador William B. Buffum  
U.N. Hqs. Under-Secretary-General for  
Political and General Assembly Affairs  
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
- 4:30-5:00 Tour of U.N. Headquarters  
U.N. Hqs.

Seminar Directors: Professor Yonah Alexander and  
Professor Seymour M. Finger

state university college oneonta, new york

13820

  
**NEWS**

## Institute for Studies in International Terrorism

### CONFERENCE ON LEBANON DEALS WITH PROBLEM OF TERRORISM AND U.S. POLICY

There is a growing public and governmental concern with the escalation of terrorism in Lebanon, the rest of the Middle East and the world. The January 5, 1984, conference on Lebanon: The Next Phase, sponsored by the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism of the State University of New York, and the Center for International Development at the University of Maryland, centered on the terrorist threat, its consequences, and on U.S. policy towards the problem of destabilizing Lebanon.

This conference, held at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. and attended by several leading intellectuals, U.S. government policy analysts, journalists and other observers. The participants grappled with the question of who the winners and losers were with regard to instability in Lebanon and the Middle East. Professor Edward Azar, Director of Center for International Development, pointed out that with respect to radical and moderate regimes, the moderates and political pluralists were the "big losers" within the present context of instability in the Middle East. "Radical" regimes, defined by Azar as advocating hostile policies towards Israel and the U.S. and rejecting pluralist political systems in the region, also tend to promote or sponsor terrorism. This terrorism threatens a serious "collapse of moderation," according to Azar. While moderate governments such as President Amin Gemayel have been taking an increasingly pragmatic line with respect to relations with Israel, the PLO, and the West, so as to further their own interests in a more stable Middle East. Terrorism threatens this process.

(M O R E)

state university college oneonta, new york  
13820

Other participants in this conference included Drs. Ray S. Cline and Professor Yonah Alexander. Cline, who served as Deputy Director for Intelligence at the CIA from 1962 to 1966, and Alexander, director of SUNY's Institute for Studies in International Terrorism, are co-authors of a new book, Terrorism: The Soviet Connection. They asserted that the Soviet Union is supporting terrorism in Lebanon-- and throughout the region. Cline and Alexander cited evidence from the past decade for this assertion by revealing transcripts of meetings between Soviet and PLO officials and descriptions of photographs of certificates of graduation of PLO members from Soviet military training centers.

Dr. Alexander pointed out that international groups, especially the Syrians and Iranians, are using Lebanon much in the same way as the PLO did as a staging ground for terrorist activities. He argued that Syria, with the support of the Soviet Union, is promoting state terrorism in the Middle East. This condition, if left unchecked, will continue to paralyze the international relations of the West and especially the U.S. He also presented empirical evidence pointing out the ten places in the Middle East where terrorism will continue to occur during the coming decade.

Cline claimed that America is not giving adequate attention to the seriousness of Soviet-sponsored tensions-- especially because of the apparent ease of exporting terrorism to within the U.S. borders. His solutions included heightening public awareness of terrorist threats, upgrading security precautions, increasing the human capability of the intelligence community, and expanding international cooperation to combat this threat.

A different point of view with regard to the problem of terrorism and instability in Lebanon and the Middle East was advanced by Dr. Robert Franger-- a senior Defense Department official during the Nixon administration and currently at the American Enterprise Institute. He contended that there is likely to be a lessening of instability in the region because of the role of the Superpowers. He contended that both Superpowers have grown tired of taxing political, military,

and financial costs to themselves, accruing to continued instability in Lebanon and the surrounding region. Pranger based this judgement on his own vast expertise and conversations he had with American officials and Soviet colleagues during a recent visit to the Soviet Union.

Concerning specifics of this Superpower attitude towards instability, Pranger mentioned Soviet unwillingness to see their recent stockpiling of new, expensive weaponry in the Syrian arsenal wasted in renewed fighting between that country and Israel. Instability in Lebanon could lead to that development. He also mentioned that a sign of growing pragmatism in Soviet policy, regarding Middle East instability is Soviet consideration of warming relations with Israel. The bottom line, concerning Soviet policy for the future in the Middle East, is to prevent a rise in instability which could lead to a possible nuclear confrontation between the Superpowers, according to Pranger.

Solutions to the problems of instability in Lebanon put forth by Pranger include better policy-making structure and strategies within the U.S. national security establishment. He contended that Lebanon is a test of U.S. political success in the Middle East and therefore the U.S. Administration needs more clearly defined goals and strategy with regard to securing American interests in Lebanon. For example, the military's role is improperly defined, in Lebanon and American power is not being used effectively, there.

The discussants during the conference raised several points regarding the twin problems for the U.S. in the Middle East, namely, the decline of the credibility and power of the political pragmatists/moderates/pluralists who support the U.S. presence in the region and the increase in the quality and quantity of state-sponsored terrorism. The panelists argued that U.S. best interests in the Middle East are best served if pluralism and moderation in Lebanon are preserved and encouraged. Furthermore, the U.S. must not tolerate acts of international terrorism against it or against its friends and allies. Lebanon is the

place where the U.S. should stand firm and not permit Syria, Iran, the USSR or any other groups or states to attack U.S. interests in the region by terrorizing its friends into submission.





# Conference on "Terrorism & Religion: Threats & Responses"

October 23, 1984

## Tentative Agenda

- 9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. **Opening Remarks**  
Dr. Clifford C. Craven, President, State University of New York (College at Oneonta)  
Dr. Wilbert LeMelle, Associate Vice Chancellor for International Programs, SUNY/Central  
Kenneth J. Bialkin, National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
Prof. Yonah Alexander, Director, SUNY's Institute for Studies in International Terrorism (Oneonta)
- 9:30 a.m. - 11:00 **Theological Perspectives on Terrorism**  
Chairman: Theodore Freedman, Director, ADL Intergroup Relations Div.  
Panelists: Prof. Dennis Goulet, University of Notre Dame (Theology)  
Prof. Leonard Binder, University of Chicago (Political Science)  
Prof. David Rapoport, U.C.L.A. (Political Science)  
Dr. Shireen Hunter, CSIS, Georgetown (Middle East)  
Prof. Stanley Newman, Temple University (Political Science)
- 11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. **The Victimization of Religious Institutions**  
Chairman: Dr. Ray S. Cline, CSIS, Georgetown  
Panelists: Prof. Moshe Maoz, Hebrew University (Middle East)  
Prof. Firuz Kazemzadeh, Yale University (History)  
Ambassador Edward Marks, Office for Combating Terrorism, U.S. Department of State  
Blahoslav S. Hruby, Executive Director, Research Center for Religion & Human Rights in Closed Societies  
Dr. Joseph Pilat, Los Alamos National Laboratory (Social Science)
- 12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m. **Luncheon:** W.H. Hucklesby, Chief of the Anti-Terrorism Branch, New Scotland Yard
- 2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. **The Role of Religion in Combatting Terrorism**  
Chairman: Dr. John Kalas, SUNY/Central, Research Foundation  
Panelists: Prof. John H. Yoder, University of Notre Dame  
Rabbi Leon Klenicki, Director, ADL Interfaith Affairs Dept.  
Prof. Franklin H. Littell, Temple University  
L.Z. Freedman, M.D., University of Chicago  
Prof. Yosef Rom, Technion
- 4:00 p.m. - 4:10 p.m. **Closing Remarks**  
Prof. Fred Ermlich, SUNY's Institute for Studies in International Terrorism (Oneonta)  
Abraham H. Foxman, Associate National Director, ADL

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ TITLE \_\_\_\_\_

ORGANIZATION/AFFILIATION \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

Please return no later than October 18, 1984

Registration: \$10.00 (including lunch)



**Yonah Alexander:**  
*An expert in an  
unchartered field*

# SUNY '84 RESEARCH '84

MAY-JUNE 1984

*"Unless liberal democracies mobilize all segments of society to assess seriously our vulnerabilities to the growing dangers of terrorism and we develop adequate strategies and capabilities to deal with the challenges, we will remain important hostages to blackmailers throughout the 1980s."*

SUNY RESEARCH '84 is published bimonthly during the academic year by The Research Foundation of State University of New York. It is produced through the facilities of the State University of New York Central Administration Graphic Arts Department and Print Shop.

Director of Public Affairs — Lavina Finin  
Editors — Nancy Sweeney and Sara Wiest

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Correspondence concerning SUNY RESEARCH '84 should be addressed to the Editors, Department of Public Affairs, The Research Foundation of State University of New York, State University Plaza, Albany, New York 12246. Telephone (518) 474-0595.

The Research Foundation of State University of New York

*"I define terrorism as the threat and use of psychological and physical force — including intimidation, coercion, repression and, ultimately, the destruction of human lives and property — for the purpose of attaining goals, be they ideological or political."*

The Institute is also involved with the publishing of two journals. *Terrorism: An International Journal* and *Political Communication and Persuasion: An International Journal* are both available from Crane, Russak in New York. Currently, the Institute is working with SUNY's New York Network to co-produce educational films on international terrorism.

#### **Inevitable interest**

Behind this surge of scholarship is a man who learned about terrorism at an early age. "My interest in terrorism is perhaps inevitable," Alexander said recently. "I was born into a family victimized by the most extreme kind of state terrorism — Nazism." He was born in Poland and before the Holocaust moved with his family to Mandatory Palestine. There as a teenager he joined the Hagana underground movement fighting for a Jewish homeland. "This experience obviously developed my early interest in the process of political and ideological violence," he said.

Enrolling in college, Alexander's interest was stimulated further by professors *Hans Morgenthau* and *Quincy Wright* at the University of Chicago and professors *Philip Jessup* and *Leland Goodrich* at Columbia University. "My teachers guided me to study the sources, the course and the real potential consequences of terrorism and gave me the stimulus to explore peaceful solutions," said Alexander.

During the late 1960s when several dramatic air hijackings brought worldwide attention to terrorists, Alexander began his full-time study of the phenomena. "The deteriorating world situation and the alarming increase in state and non-state terrorism had given my work a new urgency. So for the past 15 years, I have been studying the root causes of this danger to society and how we can deal with it."

#### **Defining the topic**

Alexander had to define his topic in order to begin. "The question of definition is a very complex one. Everyone is familiar with the cliché, 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' I define terrorism as the threat and use of psychological and physical force — including intimidation, coercion, repression and, ultimately, the destruction of human lives and property — for the purpose of attaining goals, be they ideological or political."

Terrorism, as Alexander sees it, is used by both radical opposition groups and established governments. "Non-state movements consist of ethnic, religious and nationalist groups (e.g., the provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army); Marxist-Leninist groups (e.g., the Basques in Spain); anarchist groups

*U.S. Senator from New York Daniel Patrick Moynihan speaking at the conference, Terrorism: Future Threats and Responses, held in New York City last December and sponsored by Oneonta's Institute for Studies in International Terrorism.*





Rescue teams tend to the injured in the aftermath of a bomb blast at Orly Airport, France, which killed three and injured 48 others in June of 1983. Nineteen of those injured were badly burned by the bomb which was hidden near the Turkish airlines' counter by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia.

(e.g., Germany's Red Cells); neo-Fascist and extreme right wing groups (e.g., the Japanese Liberation Army), and pathological groups (e.g. the Symbionese Liberation Army). Unlike ordinary criminals, these terrorists are ostensibly dedicated to an altruistic ideological or political cause."

He goes on, "Yet, for the victims of terrorism, it doesn't much matter whether the cause for which they were killed or injured was to change a system or to keep one.

"In effect, each country can decide, according to its perceived national interests, who are the terrorists." This was a major reason for creating an institute to study the topic. "An educational institution is able to go into depth and to provide continuity on the subject. Even democratic governments change leadership, for example, and these changes make for differing emphases on the subject," said Alexander.

#### More than government alone

"President Reagan called terrorism 'public enemy number one' early in his term of office. Unfortunately, recent attacks on U.S. targets in Lebanon have demonstrated that we are not doing as much as we should," Alexander said.

Alexander's "we" means more than government alone. "Unless liberal democracies mobilize all segments of society to assess seriously our vulnerabilities to the growing dangers of terrorism and we develop adequate strategies and capabilities to deal with the challenges, we will remain important hostages to blackmailers throughout the 1980s."

Alexander and the Institute have been applying the "working together" philosophy since the outset. Conferences on such themes as *Terrorism and Business*, *Victims of Violence*, *Terrorism and the Media* and *Terrorism: Political and Religious Varieties, Justification and Consequences* have included representatives from all parts of society, states Alexander.

"Obviously, the first line of defense is the law enforcement agencies, and they are doing a good job," Alexander points out. "However, the problem of terrorism cannot be left to law enforcement agencies alone. The threat of terrorism requires an openness and understanding from a number of groups — Congress, the media and business are examples."

#### Interdisciplinary nature

Terrorism is a subject that is interdisciplinary by nature, and Alexander feels that a number of ac-

*Continued on next page*

demographic areas must play a part if it is to be understood. Geography, religion, international studies, political science, law, economics, business, history, sociology, education, philosophy and communications are all disciplines that enter into the complexities of terrorism. Alexander feels that students preparing for careers in government, law, international business, justice and journalism have a special need to understand the aims and acts of terrorists.

Besides Oneonta, the University Centers at Albany and Binghamton have been involved with the work of the Institute. The Fashion Institute of Technology provided facilities for a conference and SUNY's New York City and Washington offices have also been used. The Research Foundation of SUNY has worked with it to raise funds. No State University of New York funding has been used to operate the Institute. It is a non-budgetary unit responsible to the president or dean of graduate studies and research of the College at Oneonta. Funds for the support of the Institute and its programs are secured from external, non-state sources.

Alexander hopes that SUNY's Institute for Studies in International Terrorism can continue to provide a platform for terrorism research. "What we are able to do will depend on getting the funds we need. We currently have no continuous budget and depend on grants and gifts in order to conduct our work," he said.

*"The media are the terrorists' best friends, since the act by itself is nothing if it doesn't receive publicity . . . . But how far should we go in protecting society's 'right to know' versus an individual's safety?"*

### Grim statistics

There is plenty to study. Statistics show that since 1970, over 19,000 domestic and international terrorist incidents occurred. A total of 28,110 individuals have been killed and another 18,925 wounded because of terrorist activities. Property damage is nearly one billion dollars. Other statistics show that the number of terrorist incidents involving fatalities has been increasing at about 20 percent a year since the early 1970s. In 1983 — the bloodiest year yet — the figures rose to more than 2,000 casualties.

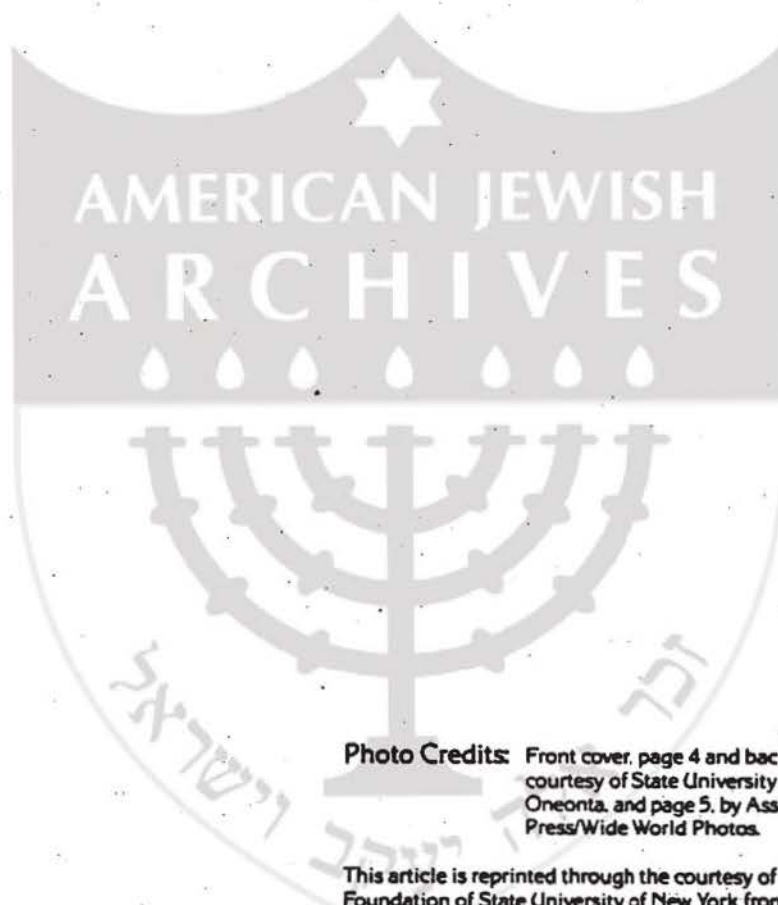
Alexander points to examples of how the knowledge being collected about terrorism can and is being applied. "There has been an evolution in terrorist targets. Early in the 1970s, military and police facilities were the main points of attack, but in the 1980s, the shift has been to diplomatic personnel and business. We are now seeing governments and businesses training their people in ways of avoiding or lessening the chances of becoming targets. Security is increased. By applying what we are learning, we are able to be even better prepared."

Another area that the Institute is deeply involved with is the terrorist and the media. "The media are the terrorists' best friends, since the act by itself is nothing if it doesn't receive publicity," Alexander said. "But how far should we go in protecting society's 'right to know' versus an individual's safety?"

In his latest book, *Terrorism: The Soviet Connection*, co-authored with Dr. Ray S. Cline of Georgetown University's CSIS, Alexander writes, "There are no simplistic solutions for reducing vulnerability to destabilizing acts of violence. Both terrorism and counterterrorism can result in devastating destruction, often coupled with public alienation from a government unable to protect the safety of its citizens. Repeated acts of terrorism are likely to occur and reveal — to the people and to the international community — the government's importance in stopping attacks."

Alexander sums it up. "The prospect of the use of mass destructive weapons by terrorists is seen by some observers as plausible and by others as inevitable. The public has failed to appreciate the scope and intensity of the terrorist threat. Americans tend to see terrorism as a mere nuisance. The result: The U.S. has not developed the commitment needed to deal with the problem."

Yonah Alexander is working on the problem. He could use some more help. '84



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*Yonah Alexander: An expert  
in an uncharted field*





SEMINAR ON

THE PROTECTION OF VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE

IN THE 1980'S

Geneva, April 10-12, 1985

Co-sponsored by :

The Institute for Studies in International Terrorism, the State University of New York, the Institute for Social and Behavioral Pathology, the University of Chicago, the Ralph Bunche Institute on the United Nations, the City University of New York, the Criminal Justice Institute of the Atlanta University, the International Center of Sociological, Penal and Penitentiary Studies, the Messina University (Italy), the Anti-Defamation League and the Henry Dunant Institute.

program

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10

9:30 a.m. - 12:00

*Civil Defense Organization in Geneva - visit and briefing*

2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

*International Committee of the Red Cross headquarters - visit and briefing*

4:15 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

*U.N. headquarters, Geneva - visit and briefing*

8:00 p.m.

*Reception, Henry Dunant Institute*

THURSDAY, APRIL 11

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

*Opening session*

9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

*PANEL I. - The nature and consequences of violence (The protection of the vic-*

peacetime; national laws and the protection of victims of violence; the role of international humanitarian law and human rights).

1:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.

Lunch  
Luncheon Speaker

2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.

PANEL II. - Operational aspects and training. (Crisis Management: negotiation and mediation; emergency medical preparedness; training programs: national, regional, global; dissemination of international humanitarian law).

FRIDAY, APRIL 12

9:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

PANEL III. - The role of governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in protecting victims of violence. (The role of the International Red Cross, of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, of the intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and of the national institutions).

1:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.

Lunch

2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.

PANEL IV. - Future Prospects : Violence and victimization. An agenda for future research.

5:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Closing Remarks

[e][e][e][e][e][e]

THURSDAY, April 11, 1985

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

\*\* OPENING SESSION

J. Meurant  
Y. Alexander  
J.D. Smith  
A. Plaut  
S. Ferdman

9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

\*\* PANEL I The nature and consequences of violence (The protection of the victims of violence during wartime and peacetime; national laws and the protection of victims of violence; the role of international humanitarian law and human rights).

Chairman: Y. Alexander

J. Toman

Panelists: F. Jimenes

F. de Mulinen

J. Pilat

\*\* LUNCH

2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.

\*\* PANEL II Operational aspects and training (Crisis management: negotiations and mediation; emergency medical preparedness; training programs: national, regional, global; dissemination of international humanitarian law).

Chairman: B. S. Brown

Panelists: Ambassador E. Marks

A. Kleinman

G. Goffiul

A. Tschiffeli

R. Russbach

P. Goss

FRIDAY, April 12, 1985

9:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

\*\*

PANEL III

The role of governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in protecting victims of violence (The role of the International Red Cross, of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, of the intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and of the national institutions).

Chairman: F. Jimenes

Panelists: J. S. Lisker  
J. Meurant  
G. G. Pompa  
Y. Sandoz  
F. Warren-Metzmer

\*\*

LUNCH

2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.

\*\*

PANEL IV

Future prospects : Violence and victimization. An agenda for future research.

Chairmen: Y. Alexander  
S. Ferdman

Discussion with all participants

5:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. : Closing remarks

Geneva--Greater international cooperation is needed if modern democratic societies are to effectively deal with terrorism, according to Professor Yonah Alexander, a leading American expert on the subject.

"Unless governments cooperate, we are going to turn our societies over to outlaws--a wild west--which we cannot afford," Alexander said in an interview here April 12. He warned that the increasing availability to terrorists of sophisticated weapons, including chemical, biological, and nuclear arms, could push them toward "mass destruction" activities.

Moreover, he said, a growing number of states were supporting and manipulating terrorism as a suitable substitute to traditional warfare.

Alexander, who lectures widely on terrorism and has written books and articles on the subject, was attending an international Red Cross conference here, analyzing terrorist networks and support given by states to terrorism.

He said that countries like the Soviet Union, Iran, Irak, and Libya were actively supporting international terrorism, providing terrorists with training, money, weapons, propaganda, and planned missions.

For example, he added, "twelve cases are known to me personally of persons recruited by the Lebanese communist party and trained in the Soviet Union in order to be engaged in terrorist activities, including in killing fellow Shiites."

Alexander said there were 40 terrorist training camps in the Soviet Union and other East-bloc countries, including Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam, and that about 90 percent of all terrorist groups around the world were left-wing or Marxist-minded. *HE SAID THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM WAS THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRATIC RULE.*

Alexander said that every year casualties of terrorism increased about 20 percent, and that "the most dangerous trend" was that governments were increasingly seen as being unable to protect their citizens from terrorist violence, especially their diplomatic representatives abroad.

Alexander said there was "no single solution" to the problem of terrorism, but suggested the following first steps:

--Describing terrorism for what it is, "a modern form of piracy," and not, for example, as liberation movements.

--Strengthening countries' intelligence on international terrorist activities, police and military responses to terrorism, and crisis management capabilities. "We also need to educate people more in the human and democratic values which must be preserved in our societies, and which are at risk from terrorism."

--The "most important step" would be for states who sponsor terrorism to be "held accountable" by the international community for their actions."

"During the past two decades, pragmatic and symbolic terrorist acts--including arson, bombing, hostage-taking, kidnapping, and murder--undertaken by extremist groups for the purpose of producing pressures on governments and peoples to concede to the demands of the perpetrators, have victimized, killed, and maimed thousands of innocent civilians," Alexander said.

"These casualties include government officials, politicians, judges, diplomats, military personnel, police officers, business executives, labor leaders, university professors, college students, school children, travelers, pilgrims, and Olympic athletes."

In 1984 alone, he noted, just under 10,000 people were killed, and nearly 4,000 wounded, in over 3,000 terrorist attacks throughout the world.

"Terrorist acts have also inflicted considerable damage on non-human targets," Alexander went on. "Terrorists have already attacked government offices and police stations, pubs, restaurants, hotels, banks, supermarkets, department stores, oil pipelines, storage tanks, refineries, railroad stations, air terminals, and jetliners."

"During 1983 and 1984, the impact upon U.S. national interests of state-sponsored terrorism employing powerful technical means became obvious, in particular the Beirut bombing of the U.S. embassy in two different sites and the destruction of the U.S. Marine Corps headquarters."

In 1984 anti-U.S. operations by terrorists cost an estimated 51 million dollars, Alexander pointed out.

In his remarks to the Red Cross conference, Alexander said that the problem of expanding terrorism was "serious and poorly understood."

He said that answers to terrorist problems needed "much greater attention," and that "little agreement" had been reached on possible remedies.

"Terrorism poses many threats to contemporary society and is likely to have a serious impact on the quality of life and on orderly, civilized existence," he said. "Perhaps the most significant dangers are those relating to the safety, welfare, and rights of ordinary people; the stability of the state system; the health and pace of economic development; and the expansion or even the survival of democracy."

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# TRIBUNE DE GENÈVE

Tribune de Genève

95

## L'actualité politique Terrorisme contre démocratie

« Les Etats-Unis étant considérés par les groupes de terroristes gauchistes dans le monde comme le principal obstacle à de rapides changements politiques, économiques et sociaux (...), les hommes d'affaires, les militaires et les diplomates américains constituent des objectifs de choix. Ils deviendront d'autant plus vulnérables que les perspectives de troubles globaux et régionaux augmenteront. Les opérations contre ces objectifs américains pourront être le fait de groupes extrémistes régionaux, d'insurrections locales ou encore du terrorisme d'Etat. »

Rencontré à Genève par le plus grand des hasards, quelques heures avant l'abominable attentat de Madrid, le professeur Yonah Alexander ne pouvait pas leur des propos plus prémoniteurs. Spécialisé dans les recherches sur le terrorisme, il a recensé - depuis son bureau du Centre d'études internationales et stratégiques de l'Université Georgetown (Washington) - 3282 actes terroristes dans le monde pour la seule année 1984 (neuf par jour !), dont plus de 85 % visaient des hommes d'affaires, du personnel militaire ou policier, des agents gouvernementaux et des diplomates.

Le professeur Alexander distingue cinq tendances dans l'évolution du terrorisme contemporain: le terrorisme d'Etat (Syrie, Libye, voire URSS), trait de l'équilibre de la terreur nucléaire qui conduit certaines puissances à « faire la guerre par d'autres moyens »; la violence « sous-révolutionnaire » qui, sans nécessairement chercher à détruire la société, entend promouvoir à n'importe quel prix une cause spécifique (bombes contre les cliniques d'avortement aux Etats-Unis, attentat de Marigny au nom de l'écologie); l'action politico-révolutionnaire de groupes ethniques ou régionaux (ETA basque, IRA irlandaise); le retour en force du fanatisme religieux (chittes, Frères musulmans); la régression dans une sorte de « néo-féodalisme »: des groupes sociaux, ayant perdu confiance dans la capacité de leur gouvernement de les protéger, se font « justice » eux-mêmes (Escadrons de la mort, Brigades rouges, Vigilantes, GAL anti-bananas).

La diversité des formes de terro: les progrès de la technologie, le « professionnalisme » croissant des terroristes ne facilitent pas la contre-offensive. D'autant que les gouvernements, d'idéologiquement, ne s'accrochent à une définition (terrorisme pour guerre de libération pour les autres), quand ils ne sont pas de connivence (terrorisme d'Etat).

De fait, la riposte ne peut des démocraties dans la mesure elles sont en première ligne offrant, ouverture même et leur esprit de tolérance, mille cibles aux terroristes. à réagir en paniquant, en réprimant à l'aveugle, elles perdraient vite leur

Il n'y a pas de remède miracle. Le spécialiste de Georgetown, la doit s'organiser à quatre niveaux: être en profondeur le phénomène terroriste; informer et éduquer la population (à l'école, par la voie des médias, etc.); intensifier la coopération entre régimes démocratiques (échange de renseignements, entraide judiciaire); se lancer dans des opérations de représailles (notamment contre le terro d'Etat) que si l'objectif est clairement délimité et si l'on joint de la compréhension et de l'appui de son opinion publique.

Cette riposte n'est pas sans espoir comme le démontrent les exemples récents de l'Allemagne fédérale et de l'Italie. Mais il s'agit là d'un combat de très longue haleine, avertit notre interlocuteur: l'attentat de Madrid ne sera, hélas, le d

André NAËF



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Fish  
Terrorism

**B**  
SECTION

**ALBANY**  
\*\*\*TIMES UNION  
Thursday, June 27, 1985



# LOCAL

## Expert: '85 to be 'bloodiest year' for terrorism

**By Carol DeMare**  
Staff writer

An expert on international terrorism predicted Wednesday on an Albany visit that "1985 promises to be the bloodiest year yet" for terrorist attacks.

The violence will be aimed primarily at the United States and other democratic governments and their citizens, said Yonah Alexander, a professor at the State College at Oneonta and director of the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at Oneonta.

"I think the (recent) hijacking (of TWA Flight 847) underscores the vulnerability of international civil aviation and the great danger that it presents," Alexander said. "It is an unprecedented challenge to an orderly existence in a time of 'peace.'"

Americans view terrorism as an

"irritant, a nuisance, rather than as a major strategic threat," Alexander said. "Therefore, the conclusion is we have to develop those capabilities which would be effective to ensure there is stability in the skies and to neutralize terrorism whenever possible by imposing punishment on terrorists to deter them from doing it again," he said.

Alexander, who also is senior researcher at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, was in Albany to address a seminar, planned some time ago, at the State University at Albany. The seminar was organized by Dr. Joseph F. Zacek, professor of history and chairman of international research, education and development.

The "timing (of the seminar) was unbelievable," Alexander said. There were about 45 people in attendance,

including law enforcement officials, he said.

In an interview at the Albany County Airport before he returned to his Washington home, Alexander said he is releasing a study on terrorism at a news conference in Washington today that he and a colleague, Dr. Ray S. Cline, prepared for the Pentagon.

The world has "never before been challenged (by terrorism) as in the past 10 days with the hijacking, the blowing up of an aircraft and the bombing in an (airport) terminal," said Alexander, who has testified before the Senate as an expert on terrorism.

He suggested the U.S. take measures to "boycott countries where there are not strong security measures," and in the cases of countries that "support terrorism, cut off travel and communications and isolate those countries."

In a column written last week for *USA Today*, Alexander called statistics

of terrorist violence staggering. "From 1970-84, 40,394 people were killed and 24,588 wounded by terrorists. In 1984 alone, there were 3,525 terrorist incidents; 9,614 people were killed and 4,009 injured. And 1985 promises to be the bloodiest year yet."

Alexander, who holds a doctorate in international relations from Columbia University, has taught in the State University system for 20 years and divides his time between Washington and the institute at Oneonta, which he helped establish in 1976.

The Oneonta institute "focuses on developing teaching courses and research in the field of terrorism," he said.

"It is becoming increasingly clear that communist states, especially the Soviet Union, as well as a number of other militant totalitarian regimes like Iran, Libya and Syria, are actively exporting terrorists and terror tech-

niques into other countries whose governments they wish to injure," he said.

A native of Israel who came to this country as a college student, Alexander has had first-hand experience in attempting to understand how the minds of terrorists work.

For the last three years, he has traveled to Lebanon and other Middle East countries to conduct field work and interview Shiite terrorists — the group that is holding the hostages in Beirut — as well as other terrorists on the left and right politically, he said.

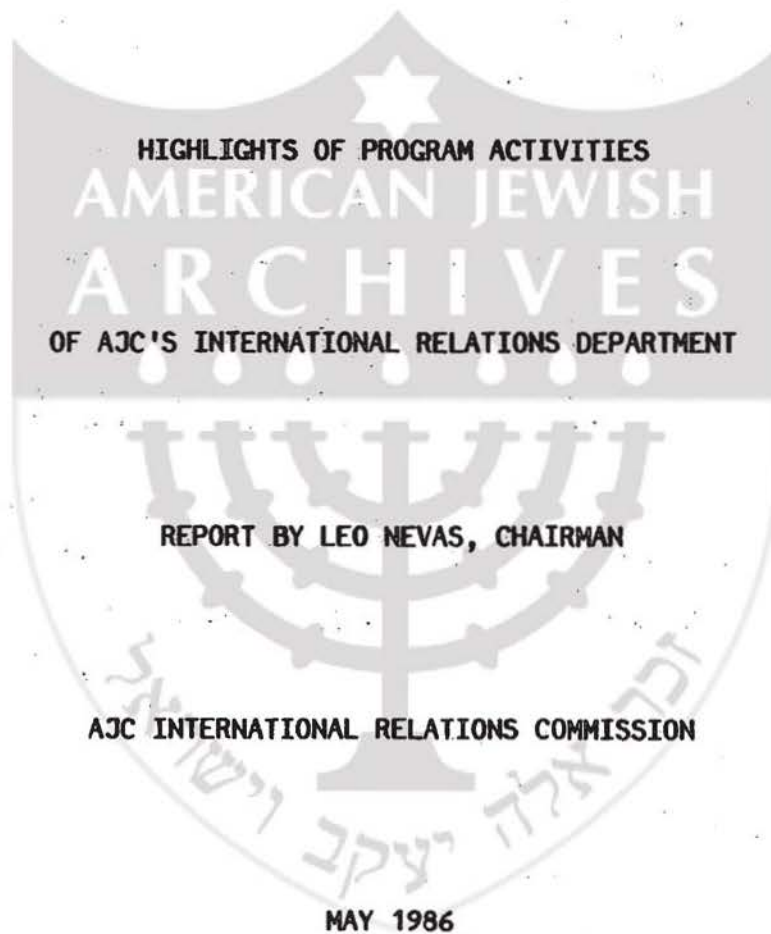
In interviewing the terrorists, he attempted to learn their "mind set, motivation and understand why they are involved in what they're involved in," he said. "They are not born, but created by various political, economic and social conditioning processes. Their education is for hatred, rather



Times Union photo by Hal Do

**YONAH ALEXANDER**  
'unprecedented challenge'

than education for the sake of humanity and progress."



**HIGHLIGHTS OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**  
**AMERICAN JEWISH**  
**ARCHIVES**  
**OF AJC'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT**

**REPORT BY LEO NEVAS, CHAIRMAN**

**AJC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION**

**MAY 1986**

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## Introduction

The year 1986 is only half gone, yet these months have already been dominated by major events of profound international importance -- continued acts of violent terrorism and an emerging Western response; establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel; release of Anatoly Scharansky and the continued stagnation in Jewish emigration from the USSR; the murder of three Lebanese Jewish hostages among other victims of Islamic fanaticism; disturbing homilies with anti-Jewish overtones voiced by Pope John Paul II, followed by the Pope's first historic visit to the Great Synagogue in Rome; proposed arms sales to Saudi Arabia; installation of new democratic governments in Guatemala and Costa Rica; the Nicaraguan conflict and the conflict over Nicaragua; revelations about the Nazi past of former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim -- and the list goes on.

In keeping with decades-long policies and practices, AJC's International Relations Department has sought to provide effective responses in behalf of the agency to these multiple concerns. In close consultation with the Steering Committee of the International Relations Commission, IRD's staff specialists have provided distinctive intellectual and programmatic leadership in each of the key foreign policy areas of central concern to AJC -- Israel, Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, threatened Jewish communities (Ethiopia, Syria, Yemen, South Africa, etc.), international human rights, and combatting terrorism.

It is impossible to record the extraordinary array of IRD activities and effective influences it brings to bear in key areas of decision-making in the United States, Western and Eastern Europe, Central and South America and Israel. These highlights of IRD programs are therefore suggestive - rather than exhaustive - in presenting the wide-ranging scope of AJC's contributions to Jewish and general security and well-being through our international relations activities.

Leo Nevas, Chairman  
AJC International Relations  
Commission

## IRD PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

January - May, 1986

### International Terrorism

\*Given the magnitude of the threat of international terrorism to American and Western democratic values and the demonstrated great concern of the American public, IRD has proposed the convening of a White House Conference on Combatting International Terrorism. The proposal, based on the objectives of the Vice President's Task Force recommendations, calls for a national forum for educating key leadership from major segments of American society about the facts, policies and programs of our government in combatting international terrorism. The forum would bring together business, labor, media, education, religious, racial, ethnic, civic, and other leaders of other voluntary groups to consider and exchange views on such key themes and issues as the growing threat of terrorism, U.S. policy and response to terrorists, the role of Congress in combatting terrorism, American public opinion, terrorism and the media, and the formulation of conclusions and recommendations.

\*On March 11, a small AJC delegation led by Howard Friedman met with Ambassador Robert B. Oakley, Director of the State Department's Office of Counter-Terrorism and Emergency Planning, to discuss developments in the Western response to the growing threat of international terrorism. Among the principal topics addressed were: Administration and Congressional initiatives, U.S. efforts to foster greater bilateral and regional cooperation with West European governments, and the role of the Soviet bloc in responding to acts of terrorism. Dr. Marc Tanenbaum proposed a White House Conference on Combatting Terrorism and other efforts to encourage the emergence of a broad citizen's movement to support a vigorous response to terrorism. In light of Ambassador Oakley's enthusiastic response, Dr. Tanenbaum indicated he would submit a written proposal for consideration by the Administration.

\*International terrorism has been the subject of several chapter programs this year. In April, Marc Tanenbaum addressed a large audience at Temple Beth Shalom-Conservative in Sarasota, Florida. His talk concentrated on the U.S. air raid on Libya and media coverage of the terrorist issue. On April 28, the Boston Chapter held a highly successful lecture and discussion entitled "International Terrorism: Options For The Democracy," with two speakers: Alfred P. Rubin, Professor of International Law at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and Yoram Peri, Professor of Political Science at Tel Aviv University and currently a visiting professor at the Center for Jewish Studies at Harvard University. The San Francisco Chapter convened an inquiry/forum on January 14 on "The Tapestry of Terrorism: The World-wide Threads of

Groups and Motives Behind the Horrors." John W. Minderman, Supervisor of the Counter-terrorism squad for the San Francisco FBI field office, and Dr. Dennis B. Ross, Executive Director of the Berkeley-Stanford Program on Soviet International Behavior, spoke. The Long Island Chapter has scheduled a talk and panel discussion on June 1 on "Waging War Against Terrorism" with Leon Charney, Advisor to President Carter during the Camp David process, serving as keynote speaker. The panel will include such various experts as an FBI agent from the Counter-terrorism squad, a specialist on narco-terrorism, an Israeli expert on international security, and a police detective from the Port Authority in New York responsible for security at Kennedy International Airport.

### International Human Rights

\*From April 13-15 an International Legal Conference on Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism and the United Nations was held in New York, co-sponsored by the Center for International Studies of New York University Law School and The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights. The conference brought together 43 outstanding experts in international law and international organizations from 11 different countries. It addressed the current dimensions of hostility toward Jews in the world body, rejected the equation of Zionism with racism and found that the United Nations does indeed record statements containing anti-Semitic imagery and language. In a series of recommendations, the conference declared that participants in U.N. proceedings are obligated to refrain from inciting hatred toward national, racial, ethnic or religious groups, that U.N. representatives should condemn anti-Semitic rhetoric and record these condemnations, and that the U.N. Secretariat should both counsel officers to rule defamatory statements out of order and assure that such statements are not incorporated into materials distributed by the U.N.

\*The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights has assisted in the publication of a volume, produced this year, that brings together the written and oral presentations from the Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights, held in Haverford, Pennsylvania, November 3-8, 1985 and co-sponsored by JBI, the Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Temple University Religion Department. Edited by Professor Leonard Swidler of the Temple University Religion Department, and with a preface by Sidney Liskofsky, the volume discusses the status of religious liberty and human rights in the USA, the USSR, Yugoslavia, Egypt, the Sudan and South Korea, establishes first steps in a Hindu-Muslim/India-Pakistan dialogue, and critiques human rights in five major world religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The volume reproduces the colloquium's Final Statement, calling on both religious believers and non-believers everywhere to unite in promoting religious liberty and tolerance.

### Israel and the Middle East

\*The conflict in the Middle East and particularly the instability within Lebanon have caused Lebanese Jews to become victims of Shi'ite Muslim

terror. Three Lebanese Jews have been kidnapped and subsequently murdered recently, Isaac Tarrab, Haim Cohen and Ibrahim Benisti, and a fourth, Elie Hallak, was reportedly executed in February. IRD has intervened continually in behalf of Lebanese Jews, maintained regular contact with the victims' families and worked to increase public awareness on this issue. On January 8, IRD joined in sponsoring a memorial service and press conference in New York for murdered Jewish hostages Isaac Tarrab and Haim Cohen.

\*In recent months IRD has sponsored two major studies which examine key issues in Israeli society. In March, Hanoch Smith, one of Israel's leading pollsters, conducted a public opinion survey among a representative sample of Israeli Jews from all spectrums of society. The poll found that the majority of Israeli Jews support entering into direct negotiations with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian (non-PLO) delegation but are not willing to make territorial concessions to Jordan, and that Israeli Jews favor greater religious pluralism but simultaneously consider greater pluralism a threat to the maintenance of Jewish values. Also, Dr. Ehud Sprinzak of Hebrew University prepared under IRD auspices an extensive and important study entitled "Gush Emunim: The Politics of Zionist Fundamentalism in Israel," which examines the emergence and strong impact of that extremist movement.

\*Together with the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry (which recently moved to AJC headquarters), IRD sponsored a press conference on April 1 with the only ordained rabbi from the Ethiopian Jewish community in Israel, Rabbi Yosefe Hadane. The discussion focused on concern over the continuation of the religious heritage of Ethiopian Jews in Israel and plans to establish a yeshiva to train prospective Ethiopian religious leaders in both the Ethiopian and mainstream Jewish traditions. While Ethiopian Jews have by and large been well integrated into Israeli society, learning Hebrew and adapting to a new way of life, they are in danger of losing their own rich and ancient traditions unless there are leaders versed in both traditions.

\*IRD has held a series of consultations with diplomats to discuss current critical issues surrounding Israel and the Middle East. Recent meetings have focused particularly on the U.S. Administration's proposed arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia and the growing threat of Syria. Among the individuals with whom IRD has met are: a) Uri Bar-Ner, Director of Information of the Israel Foreign Ministry, b) Michael Armacost, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs at the State Department, c) Ambassador Meir Rosenne, Israel's Ambassador to the United States and d) Ambassador Moshe Yegar, Consul General of Israel in New York. In addition, on February 12, IRD held a reception in honor of Ambassador Yegar which was attended by a select group of leaders from the major political, foreign policy, religious, racial and ethnic groups in the New York area.



### Soviet Jewry

\*From March 19-21 in Bonn, a conference was held on the Condition of Minorities in the Soviet Union, co-sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights and the Institute of East European Law of the University of Cologne. The meeting focused on, in particular, the situation of the German and Jewish minorities in the Soviet Union from the standpoint both of international law and of Soviet internal law and practice. It marked a large step forward in West German willingness to place the cause of Soviet Jewry on its public, as well as private, agenda with the Soviet Union. The conference made a significant scholarly contribution to the field, helped to cement ties between American Jews and the German academic and governmental community, and fostered broader public interest and awareness in West Germany of the plight of Soviet Jews and Germans. Indicative of the conference's success is the fact that the Bundestag referred to findings of the conference to support a resolution on Soviet Jews, the first such resolution in Germany.

\*Collaborating with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department, IRD helped plan a press conference in Washington, D.C. to highlight the tragedy of Professor and Mrs. Inna Meiman, Soviet Jewish refuseniks in Moscow. Mrs. Meiman suffers from progressive cancer of the neck and has undergone four operations. Soviet medical authorities say there is little more they can do for her, but offers of assistance have come from such leading Western institutions as Sloan-Kettering. The Soviets have not, however, permitted the couple exit visas, despite Mrs. Meiman's deteriorating condition and Professor Meiman's separation from his daughter for a decade. Participants in the press conference included Senators Hart (D-Col.) and Simon (D-Ill.) and Congressmen Wirth (D-Col.) and Sikorski (D-Minn.).

\*In light of the growing isolation of Soviet Jews, IRD has embarked on an effort to encourage travel to the USSR, particularly by chapters. Not only does such travel permit a first-hand look at conditions facing Jewish refuseniks, but it also serves to strengthen the morale of Soviet Jews and underscores to Soviet authorities that Western concern for the fate of these individuals continues unabated. The importance of these trips can be demonstrated by the recent experience of the Philadelphia and Chicago chapters. Small delegations were able to visit with scores of activists and initiated important political, inter-religious and inter-ethnic efforts in behalf of Soviet Jewry as a result of their trips. A number of other chapters are now considering delegations for the 1986-87 program year, to coincide with the 80th anniversary of AJC's founding in response to the pogroms in Kishinev.

\*To better understand current issues in East-West relations, particularly as they affect the prospects for Soviet Jewry, IRD has held a number of meetings with key figures in recent months. Among the individuals with whom IRD has met are: a) Ambassador Rozane Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, b) Robie M. Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, c)

Daniel Grossman, Political and Economic Officer, U.S. Consulate, Leningrad, d) William Courtney, Consul General-designate, U.S. Consulate, Kiev, e) David Bar-Tov, Adviser to the Prime Minister of Israel on Soviet and East European Affairs, f) Nehemiah Levanon, David Bar-Tov's predecessor, g) Alexander Rozman, former Leningrad refusenik, and h) a considerable number of both East and West European diplomats stationed in the U.S.

### Latin America

\*On January 14, an American Jewish Committee delegation attended the inauguration of President Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, the first democratically-elected leader of Guatemala in over 30 years. Barton Udell, a member of AJC's Board of Governors and a leader of AJC's Miami Chapter, his wife Barbara and Sergio Nudelstejer, Director of AJC's Mexican and Central American Office located in Mexico City, were the only American Jewish representatives among the more than 2,000 invited guests from around the world. At a pre-inauguration ceremony organized by the Guatemalan Jewish community and the Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama (FEDECO), a special note of thanks was expressed to AJC for its strong bonds of friendship with Guatemalan Jewry.

\*An AJC delegation was present in San Jose at the May 8 inauguration of President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica. President Arias replaced Luis Alberto Monge, whose close ties with Israel led to the transfer of the Costa Rican Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Arias is expected to continue the strong links with the Jewish state.

\*On March 21, IRD met with Dr. Jose Antonio Romero Feris, Governor of the Province of Corrientes and the leader of the Autonomista Party (a liberal centrist political movement) in Argentina. The Governor shared his insights about the current situation in Argentina and elsewhere in Latin America. He spoke very movingly about his recent visit to Israel and remarked on its level of democracy, humanity and development.

\*The Latin American Conference on Soviet Jewry holds its 17th continent-wide meeting in May in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The previous meeting took place in Mexico City in 1984. Sergio Nudelstejer, AJC's director of the Mexican and Central American office in Mexico City, is the Secretary General of this important group and, as a result, occupies a seat on the International Council of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry. The meeting in Buenos Aires will bring together outstanding political and intellectual personalities from virtually every Latin American country to discuss the plight facing Jews in the Soviet Union and to consider national and regional programmatic activity. Of special interest is that a majority of the delegates to the conference are non-Jews.

\*Since January, IRD has prepared several Spanish-language press releases to inform the Latin American and Spanish media overseas as well as the Spanish press in the United States about current issues and the work of AJC. In addition, IRD has participated in Spanish-language radio programs, broadcast over nearly 50 radio stations in the U.S.

\*Forthcoming events include: 1) An AJC leadership delegation will once again attend the biennial conference of FEDECO, to be held in Guatemala from June 16 to 19, underscoring the very close ties existing between AJC and Central American Jewry. FEDECO leadership attended AJC's 78th Annual Meeting in 1984, that year's annual meeting of the Miami Chapter, and the 1985 National Executive Council meeting in Miami, and will be well-represented at the 80th Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. 2) An AJC chapter leadership mission to Costa Rica and Panama is being planned for November 1986. The trip will permit AJC participants to meet with government and Jewish communal leaders in these two countries and discuss topics of mutual concern, including prospects for regional peace, the Contadora Process, international human rights, and the future of the Jewish communities. 3) Two conferences on South American Jewry are being planned for the 1986-87 program year to be held in different parts of the country. They will focus on conditions facing 400,000 Jews in eleven South American countries against a backdrop of political and economic factors currently affecting the region. The location and dates of the conferences will be announced shortly. 4) Consideration is being given to a national leadership delegation visit to several South American countries during the first half of 1987 to meet with government leadership and re-enforce existing ties with Jewish communities.

## Europe

\*On March 10, AJC hosted a private dinner for Marcelino Oreja, Secretary General of the Strasbourg-based, 21-nation Council of Europe. Chaired by Howard Friedman, those in attendance included AJC officers, the Spanish ambassador to the U.S., Ambassador Sol Linowitz, and other leading Washington personalities. The discussion focused on several topics of mutual concern, particularly international terrorism and the need for a coordinated Western response, international human rights questions, the European role in the search for Middle East peace, and the significance of the trend towards democratization in Latin America.

\*At a luncheon meeting on May 7, Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani, Italy's envoy to the United States, addressed a group of IRD lay leaders and staff. The Ambassador discussed a number of timely issues of mutual interest, including international terrorism and the European response, Italy's role in the Middle East, and East-West relations and Soviet Jewry. The meeting was an outgrowth of an ongoing dialogue with Italian officials developed over a number of years.

\*IRD has held several meetings with Ambassador Manuel Sassot, Consul General of Spain. On January 13, the Ambassador disclosed Spain's intention to establish diplomatic relations with Israel during a meeting

with several IRD staff, a few weeks prior to the official announcement from Madrid. On February 10, IRD hosted a large reception for Ambassador Sassot involving top civic, religious, business, press and Jewish communal leaders.

\*In cooperation with the Government of Hungary, the American Jewish Committee is proposing to set up an exchange program between young American Jewish leaders and representative leadership groups, drawn from key segments of Hungarian society. AJC's ties with Hungary were strengthened by the visit of a Board of Governors delegation, led by Al Moses, to Budapest in February 1984. Since then, a good working relationship has been maintained with top Hungarian diplomats posted in the U.S.

### Vatican - Israel Relations

\*Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum has continued to maintain close contact with Vatican and other key Catholic Church officials in the U.S., Europe and South America with respect to several critical issues, namely: 1) advancing formal diplomatic recognition by the Vatican of the State of Israel, 2) Pope John Paul II's recent historic visit to the main synagogue in Rome, 3) earlier disturbing Papal homilies with anti-Jewish overtones, and 4) the establishment of a Carmelite convent on the grounds of Auschwitz.



BACKGROUNDERS/PUBLICATIONS, JANUARY 1 - MAY 1

International Human Rights

- \*Religious Liberty and Human Rights, edited by Leonard Swidler, preface by Sidney Liskofsky, (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1986).
- \*Incitement to National, Racial and Religious Hatred in U.N. Forums, by Sidney Liskofsky

Israel and the Middle East

- \*American Jewish Committee Involvement in European Protest on Behalf of Lebanese and Syrian Jews, compiled by George E. Gruen and Harry Milkman
- \*Gush Emunim: The Politics of Zionist Fundamentalism in Israel, by Ehud Sprinzak
- \*Israel: A Democratic, Pluralistic Society: the Legal and Political Rights of Israel's Arab Minority, by Harry Milkman
- \*Israel's Ethiopians: Absorption and Integration, prepared by the AJC Israel Office
- \*Israel Press Highlights, edited by Harry Milkman
- \*Lebanese Jews: Victims of Shi'ite Muslim Terror, by George E. Gruen
- \*The Murder of Lebanese Jewish Hostages, by George E. Gruen

Soviet Jewry

- \*Anatoly Shcharansky and Soviet Jewry in the Wake of the Summit, by David A. Harris
- \*A Basic Guide to Soviet Jewry, by David A. Harris and David Geller
- \*Gorbachev and the Jews, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \*Report on the Condition of Minorities in the Soviet Union Under International Law, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \*Soviet Jewry After Shcharansky: Winds of Change?, by David A. Harris
- \*Soviet Jewry: Back to Square One?, by David A. Harris

Latin America

- \*Anti-Semitism in Argentina: Old and New, by Jacobo Kovadloff and Susan Rothblatt
- \*The Argentine Jewish Community Under Alfonsin, by Jacobo Kovadloff and Susan Rothblatt
- \*Costa Rica: A Special Country, by David A. Harris
- \*Costa Rica: Important Factor for Peace in Central America, by Sergio Nudelstejer
- \*Mexico: Difficult Steps Toward Normalization, by Sergio Nudelstejer

South Africa

- \*Oil, Guns and Gold: The Arab-South African Connection, by Arye Oded

Western Europe

- \*Spanish-Israel Ties Need U.S. Nurture, by Marc H. Tanenbaum
- \*The Trial of Klaus Barbie: A Troubling Court Decision, by Nives Fox
- \*Jacques Chirac, France and the Middle East, by David A. Harris
- \*Portugal: High Time for An Embassy in Israel, by David Geller
- \*West Germany and the Jews: An Uneasy Relationship, by David Geller

Other

- \*Proposal for the Convening of a White House Conference on Combating International Terrorism, by Marc H. Tanenbaum
- \*Zachariah Shuster: A Moral Giant, by Marc H. Tanenbaum
- \*Global Issues: Perspectives of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1986 and No. 2. May 1986.
- \*Impact: International Press Coverage of Activities of the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department.

REMARKS BY BRUCE RAMER OF LOS ANGELES, AJC VICE-PRESIDENT,  
INTRODUCING SESSION "THE RISING THREAT OF TERRORISM TO  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES," THURSDAY, MAY 15, 12:15 - 2:00 P.M.  
AJC ANNUAL MEETING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

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A present Roper Poll disclosed that 78% of the American people regard the spread of international terrorism as one of the most serious problems facing the American people and Western democratic societies. Americans perceive the scourge of terrorism as serious an issue as the budget deficit, arms control and unemployment.

According to the Vice President's Task Force Report on Combatting Terrorism, in 1985 alone there were some 926 fatalities throughout the world resulting from acts of violence through terrorism, including 23 Americans who were killed and 140 wounded. That contrasts with 20 deaths altogether in 1968 through terrorism on the world scene.

To their everlasting credit, President Reagan's administration has rightly understood the rise and growth of terrorism as a scourge that threatens international order and peace. Both as Americans and as Jews, we understand the magnitude and seriousness of this assault on the basic values and institutional foundations of American and Western democratic societies.

The Vice President's Task Force Report discloses that in 1985 some 50 percent of terrorist acts arose from either state-sponsored or independently-initiated terrorism in the Middle East. Clearly, that statistic suggests how much violence threatens the peace of the Middle East and the very security of our brothers and sisters in Israel.

American specialists in combatting terrorism declare that terrorism will likely dominate the international scene through the rest of this century, and will increasingly be part of our daily lives. How should the American people prepare themselves to cope constructively with this new culture of barbarism? What role will our Government play in mobilizing strategies for containing this international menace? Is there a role for voluntary agencies in helping support a thoughtful, assertive strategy of our Government and its several agencies in combatting both domestic and international terrorism?

There are few more knowledgeable and experienced persons in America who can help us define a meaningful reply to these important questions than the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr. William Casey. (see biography)

A lawyer, a successful businessman, Mr. Casey got his on-the-job training during World War II when he played a key role in counter-intelligence activities of our government in its struggle against Nazi Germany and the Axis powers.

When Mr. Casey concludes his presentation, we will have an opportunity for a full dialogue with him about our concerns.

Following the question-and-answer period, the director of AJC's International Relations Department, Marc Tanenbaum -- who is a long-time friend of William Casey -- will speak on "Programmatic Implications for AJC in Combatting Terrorism."

Now it is my privilege to present to you our guest speaker, the Honorable William Casey, Director of the CIA.

5/86

rpr



copy

April 18, 1986

Shula Bahat

Joyce Kaplan

William Casey

As you know, I spoke earlier today to Mary Evelyn Dean in William Casey's public affairs office, and at that time she gave me the broad outlines of Mr. Casey's policy regarding press. However, I had one or two questions which she needed to check on, and she just called me back to give me that information, as well as to put forth some further requests. This is what she told me:

- 1) We are not to issue any press release about Mr. Casey's address, nor are we to alert the press in advance, either by phone or mail, of his appearance.
- 2) Neither TV cameras nor radio equipment are to be in the room when he speaks, and we are to have monitors at the door to make sure that no broadcast media equipment enter the room.
- 3) If any broadcast media equipment is already present because of a prior session, we are to monitor the equipment to make sure it is unplugged and inoperative.
- 4) They acknowledge that we have a right to print his name in our own program, but they ask that we make sure we don't distribute the program to the media.
- 5) While they would really prefer that no press at all be present, they will tolerate print media reporters if they simply happen to be at the hotel and learn about Mr. Casey's presence a few minutes or so in advance.
- 6) She needs to know who will be at the meeting -- the background of the audience, whether any foreign nationals will be present, etc. -- and she also needs to know who will meet Mr. Casey, who will escort him, who else will speak and be at the dais, and the like. She would like a phone call on this as soon as possible.
- 7) She would like us to tape Mr. Casey's address and give the tape to his security people right after the session.
- 8) They are awaiting a formal written invitation to Mr. Casey. I had told her earlier that I was sure this was in the mail, but she reiterated the request.

Some of these items are in PEI's bailiwick and we will take care of those, of course, but I told Ms. Dean that she would be hearing from the appropriate persons about the other items. Her direct phone number is (703) 351-2053.

cc: David Gordis, Marc Tanenbaum, Mort Yarmon, Hyman Bookbinder, Haina Just

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** April 9, 1986

**to** David Gordis

**from** Harold Applebaum

**subject** Counteracting Terrorism

In thinking about our programmatic responses to terrorism, it occurs to me that we have not yet developed policies defining what countermeasures we are prepared to support. In attempting to build coalitions against terrorism, either in the U.S. or abroad, we will soon find it necessary either to present or respond to specific counter-terrorism proposals once discussions move beyond expressions of moral outrage. I checked with David Harris, who confirms that staff has not yet begun developing options for lay consideration. Do you think we should begin this process?

cc: Marc Tanenbaum

*Harold*

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** March 3, 1986  
**to** See Below  
**from** David Geller  
**subject** Meeting on Terrorism

On Thursday, March 13th, at 3:00 p.m., in the Proskauer Room, we will meet with Kenneth Stern, a member of the Board of Governors of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists.

Mr. Stern would like to present to us a project regarding terrorism.

DG/es

Enclosure

TO: Irving Levine  
Sidney Liskofsky  
Samuel Rabinove  
Gary Rubin  
Marc Tanenbaum ✓



התאגוד הבינלאומי של עורכי דין ומשפטנים יהודים  
 THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH LAWYERS AND JURISTS  
 AMERICAN SECTION

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 J. Mark Iwry, Esquire  
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 Edward N. Leavy, Esquire  
 Nathan Lewin, Esquire  
 Judge Abner J. Mikva  
 Marc A. Pearl, Esquire  
 Rabbi David Saperstein
- WISCONSIN**  
 Craig H. Zetley, Esquire  
 \*sharing one seat

TO: NJCRAC DELEGATES

FROM: Ken Stern, Director, IAJLJ's NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM

2/16/86

Dear Fellow Delegate:

Within the next few months, the American Section of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers & Jurists will announce its new project, the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM.

Until now, there has been little attention given to the legal rights of American victims of terrorism. The general wisdom is that there is little our courts can do on their behalf. Those who commit terrorist acts, and those who finance and support such actions, are viewed as beyond the law. To get sprayed by a terrorist's bullets is, under our legal system, nearly as much a non-actional "act of God" as getting hit by a bolt of lightning.

Some victims have successfully sued airlines and other carriers on whose transport many terrorist attacks occur. Yet the culprits and their supporters (who possess assets, many of which are in this country) get away.

NOAT is formed around the belief that Americans injured by terrorists should be compensated for their injuries, and that the responsible parties should be held liable. There are, of course, many practical problems with the concept of suing the PLO, for example. However, we are convinced that these problems are not unsolvable. The truth is, many have not been adequately addressed until now.

NOAT will be a clearinghouse for those actively involved in litigation on behalf of those victimized by terrorism. It will draw together the talent of law professors, practitioners, and others to explore means of better using the existing legal framework for the benefit of victims. NOAT will study possible changes in the laws that would open the door to this type of litigation even further.

NOAT will also be a thinktank, an advocate, and a center for all Americans who find themselves or their loved ones harmed by international terrorism.

As those most likely to be harmed by terrorists are Americans and Jews, we especially need the help of the American Jewish Community to make this venture a success. If you know of anyone who may be interested in our services, please ask them to contact us. If you know of anyone who can help us financially, please help us contact them.

IAJLJ's NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST TERRORISM  
 152 Westminster Road  
 Brooklyn, NY 11218  
 [718] 856-2177

(OVER)

The International Association  
of Jewish  
Lawyers and Jurists  
AMERICAN

A Brief History

The International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists (IAJLJ) was created in 1969 under the leadership of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rene Cassin.

The first act of the new Association was to publish a ringing condemnation of the Baghdad hanging of 15 men without proper trial. In later years the Association has spoken out for Soviet Jewry; called attention to the poor treatment of Israeli prisoners by Egypt and Syria; aided in the defense of two young Syrian Jews accused of murdering two Jewish girls trying to escape from Syria, and protested against the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism. American members were instrumental in obtaining passage of the U.S. anti-boycott legislation aimed at Arab oil-producing countries that boycott commercial institutions having Jewish owners or dealing with Israel.

In 1983, a milestone was reached when the American Section of the IAJLJ was officially established as a non-profit, tax exempt organization. As an arm of the only legal organization devoted to issues of importance to the worldwide Jewish community, the American section has successfully organized itself into a functioning organization with a talented membership. In fact, within the last few weeks, three of its Board of Governors argued before the United States Supreme Court.

The IAJLJ is now ready to tackle programatic work on a day-to-day basis. Its National Organization Against Terrorism is designed to use the best talents of its members in a most worthwhile and unique venture.

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Another upcoming activity of interest is the IAJLJ's sponsorship of Israeli Judge Hadassah Ben Ito's speaking tour of the United States this spring. The IAJLJ has committed itself to fighting the Zionism, racism "equation." Judge Ben Ito (who was a member of the Israeli delegation to the UN when that infamous resolution was passed) will speak in Boston, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Orlando and Washington, D.C. Contact Marjorie Spitz at 202-463-1960 for more information.

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I WANT TO HELP. IAJLJ's National Organization Against Terrorism is starting its programatic work while grant applications are still pending. Its full time legal staff is working without compensation at present. We need startup funds, and anything donated will be put to great use.

Enclosed please find my check in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ made payable to IAJLJ-NOAT. (tax deductible)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: IAJLJ-NOAT  
152 Westminster Rd.  
Brooklyn, NY 11218

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY, STATE, ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

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DEALING WITH TERRORISM: A WORLD ORDER APPROACH

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

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Political Science  
Earlham College  
Richmond, Indiana 47374  
U.S.A.



A Paper Prepared for the Annual Meetings of the International  
Studies Association, Mexico City, Mexico, April 4-9, 1983

## Introduction

Since the mid-1970s, mainstream international relations research has been challenged by a new and distinct paradigm, self-proclaimed the world order approach. While a number of thorough studies (e.g., Falk, 1975; Mendlovitz, 1975) of the underlying assumptions, goals and methods of the approach have appeared and world order theorists are beginning to focus more directly on particular policy issues (e.g. Christensen, 1979; Galtung, 1980; and, Mazrui, 1980), no direct application of world order approaches has been undertaken for the issue of terrorism in global affairs. This paper is a preliminary analysis of terrorism in light of the goals, methods and values prevalent in world order approaches to global affairs. The paper presents three general arguments:

- that the study of terrorism has been dominated by two general perspectives on the nature of the problem called terrorism and that this has led to particular policies which have proven inadequate in dealing with the full contours of the global problem of terrorism;
- that the substantive and methodological orientations of the world order approach provide a richer perspective on the terrorism, in large part because they focus on state, as well as insurgent, terrorism; and,
- that world order thinking produces a set of strategies, institutions and normative goals which speak directly to the underlying causes rather than merely the symptoms of global terrorism.

## Dealing With Terrorism: The Legacy of the Dominant Views

In a recent study Lopez (1982) has demonstrated that the study of terrorism in U.S. scholarship has been dominated by two distinct but mutually re-inforcing perspectives on global affairs. On the basis of these worldviews, the state-centric and the surrogate warfare perspectives, scholars and policy-makers have postulated the definition of the problem called terrorism and the logical ordering of all information under this definition in a set of causes and sustaining factors which explain its increased appearance in world affairs. As with other areas of international relations, from such definitions of the problem and assessments of the causes emerge a series of policy prescriptions for the deterrence, if not total elimination, of the problem. Both perspectives are summarized on Table 1.

In the state centric perspective on the world, nation-states are considered the primary units of analysis, and by extension, their national governments. In this approach, all international events are considered in light of their place vis a vis the state. Occurrences within borders involve domestic affairs, happenings between entities in two countries comprise international relations. Most IR textbooks and research journals

(OVER)

employ this state-centric approach as the sole lense through which patterns of political, economic and social activity can be understood.

Given the contours of the state centric model, we are not surprised to find the past decade one of a major convergence on the "definition of the problem" called terrorism. In terms of one of its major analysts of the seventies, David Fromkin (1975) it is a strategy of psychological war by direct and indirect attack on a national government. In such a strategy, the weakness of the terrorists position would always be apparent. For governments, possessing the key attributes of power in the nation-state had the upper hand as Fromkin pointed out to decision-makers and citizens:

Those who are the targets of terrorism--and who are prepared to defend themselves by doing whatever is necessary in order to beat it--start with a major advantage. The advantage is that success or failure depends upon them alone. Terrorism wins only if you respond to it in the way that the terrorists want you to; which means that its fate is in your hands and not in theirs. If you choose not to respond at all, or else to respond in a way different from that which they desire, they will fail to achieve their objectives.

The important point is that the choice is yours. That is the ultimate weakness of terrorism as a strategy. It means that, though terrorism cannot always be prevented, it can always be defeated. You can always refuse to do what they want you to do. (697)

Thus terrorism in a state <sup>most</sup>centric perspective was the new, but rather deviant form of anarchy (at ~~best~~) or revolt (at best). It was essentially arbitrary, designed to inspire fear in the population and to provoke repression from the government, thus setting the scene for societal discord. In some sense, the horrifying methods of the non-governmental group were paralleled only by their daring attempt to attack the integrity and authority of the state.

But how were we to explain such a form of political discontent? Given this sense of terrorism as revolt emanating from non-governmental actors, the causes of conditions for the increase of terrorism were readily observable through the lense of governmental-subnational group dynamics. They constituted a neatly arranged, and in some sense, logically-related set of factors. From reading the literature on terrorism in the seventies, we can isolate features of the political, social and economic order which posit a clear relationship between their appearance and the dynamic of political terrorism: the failure of the democratic and economic revolutions of the early sixties in developing countries; the increasing bureaucratization of western society; improvements in technology; increases in the development of and group identification with diverse ideologies; increased toleration of terrorism in international affairs; and strong indications of likely success for terrorist operations. (Lopez, 1982: 3-7)



TABLE 1

A COMPARISON OF DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ABOUT TERRORISM

Statement of the Problem:	State Centric Perspective	Surrogate Warfare Perspective
Terrorism is...	<p>-a strategy of weak aimed at revolution by direct or indirect attacks on government. It is arbitrary, inspires fear, is designed to provoke government repression.</p>	<p>-a strategy of predominately Marxist revolutionary groups and their allies. It is the new tactic of the cold war aimed at the vulnerabilities of western democracies and those states struggling to be democratic. It is a coordinated effort across targets and designs and fueled by the aid of Cuba, Libya and the Soviet Union.</p>
The Causes of Terrorism are:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-failure of "revolutions" of the 60s</li> <li>-vulnerability of the west</li> <li>-availability of technology</li> <li>-success of terrorism</li> <li>-national and international tolerance</li> </ul>	<p>-many of N-S factors but interpreted in a particular light:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-inability of Soviets or internal revolutionaries to mobilize support</li> <li>-willingness of various groups, like SWAPO and PLO to be coopted</li> <li>-ease of inter-group connections</li> </ul>
The Treatment of the Problem Must Involve:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-policies of national, regional and international actors aimed at deterrence.</li> <li>-policies which deal out quick and effective punishment when deterrence fails.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-policies as with N-S but with additional pressures on Cuba, Libya, Soviet Union and those who will deal with them.</li> <li>-increased foreign aid to governments trying to deal with insurgency</li> <li>-greater police power to deal with inter-group connections, arms sales, etc.</li> </ul>

Given the importance of the national government in this state-centric worldview, it is not surprising to see scholars and policy-makers alike opt for a dual strategy of treating the problem of terrorism as defined.

1. policies of a bi-lateral, regional and international character which would provide an effective deterrent to the terrorist; and,
2. policies internal to the state which involve doing out quick, hard and effective punishment when deterrence fails.

To achieve the former direction the ICAO agreements at Tokyo, the Hague and Montreal from 1963 through 1971 and the Council of Europe legislation of the late 70s on adjudication of terrorists and state co-operation on a number of anti-terrorist dimensions developed. Under the second rubric rested both the no-negotiation posture of the U.S. and the counter-terrorist strike force of Israel and West Germany. That full scale agreement at the U.N., especially on crucial definitional issues, did not emerge from the states indicates that a number of policies are yet to be put in place.

In the latter part of the seventies, two distinct but mutually reinforcing trends in the interpretation of terrorism in world affairs became joined. The first, concerned with the linkages of terrorists across national boundaries, raised the consciousness and concern of many that the state-centric perspective for viewing terrorism might have been too narrow or might have become outdated. The second, focused on the extent to which certain nations, particularly those interested in being a major thorn in the side of the United States, had been training and exporting terrorism as a new mode of attack on western democracy.

The Terror Network by Claire Sterling (1981) and Kupperman and Trent's Terrorism: Threat, Reality and Response (1979) coalesced quite nicely with the development in the Reagan administration of an effort to focus on the terrorist activities of Cuba, Libya and the Soviet Union. Due to these developments, the worldview accepted as the most recent perspective for considering terrorism and its surrounding conditions became the surrogate warfare perspective. It brought a "definition of the problem" called terrorism into focus which states that terrorism is a strategy of predominately Marxist revolutionary groups and their allies. It is the new tactic of the cold war aimed at the vulnerabilities of western democracies and those states struggling to achieve democracy and economic growth. It is a coordinated effort across targets by the Soviet Union who have strong support from Libya and Cuba in particular.

In postulating the causes and sustaining factors of terrorism, the proponents of the surrogate warfare view have relied heavily on the factors articulated in the state-centric approach but have added a number of new variations on the theme. Whereas the state centric worldview characterized the increase in terrorism as the perceived failure of the western model of evolutionary development (i.e., economic progress and increased political participation), the surrogate warfare perspective maintains that it is the Soviet and Cuban revolutionary models which have failed.

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A second causal factor in the increase of terrorism within states is the willingness of a number of groups attacking their governments or other governments to be coopted by the Soviets. This linkage helps build a strong and condemning case then against the IRA, SWAPO and the PLO in particular. Neither historical condition nor the range of local disagreements, but rather the alliance between the group and the surrogate warfare benefactor serves to explain the continued resort to this type of violence. The ease of inter-group connections, certainly sustains the problem according to the surrogate warfare mentality. Further, the vulnerability of the west, not as a condition in and of itself, but as a point to be exploited by the Soviets due to the failure their other cold war strategies constitutes a major support.

What is the policy prescription which emerges from the surrogate warfare perspective? First, one must deal with the issue at its source. Thus a policy of direct challenge to the Soviet Union becomes a necessity. Second and directly related to the direct, frontal attack on the source is a major campaign against key surrogates, Cuba and Libya. Third, not the deterrence, but the countering of the terrorist threat in local arenas becomes imperative.

Two distinct arenas come to mind here. In the primary group are those nations which are in a dynamic state of internal change and who are therefore especially vulnerable to external intervention and terrorist attack. These states, the El Salvadors, Colombias, etc. must receive large amounts of development and military assistance to shore them up against the mobilization of an effective terrorist campaign which would be directed by the Soviets.

Continuous and strong relationships in areas likely to be "targets" due to historical conditions, but not yet in flux, are necessary. South Africa and Chile are exceptionally susceptible to terrorists of a variety of persuasions and locales. Such forces, once begun, might be uncontrollable as was the case with Iran and Nicaragua. Anti-terrorist policy must work with foreign aid and diplomatic support to not isolate, through human rights policy or some other manner, future targets of Soviet design.

Finally, if counter-terrorist policy is to have a fair chance of success, the linkage among groups must be discovered and disrupted. Such an approach demands a major effort of intelligence gathering, better control of the movement of international persons, the ability of international and national law enforcement personnel to be unencumbered by inappropriate restraints on their operation. The movement for greater police power certainly grows as one can demonstrate (through new ways of collecting data on the amount of terrorism) the increasing levels of the problem.

#### The World Order Worldview and Terrorism

It is clear that the state-centric worldview constituted the reigning framework in the U.S. for considering terrorism in the bulk of the seventies and has been challenged as the "legitimate" worldview by the surrogate warfare perspective. In light of this shift, and of the juxtaposition of the

two, this paper questions whether or not other theoretical perspectives might encompass the spread of events and the changing dimensions of the problem we call terrorism. In examining the changing theories of international affairs in the scholarly literature, as well as the vibrant debate about the role of values, social science methodology and policy analysis in this enterprise, it appears that world order thinking assessing terrorism in the past two decades. Its focus yields a differing definition of the problem, statement of causes and especially a distinct set of policy treatments. Its contours and their specific translation in analyzing terrorism may prove useful in considerations of terrorism as we detail below.

*might be applied*

Developing parallel to this challenge was a critique and reorientation from a perspective considered too normative or applied to be "mainstream international relations." In the work of the World Order Models Project, and in the persons of Falk (1975) and Medlovitz (1975) in particular, a distinct U.S. scholarship on the frame of reference appropriate for examining the world has emerged. These analysts claim that the Westphalia state-centric system is undergoing large scale transformation. Thus, the policy task of the future must be the development of new institutional structures which could manage better than their governmental predecessors crucial values like peace, social justice, economic well-being and ecological balance and those challenges to such values (read terrorism) which will become apparent.

The implications for these perspectives, when layered on top of one another are noteworthy for the study of world affairs in general and for terrorism in particular. This worldview entails more thorough investigation of issues and actors. It focuses new attention on the institutional processes and potentials of the international system. It rejects as the singular perspective for determining policy, the elimination of "observed causes." Rather, it suggests that part of the policy task is to invent solutions to this unprecedented mixture of problem issues and actors.

Under such a schema for analyzing international affairs, the definition of the problem called terrorism as outlined in Table 2 becomes much more complex. It's focus is less on the actor dynamic and more on the act of terrorism. The assessment of causes and sustaining factors varies according to the terrorist actor under analysis. The prescriptions for treatment call not for deterrence and punishment, i.e. preventive procedures, but pre-emptive strategies. Thus, the world order worldview would yield a definition of the problem which states that terrorism is a form of political violence used by actors in political systems (subnational, national or transnational) to accomplish goals and objectives not possible in the existing social, legal or political order. The world order rubric would distinguish between terror acts by non-state actors attacking the national government and acts of government attacking non-state actors. The latter could not be considered terrorist in the state-centric and surrogate war worldviews, and thus prohibited the inclusion of a set of literature, events and policy perspectives mostly held by Third World states on the problem called terrorism.

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The causes of terrorism for national governments and non-national actors as terrorists vary. Three major factors can be cited as important to the rise of governments as terrorist. First, in much the same manner that the sub-national or transnational terrorists have available to them sophisticated technology for carrying out their deeds, so too do national governments. But in the case of terror at this level, it is less the pure availability of such hardware, but the official channels for its transference, that is, the international arms trade, which increases the potential for governments to torture and exterminate its enemies. In particular, counterinsurgency training and devices, as part of military assistance pacts between states, increases significantly the ability of small governmental groups to conduct "operations" against segments of a population.

Closely related to this arms issue, and a dynamic force for government terrorism in the third world, is the rise of national security ideology. As articulated by Mische and Mische (1977) at a general level and by Herrera (1980) and Child (1979 and 1980) in the context of Latin America, national security ideology internationalizes the realist approach to the state to the extreme. Any attack on the state and its policies threatens the fundamental workings of government itself. Thus statesman in countries undergoing rapid economic change must, with the longview in mind, "temporarily" control and constrain political and social freedoms in order to maintain the viability of the state and these freedoms for the future. In practice, such an ideology permits the state to label any dissident a terrorist and to suspend liberties in the short term under the unchallengeable claim of preserving them in the long run. (Lopez, 1983)

In much the same way that Milbank (1976) and others have documented the success rate of non-governmental terrorists as a sustaining factor in their continued activities, so too, although with less precision, can we cite success as a factor in state terror. Despite attempts in NGOs like Amnesty International, in IGOs like the International Labor Organization and the UN General Assembly, and even in national human rights policy efforts to curtail state terror, the gains from pursuing internal repression policies in South Africa, Brazil or Chile far outweigh for these regimes the costs of such criticism. The international community, out of a respect for the notion of sovereignty, simply will not directly challenge internal affairs of state and such a schema sustains state terror.

What of the causes and sustaining factors of non-governmental terrorism? The world order perspective, when applied to the actors previously listed as primary perpetrators of terrorism against governments, would tend to focus less on a search for direct observables as is the hallmark of the two other worldviews. Rather, given its bent toward bargaining processes and institutional analysis, the world order approach would suggest that group terrorism is not a result of direct "causes". Its appearance, and continued employment as a strategy of political change over time, is directly related to the absence of institutions for political expression by other means. In particular, where states lack mechanisms for demand-making, grievance procedures for ethnic minorities, institutions for effective human rights monitoring and adjudication, terrorism will develop (as opposed to "be caused").

TABLE 2

THE WORLD ORDER PERSPECTIVE ON TERRORISM

Statement of the Problem:

Terrorism is

-a form of political violence used by governments and groups outside of government to accomplish aims not possible in the existing social, legal or political order. It is a manifestation of a lack of institutionalization of grievance procedures, social change and law and order.

The Causes of Terrorism are:

-for non-government groups:  
(the absence of...):  
-effective political voice for non-national actors  
-effective human rights machinery  
-international arms treaty  
-new international economic order  
-regional and international mediation/court structure

-for government as terrorist:  
-international arms sales  
-rise of national security ideology  
-cooperation of actors like MNCs, IGO and US programs  
-government success

The Treatment of the Problem Must Involve:

-the creation of regional and international agencies and norms and institutions to correct "absences"

Dealing With Terrorism: World Order Policies

In light of the definitional dimensions and the diverse "causes" for terrorism, outlined above, it should come as no surprise that policy prescriptions from a world order theme do not focus on deterrence, counter-terrorism or police power. Rather, approaches to solving the terrorists nexus, in developing nations in particular, call for the creation of a number of regional, transnational and international institutions. Although no specific plan for such institutions yet exists, it is clear that these would include those with human rights monitoring and adjudicating ability; with mediation capacities between dissidents and regimes, and between ethnic minorities and majority populations; with structures for political demand-making of non-governmental entities, and with arms control procedures and structures which would control the level of violence should it break out.

Below we briefly outline eight particular policy approaches which would respond to the form of political violence called terrorism in both its governmental and insurgent form. These include:

1. The establishment of an international criminal court, either as a separate entity or an adjunct to the International Court of Justice. Such a legal structure, which was originally proposed in the early 1950s, would be able to hear cases for non-governmental actors as well as states. It would have jurisdiction to hear cases of individuals, such as hijackers, assassins, etc. and take the burden often felt by national governments that for them to bring a particular terrorist to trial in their national court only really sets them up to be the next target of the terror group. Such a judicial structure might also be empowered to bring charges, filed by citizens of a state, against a former head of state, i.e., the Shah or Somoza, for very particular kind of offenses, such as genocide or violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
2. The increased inclusion of non-governmental entities, particularly those with a clear and homogeneous identity, into some form of dialogue with national actors in regional and international organizations. Here we are referring to the plight of ethnic minorities and stateless people or refugees resident in another state. Such an arrangement provides means for airing grievances and increasing the international status of such actors. It also increases their stake in appropriate behavior in the globe because they are now part of its structure as opposed to systematically ostracised from it. The inclusion of the PLO as an "Observer" status in a number of UN organizations serves as an example.
3. The establishment through the U.N., regional organizations or private international consultants and arbitrators, of a grievance agency to act as both a low level intervener in disputes but also a redress procedure for forms of state terror. Such an agency might have played a large role in the quagmire which was the US-Iranian hostage situation.
4. The development of an International Mediation Agency, similar to that called for by amny at the original UN Charter conference, and

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functionally similar to the U.S. Community Relations Service or Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Whereas observer status (#2) provides a continuous route to make claims and a grievance committee (#3) a vehicle for seeking redress, the mediation approach would attempt to resolve disputes such that states and citizens might not "need" to resort to violence as a means of conflict resolution.

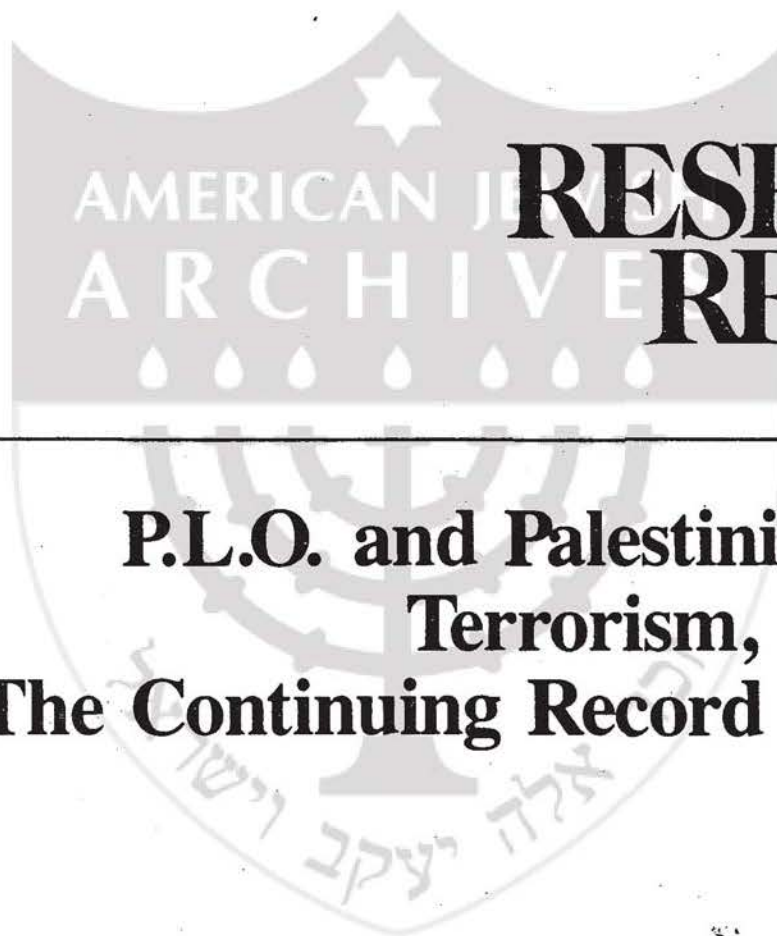
5. The creation of a UN High Commission and High Commissioner for Human Rights. Given the success which the UN counterpart in the refugee area, the structural precedent is established, but the reality depends on the willingness of states and others to directly acknowledge the existence of state terror and to provide means for holding leaders accountable for violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such an official might have investigated the crimes of the Shah and presented a fair, and yet effective, recommendation which may have changed the course of U.S.-Iranian affairs.
6. The development and enforcement of a Code of Behavior for multinational corporations in the area of terrorism and human rights. This might entail those codes treating the relationship between the direct support of state terror systems, such as South Africa, because governments purposely control minimum wage laws for purposes of creating favorable business conditions. Also, such an ethical scheme might question the policy of corporations paying ransom to insurgent terrorists regardless of the advice or policy of the government not to do so.
7. The development of an international arms sales treaty which would control both the access which insurgent groups might have to sophisticated weaponry and the transfer across international borders of those police and interrogation technologies which provide the tools for repression.
8. The development of some form of a new international economic order which will place state leaders much less in a position of needing to so tightly control their economy that they generate a condition of war against their citizens in order to maximize economic performance. Similarly, new rules for trade and finance might create the conditions whereby those insurgent groups might have greater control of their own economic quality of life, without government acting as the enforcer of a particular mode of growth.

While these recommendations need to be further articulated and discussed, it is clear that the world order approach to policy formation with regard to terrorism poses new and intriguing challenges to the global community. The task which lies ahead is to examine some short term transition stages which can move us beyond the narrow policy confines generated by the state centric and surrogate warfare perspectives on terrorism.



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**ADL  
RESEARCH  
REPORT**

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**P.L.O. and Palestinian-Inspired  
Terrorism, 1982-1985:  
The Continuing Record of Violence**

December, 1985

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH/823 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA/NEW YORK, NY 10017



# ADL RESEARCH REPORT

is a periodic report of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

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## P.L.O. AND PALESTINIAN-INSPIRED TERRORISM, 1982-1985:

### THE CONTINUING RECORD OF VIOLENCE

#### Overview

In the three years since chairman Yasser Arafat and thousands of his gun-toting Palestine Liberation Organization terrorists were expelled from Lebanon in the wake of Israel's "Operation Peace for Galilee," the PLO, its allies and other violence-prone Palestinians have carried out terrorist actions on an average of once a week in locations around the world.

Since September 1, 1982 when Arafat and his gunmen sailed out of Beirut harbor and dispersed to Tunis and other places in the Arab world, Palestinian terrorists, as in the 15 previous years, have waged continuous warfare against Zionism and the Jewish state of Israel but have struck at the capitals and major cities of other countries worldwide:

Ankara, Athens, Bangkok, Bogota, Brussels, Buenos Aires, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Lanarca, London, Madrid, Marseilles, Milan, New Delhi, Nicosia, Paris, Quito, Rome and Vienna.

All these cities have been the scenes of terror by the PLO, its allies and other armed Palestinians. The main target has been Israel and most of the victims there have been Jews. But innocent and unarmed citizens of countries far from the Middle East itself, and of all religious faiths and nationalities, have also been casualties and mankind itself has been victimized.

Even some of the Palestinians' fellow Arabs, perceived by them as too willing to make peace with Israel, have been targets. (Issam Sartawi, with a widespread reputation as a moderate within the PLO itself, was shot to death while in Portugal during April, 1983.) The capitals of Arab states perceived as too moderate towards Israel -- Amman and Cairo -- have likewise been the scenes of Palestinian-inspired terror.

In the wake of the 1982 defeat it suffered at the hands of the Israelis in Lebanon, the PLO was not only dispersed and its infrastructure destroyed but it has undergone a process of dissension and fragmentation. The PLO has always been an umbrella group for assorted violent factions committed to the destruction of Zionism and Israel. But since 1982, new terrorist groupings and regroupings have emerged.

The PLO's ideological root -- the concept of "revolutionary armed struggle" to eliminate Israel -- has remained unchanged. It remains unchanged because the PLO has always known that it could not defeat Israel militarily and has instead used a continuing war of terror against the Jewish state, but waged in streets and cities around the world.

It might have been hoped that with its 1982 defeat in Lebanon, the destruction of its infrastructure there, and its dispersion to Tunis and other Arab countries, the PLO's terrorist activities would subside. But that has not been the case.

The hijacking of the "Achille Lauro" during October, 1985, epitomized, in a sense, the true nature of the campaign of terror waged by the PLO, its allies, and other Palestinian terrorists. The target was an Italian cruise ship. The terrorized were 431 passengers and crew of various nationalities. The victim was an American Jew bound to a wheelchair who was shot in the head and thrown into the sea.

### The PLO is Not a Monolith

The PLO was designated in 1974 as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" but it is not, and never has been, a monolith. Before its expulsion from Lebanon in 1982, where it had brought violence, turmoil and civil war to a peaceful country after being expelled from Jordan in September, 1970, the PLO was essentially an umbrella organization for eight terrorist groupings. Since its expulsion from Beirut in 1982, divisions within the PLO have taken new forms.

° Fatah, Arafat's own major organization within the PLO, was racked by disension over his leadership. A harder-line faction critical of Arafat and led by Col. Saed Abu Musa, broke away from Arafat's mainline Fatah group and allied itself with Syria. With Syrian support, Abu Musa was instrumental in expelling Arafat from Lebanon a second time, late in 1983, after the Fatah chieftain had returned there in September of that year.

° The Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) comprises three factions within the PLO. One of these is led by Mohammed Abul Abbas -- known as Abu Abbas -- who is a close Arafat ally and supported Arafat when the PLO broke up into pro-Syrian and pro-Arafat segments during 1984. In return, Arafat personally, and successfully, proposed Abbas for election to the PLO's ruling 11-member Executive Committee at the November, 1984 meeting of the Palestine National Council in Amman. An October 11, 1985 New York Times dispatch described the Abbas faction as "little more than an extension of Mr. Arafat's own El Fatah group" -- a significant fact in view of the role played by the Abbas PLO faction in the recent "Achille Lauro" hijacking and the murder of an American-Jewish passenger. The Abbas faction is headquartered in Iraq.

A second PLF faction is led by Taalat Yacoub and is aligned with Abu Musa's anti-Arafat grouping. It is mainly based in Lebanon.

A third PLF faction, headed by Abdul Fitah Ghanem, is reported to have taken over the offices of the Palestine Liberation Front in Syria, and is Syrian-controlled.

° In March, 1985, Col. Musa's breakaway Fatah faction joined five other PLO factions in establishing the Palestine National Salvation Front, with headquarters in Damascus. The Front, supported by Syria, strongly opposes Arafat's policies as leader of the PLO. Among the other factions in the Front are George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) which is Marxist-Leninist in orientation and three pro-Syrian groups within the PLO umbrella -- the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), led

by Ahmed Gibril, the Popular Struggle Front, and Saiqa. It was with the PFLP-GC that Israel, in the Spring of 1985, exchanged 1,150 Arab prisoners, mostly terrorists detained for their activities, for three Israeli prisoners of war held by the PFLP-GC. Some observers have blamed this exchange for the upsurge of terrorism in the latter part of 1985, both inside Israel and elsewhere in the world.

° One PLO faction that is critical of Arafat's leadership, but remains independent of Syrian control, is the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) led by Naif Hawatmeh. This Marxist-Leninist group is oriented toward the Soviet Union. It has refused to join the PLO Executive Committee or the National Salvation Front.

° Another Palestinian terrorist group that is outside the PLO umbrella is the Abu Nidal faction. Abu Nidal is the war name for a Palestinian terrorist, Sabri al Banna, who was expelled from the PLO in 1974 on charges of plotting the death of Arafat. This group has struck at Jewish targets and at Arab targets it feels may be willing to come to terms with Israel.

[There is another source of terrorism in the Middle East: The Shi'ite Moslem groups headquartered in Lebanon, some supported by the Khomeini regime in Iran, who have turned to terrorism in the past several years both in the Middle East and elsewhere. Their targets have included Israelis, Americans, and Jews in other parts of the world. While their methods are similar to those of the Palestinian terrorists, they are not considered allies or proxies of the PLO and have shown hostility to the Palestinians.]

#### Hijacking of the 'Achille Lauro'

Even though the PLO is fragmented, the group and its allies have not wavered in their ideology of "armed struggle" or commitment to the destruction of Israel; terrorism continues to be the main manifestation of their continuing struggle. It was one of the smaller factions of the PLO, the Arafat-oriented PLF group headed by Mohammed Abul Abbas, which carried out the recent hijacking of the Italian cruise ship "Achille Lauro," an act which attracted world-wide attention.

The four PLF terrorists hijacked the ship on October 7, 1985 as it left Alexandria, Egypt. The "Achille Lauro" was on an 11-day Mediterranean cruise, with a stop scheduled in Ashdod, Israel. The terrorists originally planned to launch their terrorist attack as soon as the ship reach Israel.

Their weapons, however, were discovered on board. The terrorists took over the ship at gunpoint with 431 passengers and crew as prisoners. They made their demands known: that 50 Arab prisoners held by Israel be released. Among these were PLF members, the most prominent of whom was Sami al Qantari, who led a terrorist attack on the Israeli town of Nahariya in April, 1979 and killed an Israeli father and his four-year-old daughter. The terrorists forced the "Achille Lauro" to sail toward Syria. Off the Syrian port of Tartus, they demanded that the Syrians press for the release of the 50 prisoners by Israel.

To underscore their intent, they threatened to kill passengers. Then they carried out their threat. Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year-old wheelchair bound New Yorker, and a Jew, was the victim. He was shot in the head and his body was thrown into the sea.

The Syrian government refused to grant the hijackers' demands, and the "Achille Lauro" turned back toward Egyptian waters. There the hijacking ended. PLF leader Mohammed Abul Abbas had flown to Cairo, and was able to negotiate a deal for the terrorists: they would be given safe passage out of Egypt if they released the ship. (It was the same Abul Abbas who claimed responsibility on behalf of the PLF for the terrorist act in Nahariya in 1979 whose perpetrator the hijackers of the "Achille Lauro" were trying to free.)

Despite American objections, and the murder of an American citizen by the terrorists, the Egyptian government decided to send the four terrorists out of Egypt on an Egyptian airliner. The plane carrying the terrorists was intercepted over the Mediterranean, in international waters, by U.S. Navy planes, and was forced to fly to Sicily. There the terrorists were taken over by Italian troops.

The body of Leon Klinghoffer washed ashore in Syria, and was turned over to American representatives. An autopsy proved beyond doubt that he had been shot in the head despite denials by various PLO officials.

#### Terrorism Continues Unabated

Even after the Achille Lauro episode had ended, and the international attention it attracted was subsiding, PLO and Palestinian-inspired terrorism continued:

-- On October 9, a fire bomb was thrown at Israeli soldiers in Jenin, on the West Bank. There were no casualties.

-- On October 10, in Barcelona, Spain, the bodies of two Israeli merchant seamen, who had been missing for several days, were found. They had been murdered. An elite PLO unit, Force 17, claimed responsibility for the murders.

-- On October 13, a 70-year-old Israeli merchant was attacked from behind with an axe while shopping in a store in Khan Yunis, on the Gaza Strip.

-- On October 14, a gasoline bomb was thrown at an Israeli bus near Ramallah, on the West Bank. One passenger was wounded.

-- On October 18, an Israeli tourist guide who was leading a Danish family through an ancient church on the West Bank near Nablus, was attacked by terrorists. He was stabbed.

-- Also on October 18, a Jewish man was stabbed in the back, as he was shopping in the Gaza Strip.

# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

**NEW YORK, Dec. 27....**The American Jewish Committee today condemned vehemently the attacks this morning by Arab terrorists on civilians in the Rome and Vienna airports. The text of the AJC statement, issued by David M. Gordis, AJC Executive Vice-President, follows:

The American Jewish Committee deplores the latest brutal and barbaric act of Arab terrorism which has claimed the lives of innocent civilians at the Rome and Vienna airports. How many more such victims must there be before the international community finally resolves to make a concerted effort to combat the scourge of terrorism, as it has recently pledged to do in a unanimous decision in the United Nations? The UN resolution "unequivocally condemns, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism whenever and by whomever committed," and urges states to cooperate in measures to prevent terrorism and bring its perpetrators to justice. On the other hand, the regrettable equivocation of that world body, as evidenced most recently by the passage last week of yet another resolution calling for the total isolation of Israel from the world community, only serves to encourage terrorists who perpetrate their violence against Israel.

In addition, we call upon those of our European allies who have adopted a policy of appeasement toward Arab-instigated terrorism to end, once and for all, this senseless course of action. These nations must examine their own responsibility for this latest outrage. In the words of Secretary of State George Shultz, "Extremists must be resisted, not appeased. They must be shown that...negotiation is the only possible hope for achievement of legitimate Arab objectives."

The civilized world cannot and must not be satisfied with bland denials of this latest heinous crime by official PLO spokesmen. While the PLO may have condemned and repudiated those guilty of the crime, it is undeniable that the pattern established over the years by the PLO has once again led to today's tragedy.

Finally, although the intent of the terrorists was clearly to obstruct the progress toward Middle East peace negotiations, we remain hopeful that reason will prevail and that the peace process will not be deterred by such inhumane acts of violence.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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-- In still another terrorist attack on October 18, firebombs were thrown at a school bus carrying Jewish students near the village of Shaked, on the West Bank. No one was hurt.

-- On October 20, a bomb exploded at a marketplace in Beersheba. There were no injuries.

-- Also on October 20, a bomb exploded near a bus stop on a street in Jaffa. One passerby was injured.

### The Malta Hijacking

On November 23, 1985, armed terrorists described as Palestinians by the Egyptian government and calling themselves members of "Egypt's Revolution," hijacked an Egyptian airliner bound from Athens to Cairo with 91 passengers and six crew aboard, and diverted it to Malta. After collecting passports, according to the airliner captain, the terrorists began methodically to shoot passengers and threatened to kill one every fifteen minutes. They started with two Israeli women, the first of whom was shot "at point blank range," the captain said, and thrown from the plane.

Later, the captain said, there were other shootings, six in all, but he said he was able to persuade the terrorists to allow nine women to leave the plane.

Between the shootings, the captain said, one hijacker talked with him about the Arab cause and the Palestinian problem. When Egyptian forces started storming the plane, the captain said, the hijackers threw three grenades into the plane's passenger cabin, devastating the airliner and killing many more on board.

### Arafat's 'Cairo Declaration'

In early November, following a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo, Yasser Arafat said that the PLO would limit its armed assaults to targets in Israel and Israeli-controlled territories and that those carrying out actions outside Israel or the territories would be punished if unarmed civilians were harmed. While condemning terrorist acts against unarmed civilians outside Israel, Arafat emphasized that attacks would continue in Israel and the territories over which it gained control in 1967, and reaffirmed the PLO's commitment to armed struggle against Israel "in all possible ways."

Israeli officials dismissed Arafat's statement as a public relations tactic designed to improve the PLO's image in the West, and foresaw no change at all in PLO terrorism. Simcha Dinitz, a member of the Israeli parliament and former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S., observed that Arafat's statement meant that "stabbing Jews on their way to prayers at the [Western] Wall will be permitted, but killing Americans on a ship will be forbidden."

Arafat's statement, moreover, made clear that the PLO remains inherently committed to terror and that he did not reject terror as a key PLO tactic.

What Arafat said in effect was that terrorism against unarmed non-Israeli civilians outside Israel itself, and outside the territories over which Israel gained control in 1967, has been counterproductive. He said:

"Incidents have affirmed the PLO's conviction that terrorist acts committed outside have adverse effects on the Palestinian people's cause and disfigure their legal resistance for freedom."

In other words, in his so-called "Cairo declaration," Arafat said that terrorism is neither evil nor illegitimate per se but that in the present period, at least, terrorism is not in the PLO's best interests when carried on outside Israel. For the present, Arafat said, the terrorist spigot outside Israel should be turned off. It can, of course, be turned on again whenever the PLO finds it expedient.

Arafat, moreover, is unable -- or unwilling -- to control all the Palestinian terrorist groupings, underscoring the disingenuous nature of his statement and of his declaration that those committing terrorist acts outside Israeli-held territory would be punished if unarmed civilians were harmed.

#### Conclusion

In the past three years, since the PLO was expelled from Beirut, terrorism has been "business as usual" for the PLO, its factions, its allies, and other Palestinian terrorists around the world. Although Israel has been the main target, the terrorism has been transnational.

Arab governments, some described as "moderate," have supported the PLO and kept it alive. The United Nations supports the PLO and accords it honor and respect. The PLO has been allowed to open and maintain offices in countries around the world.

Despite this patina of respectability, the PLO refuses to make peace with Israel, and accept Israel in the community of nations. Despite their splits and disagreements over tactics, the PLO and other Palestinian terrorists remain united by the one goal that has always bound them together -- the destruction of the State of Israel.

# # #

A CHRONOLOGY

P.L.O. AND PALESTINIAN-INSPIRED TERRORISM:

SEPTEMBER, 1982 TO OCTOBER, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



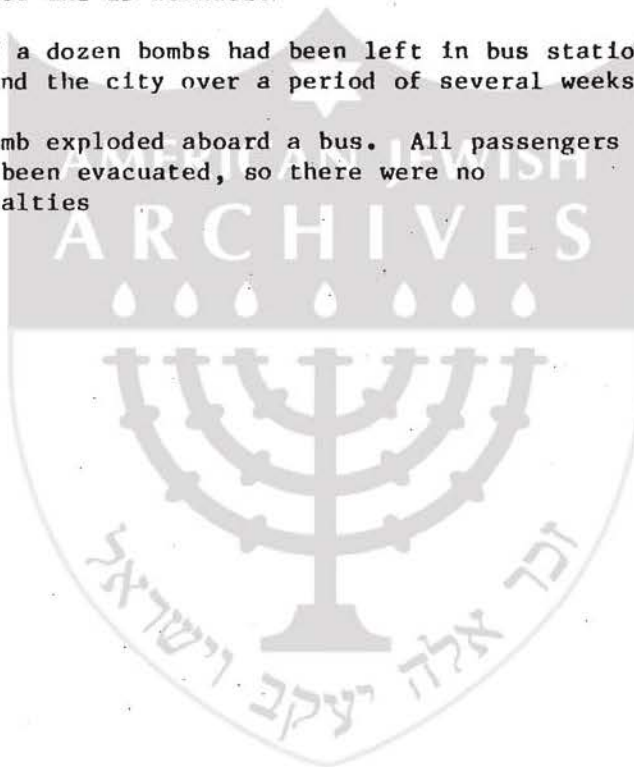
זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

1982

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
9/15/82	Rome, Italy	A bomb exploded near the central synagogue while David Levy, Israeli Deputy Prime Minister was addressing the congregation.	-	-	-
9/16/82	Madrid, Spain	A Kuwaiti Embassy official was shot to death and his driver wounded.	1 killed 1 wounded	Kuwaiti Spanish	A Palestinian claiming to be a killer was arrested.
9/18/82	Brussels, Belgium	Four Jewish worshipers were wounded in a machine-gun attack on a synagogue during Rosh Hashanah services.	4 wounded	Belgiums	The attack was traced to the Abu Nidal faction.
9/23/82	Bogota, Colombia	Terrorists riddled the Israeli ambassador's house with bullets and tossed bombs at the house.	-	-	-
9/27/82	Frankfurt, West Germany	Bombs exploded in front of a travel agency specializing in trips to Israel, and in front of the offices of Sperry Rand Corp., which manufactures equipment used to produce weapons for export to Israel.	1 killed 1 wounded	German German	-
9/29/82	Milan, Italy	A bomb was detonated in front of the door of the city's main synagogue.	-	-	Four terrorists belonging to the Communists Organized for Proletarian Liberation, were charged with the attack. The group was linked to several extreme left-wing terrorists organizations working in tandem with the PLO.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
10/9/82	Rome, Italy	Terrorists threw hand grenades and fired submachineguns at worshippers leaving a synagogue, killing a 2-year-old boy and wounding 34.	1 killed 34 wounded	Italian Italians	The attack was traced to the Abu Nidal faction. In March, 1985, a Palestinian who had just finished serving a prison sentence in Greece for smuggling explosives was extradited to Italy to stand trial for the synagogue attack.
10/20/82	Hebron, West Bank	An Israeli civilian was stabbed in the back as he walked through the marketplace.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
10/24/82	Tel Aviv, Israel	A bomb planted near the central bus station was found and defused.	-	-	-
11/7/82	Gaza Strip	A grenade tossed at an Israeli Army jeep was thrown into the street where it exploded, killing and wounding 5 Arabs	1 killed 4 wounded	Arab Arabs	-
11/21/82	Tel Aviv, Israel	A bomb exploded at a bus stop near the central railroad station.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
11/26/82	Quito, Ecuador	A bomb exploded at the Israeli Embassy.	2 killed 2 wounded	Ecuadorans Ecuadorans	Terrorists from El Salvador including Palestinian elements, were believed responsible.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
12/82	Ra'anana Tel Aviv & Petach Tikva	A terrorist gang was broken up after carrying out several attacks. In Petach Tikva, 3 were killed and 25 wounded.	3 killed 25 wounded	Israelis Israelis	The terrorists belonged to Fatah.
12/82	Tel Aviv, Israel	Half a dozen bombs had been left in bus stations around the city over a period of several weeks.	-	-	-
12/14/82	Herzlia, Israel	A bomb exploded aboard a bus. All passengers had been evacuated, so there were no casualties	-	-	-



1983

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1/8/83	Tel Aviv, Israel	Terrorists attacked a bus with grenades.	12 wounded	Israelis	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
1/18/83	Kfar Saba, Israel	A car driven by an Israeli civilian struck a mine. The driver was injured.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
1/30/83	West Bank	An Israeli woman passenger of a passenger car was hit in the head by a rock thrown through the windshield, and died two weeks later.	1 killed	Israeli	-
2/15/83	Gaza Strip	An Israeli was shot to death by terrorists in a Gaza market.	1 killed	Israeli	-
2/25/83	Israel	Five Bedouin were killed and four wounded when their vehicles hit mines in the central Negev area.	5 killed 4 wounded	Israeli (Bedouins)	-
2/26/83	Marseilles, France	A bomb was placed in a crowded Jewish meeting hall, where children were about to stage a Purim show. The bomb was found and defused.	-	-	-
4/10/83	Albufeira, Portugal	Issam Sartawi, a Palestinian moderate, was shot to death.	1 killed	Arab	The Abu Nidal faction claimed responsibility. However, there was a report that a PLO revolutionary court, presided by Yasser Arafat, had sentenced Sartawi to death.
5/9/83	Amman, Jordan	Offices of two American organizations were damaged by explosives.	-	-	-

1983

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
5/10/83	Gaza Strip	An Israeli civilian was shot to death while shopping in a market.	1 killed	Israeli	-
5/19/83	Troy, AL	A heavily armed Palestinian who stored ammunition in an artificial leg killed one and wounded four others.	1 killed 4 wounded	American 3 Arabs visiting the U.S. and 1 American	Authorities said the perpetrator might be linked to the PLO.
6/28/83	Jerusalem, Israel	A bomb exploded in a supermarket.	2 wounded	Israelis	-
7/3/83	Beitshean, Israel	Two Katyusha rockets were fired from Jordan at Beitshean.	-	-	-
7/7/83	Hebron, West Bank	An Israeli yeshiva student was stabbed to death in a marketplace.	1 killed	Israeli	-
7/10/83	Lebanon	Two Italian journalists were kidnapped by a PLO group and taken to Syrian controlled territory.	2 kidnapped	Italians	-
8/1/83	West Bank	Terrorists fired at a car on the Nablus-Tulkarm road, wounding the two Israelis in vehicle.	2 wounded	Israelis	-
8/23/83	Athens, Greece	A PLO official was shot to death.	1 killed	Arab	A faction of Fatah claimed responsibility for the killing.
8/31/83	London,	Two bombs exploded in London, one damaging an	-	-	-



<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
9/13/83	Hamburg, West Germany	An Israeli businessman was shot to death.	1 killed	Israeli	The September 17 Sabra and Shatila Organization claimed responsibility for the killing.
9/24/83	Nablus, West Bank	A hand grenade was tossed into a municipal parking lot.	5 wounded	2 Israelis 3 Arabs	-
9/83	Cairo, Egypt	Seven Palestinians were arrested in Cairo attempting to bomb several targets in the Egyptian capital.	-	-	The 7 were members of the Abu Nidal faction.
10/5/83	Lebanon	A car bomb killed a pro-Israeli Moslem militia commander.	1 killed	Lebanese	The PLO said that the man was a traitor to the Arab cause, and had been killed by Lebanese and Palestinian resistance fighters.
10/13- 11/12/83	Amman, Jordan Rome, Italy New Delhi, India, Athens, Greece	There were several bombings in Amman, and Jordanian envoys in Rome, New Delhi and Athens were shot and wounded.	5 wounded	Jordanians	Jordanian intelligence has linked the Abu Nidal faction to all the attacks.
11/20/83	Paris, France	A terrorist riding a motorcycle hurled a bomb into a Jewish-owned restaurant, injuring 30 diners.	30 wounded	French	-
11/28/83	Nablus, West Bank	An Israeli civilian was attacked with an axe in the city's market place.	1 wounded	Israeli	-

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12/83	Athens, Greece	A woman unwittingly carried a bomb-laden suitcase for an Arab terrorist group from Athens to Tel Aviv, and Tel Aviv to London aboard El Al, Israel's airline. The bomb malfunctioned.	-	-	The terrorist group responsible was the 15 May group, based in Iraq and led by Abu Ibrahim, a Palestinian.
12/3/83	Bangkok, Thailand	Terrorists fired a rocket-propelled grenade at the Israeli Embassy, punching a hole through a wall.	-	-	-
12/6/83	Jerusalem, Israel	A terrorist bomb exploded inside a crowded bus, killing and wounding 50 people.	6 killed 44 wounded	5 Israelis 1 American Israelis	The pro-Arafat faction of the PLO claimed responsibility for the bombing. A dissident PLO faction also claimed responsibility.
12/19/83	Nablus, West Bank	A molotov cocktail was tossed at an IDF patrol.	-	-	-
12/24/83	Malta	A gunman shot at and slightly wounded Israel's top diplomat in Malta.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
12/29/83	Madrid, Spain	A gunman shot and killed a Jordanian Embassy employee and wounded another.	1 killed 1 wounded	Jordanian Jordanian	The attack was traced to the Abu Nidal faction.
12/29/83	Hampton, VA	A bomb scare forced the evacuation of 3,500 shoppers from a mall.	-	-	A man identifying himself as a member of the PLO phoned in bomb threat.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
12/31/83	Marseilles, France	A bomb exploded at the city's railroad s and another aboard a train 120 miles to the north on its way to Paris.	5 killed 50+ wounded	French French	The Armed Arab Struggle, a terrorist organization linked to the international terrorist Carlos the Jackal, claimed responsibility for the attacks.



1984

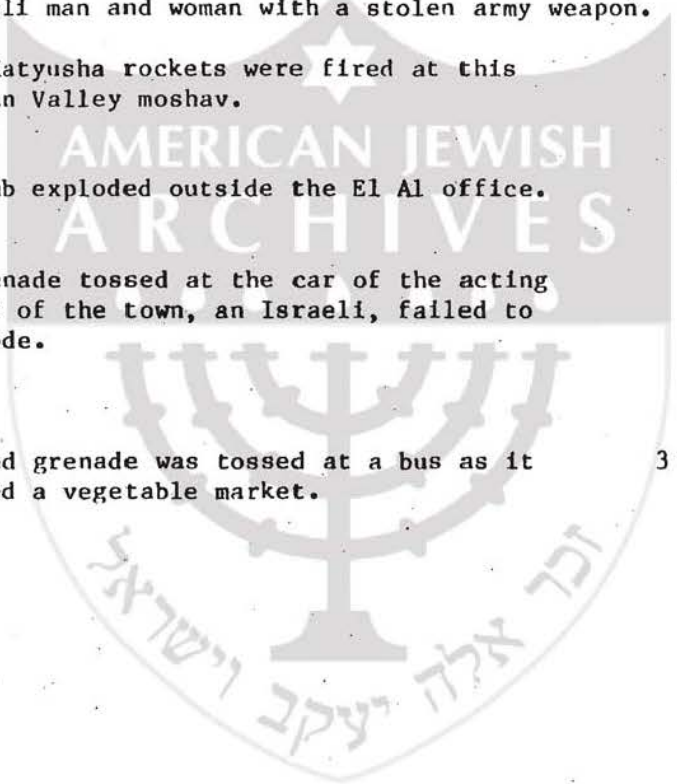
<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	Type of PLO and <u>Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1/1/84	Rome, Italy	A bomb exploded in front of the office of El Al, Israel's airline.	-	-	-
2/28/84	Jerusalem, Israel	Two terrorist grenades exploded on a busy shopping street.	21 wounded	17 Israelis 4 Arabs	Two Palestinian groups claimed responsibility - the DFLP and the Abu Nidal faction. Yasser Arafat praised the bombing.
3/7/84	Ashdod, Israel	A terrorist bomb exploded aboard a bus.	3 killed 9 wounded	Israelis Israelis	The Abu Nidal faction claimed responsibility for the bombing.
3/24/84	Amman, Jordan	A bomb exploded outside a hotel, and another was found near the U.S. and British embassies was defused.	2 wounded	Jordanians	The Abu Nidal faction claimed responsibility for the attack.
4/2/84	Jerusalem, Israel	Three terrorists armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades attacked shoppers on a busy street in the middle of the city. One terrorist was killed, the other two captured.	1 killed 48 wounded	Arab (terrorist) Israelis	The DFLP, led by Naif Hawatmeh, claimed responsibility for this attack. This was confirmed by Israeli security forces.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
4/5/84	Jerusalem, Israel	Two terrorist bombs were found, thanks to alert Israeli citizens, and defused.	-	-	-
4/12/84	Tel Aviv, Israel	Four terrorists hijacked an intercity bus and held the 35 passengers as hostages. IDF troops stormed the bus, killing two of the hijackers. The other two were later killed by Israeli soldiers, as was disclosed in an official report on the incident.	5 killed 7 wounded	1 Israeli 4 Arabs (terror- ists) Israelis	The PFLP, led by George Habash, claimed responsibility for the hijacking.
4/23/84	Qalqiliya, West Bank	A terrorist bomb exploded at the side of the road.	2 wounded	Israelis	
5/3/84	Nicosia, Cyprus	A Palestinian journalist, reportedly opposed to Yasser Arafat, was shot to death.	1 killed	Arab	A caller from the Arab Popular Liberation Movement blamed Arafat supporters for the act.
5/11/84	Hebron, West Bank	Two terrorists armed with pistols and grenades infiltrated the West Bank from Jordan. They ran into an IDF patrol and were killed in a shootout.	2 killed	Arabs (terror- ists)	Documents found on the scene identified the terrorists as members of Fatah. A Damascus-based group, the Fatah Interim Leadership said that two of its men had been killed in a clash with the IDF.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
6/5/84	Golan Heights	Four terrorists infiltrated from Syria. They were spotted by an IDF patrol and captured.	1 wounded	Arab (terrorist)	-
6/5/84	Cairo, Egypt	An Israeli diplomat was shot at from a passing car and slightly wounded.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
6/28/84	Mediterranean Sea	An Israeli gunboat exchanged fire with a boat carrying PLO terrorists leaving a terrorist training base on an island. The boat was sunk, and all aboard drowned. Five Israeli sailors were wounded in the exchange.	5 wounded	Israeli	-
7/18/84	Mediterranean Sea	Israeli gunboats seized a Lebanese ship which was involved in a PLO attempt to land terrorists in Israel. The ship had lowered a dinghy several weeks earlier with four terrorists aboard to launch an attack. The assault failed.	-	-	-
7/26/84	Kibbutz Neve Eitan, Israel	Two Katyusha rockets were fired at this settlement.	-	-	-
8/10/85	West Bank	An Israeli soldier was found shot to death near an Arab village.	-	-	-
8/15/84	Jerusalem, Israel	A 12-kilogram bomb (26 lbs.) was discovered in the trunk of a car parked on a busy street. It was defused safely.	-	-	Painted on the bottom of the car were the words "Fatah" and "Sabra and Shatila."
8/20/84	Paris, France	A bomb exploded outside the Paris branch of Bank Leumi.	-	-	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
9/14/84	Rafah, Gaza Strip	The mayor of this Gaza Strip town was assassinated on his way home from a mosque.	1 killed	Arab	According to Damascus Radio, he was assassinated for collaborating with the Israeli authorities.
9/17/84	Beersheba, Israel	An intercity bus was sprayed with gunfire on a highway south of the city. A car following the bus was also hit.	7 wounded	5 Israelis 2 Arabs (in the car)	The attack occurred on the second anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camp massacres in Lebanon.
9/23/84	Mediterranean Sea	An Israeli gunboat intercepted a dinghy with five terrorists aboard, forcing it to land in Israeli-held territory in southern Lebanon. In an exchange of fire with an IDF patrol, three terrorists were killed, and the other two captured.	3 killed	Arabs (terrorists)	-
9/24-25/84	Jerusalem, Israel	Two terrorist bombs, one in a supermarket and the other in the underground parking lot of an apartment building, were found and safely defused.	-	-	-
10/4/84	Nicosia, Cyprus	A bomb-laden car exploded in a parking lot outside the Israeli embassy.	-	-	A PLO faction led by Col. Said Mussa claimed responsibility for the bombing.
10/6/84	West Bank	Three heavily armed terrorist infiltrated from Jordan on Yom Kippur. All were killed in a shootout with an IDF patrol.	3 killed 1 wounded	Arabs (terrorists) Israeli	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
10/15/84	Nablus, West Bank	A terrorist bomb exploded close to a bus carrying Israeli school children on a tour.	7 wounded	Israelis	-
10/22/84	Bethlehem, West Bank	An Arab from a local refugee camp murdered an Israeli man and woman with a stolen army weapon.	2 killed	Israelis	-
11/3/84	Yardena, Israel	Two Katyusha rockets were fired at this Jordan Valley moshav.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
11/12/84	Vienna, Austria	A bomb exploded outside the El Al office.	-	-	-
11/19/84	Ramallah, West Bank	A grenade tossed at the car of the acting mayor of the town, an Israeli, failed to explode.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility saying that the attempt had been successful.
12/17/84	Tel Aviv, Israel	A hand grenade was tossed at a bus as it passed a vegetable market.	3 wounded	Israelis	Both the PLO and the PFLP claimed responsibility for the attack.

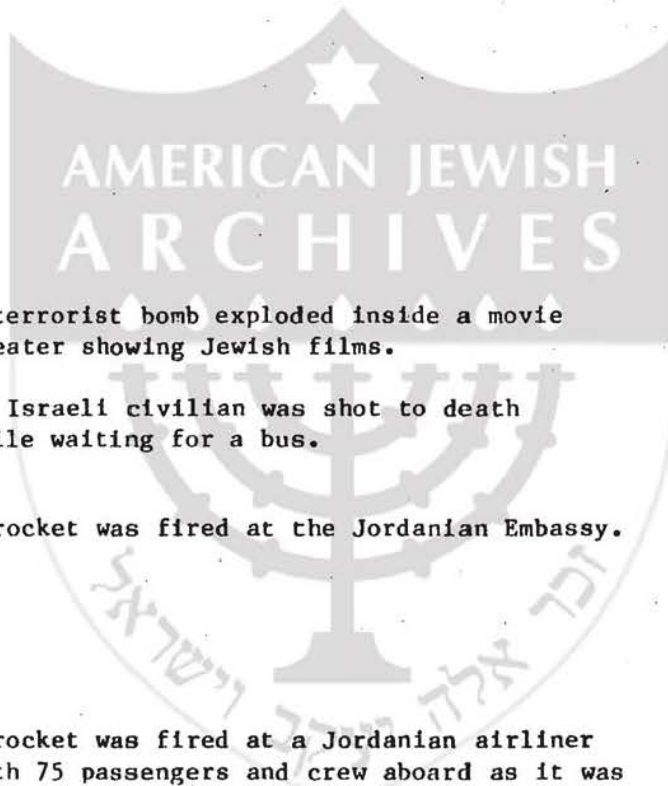




1985

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1/16/85	Jordan Valley, Israel	A katyusha rocket was fired at the Jordan Valley from inside Jordanian territory.	-	-	-
1/26/85	West Bank	A firebomb was thrown at a car driven by an Israeli civilian, severely wounding him. He died several days later.	1 killed	Israeli	-
1/31/85	West Bank	A bus enroute to Hebron from Jerusalem was fired upon by terrorists.	2 wounded	Israelis	-
2/4/85	Ramallah, West Bank	A soldier standing on guard outside a government building was shot to death.	1 killed	Israeli	George Habash's PFLP claimed responsibility for the murder.
2/23/85	Paris, France	A bomb exploded at the entrance of the Paris branch of the British-owned Marks & Spencer department store.	1 killed 15 wounded	French 13 French	Several European terrorist groups claimed responsibility but French police felt that Palestinian terrorists were the most likely perpetrators.
2/26/85	Jerusalem, Israel	Two bombs were discovered and safely defused.	-	-	-
3/7/85	Hebron, West Bank	A car driven by Jewish settlers in the area triggered a roadside bomb.	-	-	-
3/21/85	Rome, Italy; Athens, Greece; Nicosia, Cyprus	Bombs exploded in offices of the Royal Jordanian Airlines in all three cities.	5 wounded	?	Black September claimed responsibility for all three attacks. Officials felt that the Abu

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
3/29/85	Paris, France	A terrorist bomb exploded inside a movie theater showing Jewish films.	20 wounded	French	-
3/31/85	El Bireh, West Bank	An Israeli civilian was shot to death while waiting for a bus.	1 killed	Israeli	The DFLP claimed responsibility for the murder.
4/3/85	Rome, Italy	A rocket was fired at the Jordanian Embassy.	-	-	As in the March 21 attacks, Black September claimed responsibility.
4/4/85	Athens, Greece	A rocket was fired at a Jordanian airliner with 75 passengers and crew aboard as it was preparing to take off from Athens airport. The projectile struck the plane but failed to explode.	-	-	As in the March 21 and April 3 attacks, Black September claimed responsibility.
4/7/85	Petach Tikva, Israel	The battered body of an Israeli soldier who had been brutally murdered was found just south of the city.	1 killed	Israeli	-
4/19/85	Jerusalem, Israel	An Israeli cab driver shot to death.	1 killed	Israeli	-



<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
4/19/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A small bomb exploded in a city street	-	-	-
4/20/85	Mediterranean Sea	Israeli gunboats sank a freighter with PLO terrorists aboard on their way to attack a target in Tel Aviv. Eight terrorists were captured and 20 drowned.	20 killed	Arabs (terrorists)	A PLO leader in Amman confirmed that the terrorists had been on their way to attack a "military" target in Tel Aviv.
4/25/85	Gaza Strip	An Israeli civilian was stabbed several times as he walked through the market place in Khan Yunis.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
4/25/85	Kiryat Malachi, Israel	A bomb was discovered in the town. It exploded as a police sapper was attempting to defuse it. The sapper was slightly injured.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
4/28/85	Tiberias, Israel	A rocket-propelled grenade was fired from Jordanian territory at an Israeli patrol.	-	-	-
5/85	Cairo, Egypt	A grenade hit an apartment next to the Israeli Embassy.	-	-	-
5/8/85	Mediterranean Sea	Israeli gunboats sank a rubber dinghy with 5 Palestinian terrorists on board as it headed for the Israeli shore. All 5 died.	5 killed	Arabs	-
5/28 and 5/30/85	Afula, Israel	A bomb exploded in the town's center, and two days later, another bomb exploded near the central bus station.	-	-	-
6/6/85	London, England	A Jewish-owned travel agency was damaged in an in an early morning explosion.	-	-	-
6/12/85	Jerusalem,	Three terrorist bombs exploded at bus stations in the city.	-	-	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
6/17/85	Jerusalem, Israel	Two small bombs exploded in the city, one in Ramot injuring a woman, and the other in the French Hill area causing no injuries.	1 wounded	Israeli	The PLO claimed responsibility for both explosions.
6/18/85	Tel Aviv, Israel	Two large bombs were found, set to explode during peak shopping hours. Both devices were safely defused.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for planting the devices.
6/18/85	Genoa, Italy	The local office of the Israeli-owned Zim shipping company was damaged by a bomb.	-	-	-
6/19/85	Kiryat Gat, Israel	A terrorist bomb exploded near the town's industrial area.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
6/24/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A bomb exploded near a bus stop in the northern part of the city. An eight-year old boy was injured.	1 wounded	Israeli	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
6/26/85	Tel Aviv, Israel	A bomb exploded near the beachfront.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for the bombing.
6/27/85	Beth Shemesh, Israel	A terrorist gang murdered two Israelis.	2 killed	Israelis	The gang was composed of residents of a town that was known as a hotbed of support for the PLO.
7/8/85	Holon, Israel	A bomb exploded at the town's bus station.	5 wounded	Israelis	-
7/10/85	Haifa, Israel	A bomb exploded outside the Haifa district court. Another bomb was safely defused.	-	-	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
7/11/85	Ashkelon, Israel	A bomb exploded near a hotel.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for both ex- plosions.
7/11/85	Hadera, Israel	A bomb exploded in the main shopping area of the town.	-	-	-
7/19/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A Hebron man attacked a group of young summer campers in the center of the city.	5 wounded	Israelis	-



<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
7/24/85	Ankara, Turkey	The acting Jordanian ambassador to Turkey was shot to death.	1 killed	Jordanian	As in the March 21, April 3 and April 4 attacks Black September claimed responsibility.
7/26/85	Afula, Israel	Two Israeli teachers, missing for several days, were found murdered.	2 killed	Israelis	Israeli police attributed the murders to Arab terrorists.
7/29/85	Nablus, West Bank	Two terrorists were killed in an explosion while trying to prepare a car bomb.	2 killed	Arabs (terrorists)	-
7/30/85	Nablus, West Bank	An Israeli was shot in the back and killed.	1 killed	Israeli	The Abu Musa faction of the PLO claimed responsibility for the murder.
7/31/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A bomb planted outside a grocery store was found and safely defused.	-	-	-
8/6/85	Nablus, West Bank	Gasoline bombs were tossed at an Israeli border patrol.	2 wounded	Israelis	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
8/10/85	Hebron, West Bank	An Israeli civilian was stabbed while walking through the marketplace.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
8/11/85	Bangkok, Thailand	A bomb exploded near the Israeli Embassy.	-	-	-
8/20/85	Netanya, Israel	A bomb-laden car was discovered in the central bus station. The area was evacuated and the device was detonated by the bomb squad.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for setting the device.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
8/20/85	Cairo, Egypt	Terrorists firing machine guns shot and killed an Israeli diplomat and wounded his wife and secretary as they drove to work.	1 killed 2 wounded	Israeli	A group calling itself Egypt's Revolution claimed responsibility.
8/23/85	Milan, Italy	Two bombs, near Jewish targets, exploded simultaneously. One was near the El Al office, the other near a Jewish social club.	5 wounded	Italians	-
8/23/85	Ashkelon, Israel	Two explosive charges were found and safely defused.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for setting the device.
8/24/85	North Galilee, Israel	Katyusha rockets were fired into northern Galilee from south Lebanon.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
8/24/85	Tulkarm and Jenin, West Bank	Palestinian terrorists shot at Israelis in the West Bank towns, killing one in Tulkarm and one in Jenin.	1 killed 1 wounded	Israeli Israeli	Three groups, the PLO, Force 17 - an elite PLO group which is part of Yasser Arafat's personal security team - and the Abu Nidal faction all claimed responsibility for the murders.
8/24/85 and 8/31/85	Mediterranean Sea	A yacht carrying eight PLO terrorists was captured, and a week later another vessel with PLO terrorists on board was apprehended. Both groups of terrorists were planning to attack targets inside Israel.	-	-	The PLO terrorists were members of Force 17.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
8/27/85	Istanbul, Turkey	The local office of El Al Israel Airlines was damaged by a bomb.	-	-	-
8/29/85	Jerusalem, Israel	An Israeli civilian was stabbed in the neck near the Damascus Gate.	1 wounded	Israeli	A young Arab from a village near Hebron on the West Bank was charged with the attack.
9/2/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A bomb exploded in the Gilo suburb.	6 wounded	Israelis	The PLO and the Abu Musa faction of the PLO claimed responsibility.
9/3/85	Hebron, Israel	Two Israeli soldiers were victims of knife attacks.	1 killed 1 wounded	Israeli Israeli	-
9/5/85	Gaza Strip	An Israeli civilian was attacked with a knife as he was delivering gasoline to a local service station.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
9/5/85	Nablus, West Bank	Terrorists threw two gasoline bombs at a bus passing the area. There were no passengers aboard.	-	-	-
9/6/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A pipe bomb exploded near a crowded market place.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for the bombing.
9/9/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A firebomb was tossed at a bus, while a bomb was safely defused in Gilo, where a bomb had exploded the previous week.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for setting the Gilo bomb.
9/10/85	Ramallah, West Bank	A fire bomb was tossed at an Israeli car parked near a hospital.	-	-	-



<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
9/15/85	Copenhagen, Denmark	Two bombs exploded on the eve of Rosh Hashanah outside a kosher food store and a travel agency specializing in trips to Israel.	12 wounded	Danes	-
9/16/85	Rome, Italy	A grenade was tossed into a cafe filled with diners. A Lebanese-born Palestinian was arrested and charged with the attack.	38 wounded	9 Americans 29 Italians	The Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Moslems, thought to have ties with the Abu Nidal faction claimed responsibility.
9/19/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A gasoline bomb was thrown at a bus stop on Mt. Zion. It was the second bombing at the same spot within a week.	-	-	-
9/22/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A booby-trapped vehicle was safely disarmed.	-	-	-
9/23/85	Acre, Israel	A bomb exploded in the main street of the town.	1 wounded	Israeli	-
9/25//85	Lanarca, Cyprus	On Yom Kippur, three Palestinian terrorists boarded an Israeli yacht docked at the port and were captured after a 10-hour siege during which they killed the three Israelis aboard.	3 killed	Israelis	The PLO disclaimed responsibility, but a caller to the Jerusalem office of a French news agency claimed that the PLO's Force 17 was responsible, to free Force 17 members captured

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
9/25/85	Rome, Italy	A bomb exploded at the British Airways office. A Palestinian confessed to the attack and was arrested.	14 wounded	?	at sea in late August. One terrorist was discovered to be an Englishman, a self-described "fascist" who had joined the PLO in 1982, and was a member of Force 17.  As in the September 16 attack in Rome, the Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Moslems claimed responsibility.
9/26/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A bomb exploded near a bus stop on Mt. Scopus, near Hadassah Hospital. Another bomb - in a booby-trapped car was safely defused.	2 wounded	Israelis	Both the PLO and the DFLP claimed responsibility for the Mt. Scopus bombing.
9/26/85	West Bank	A roadside bomb was detonated by remote control on the Jerusalem - Dead Sea Road as a car went by.	-	-	-
9/27/85	Jerusalem, Israel	A bomb exploded at a bus stop near Gilo.	7 wounded	Israelis	-
9/27/85	Halhoul, West Bank	A bus was fired on in an ambush.	7 wounded	6 Israelis 1 Arab	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of PLO and Arab Terrorism</u>	<u>Victims and Casualties</u>	<u>Nationality of Victims</u>	<u>Comment</u>
9/28/85	Hebron, West Bank	A hand grenade was tossed at a military vehicle. It missed its mark.	1 killed 3 wounded	Arab Arabs	-
9/29/85	Haifa, Israel	Two bombs exploded almost simultaneously in downtown Haifa.	5 wounded	Israeli	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attacks.
9/30/85	Jerusalem, Israel	Two gasoline bombs were thrown at a restaurant.	-	-	The PLO claimed responsibility for the attack.
9/30/85	Amsterdam, Netherlands	A bomb exploded at the local office of El Al Israel's airline.	-	-	Fatah claimed responsibility for the attack.
10/2/85	Buenos Aires, Argentina	A bomb exploded at a Jewish school.	-	-	-
10/2/85	Jerusalem, Israel	Two Israeli civilians, a man and a woman, were shot to death while hiking in the Judean Hills south of the city.	2 killed	Israelis	The PLO's Force 17 claimed responsibility for the killings.
10/6/85	Kibbutz Sarid, Israel	An Israeli man was shot to death from an ambush while out horseback riding.	1 killed	Israeli	-



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**Politics and Culture**

**International Terrorism**  
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**S** Tues. 6.10-7.50 p.m., Feb. 11-Apr. 8  
 (8 sessions). Seymour Maxwell Finger,  
 coordinator.

Hijacking, hostage taking, bombings, and assassinations have become the deadly tools of extremists, fanatics, and desperate groups. Terrorists strike at the very fabric of international order and the peaceful settlement of disputes, and they threaten innocent travelers and bystanders. On the horizon looms the threat of terrorism involving weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological. Those who defend terrorist actions argue that the root causes (real or alleged injustices) must be dealt with first. But the immediate threat to world order and to innocent people is much too serious to await the millennium when grievances will no longer exist. This course endeavors to look at the causes, the actions, the actor, and the countervailing measures to deal with this dangerous threat. Discussions are led by recognized experts. Schedules permitting, these include DR. YONAH ALEXANDER, and DR. ROBERT A. KILMARX, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; CAPTAIN THOMAS M. ASHWOOD, secretary of the Airline Pilots Association; DR. ROBERT H. KUPPERMAN, chief scientist, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and AMBASSADOR ROBERT OAKLEY, director, State Department Office for Counterterrorism; as well as the course coordinator, PROFESSOR FINGER, former ambassador, U.S. Mission to the U.N., director of the Ralph Bunche Institute on the U.N., professor of political science, author, and authority on international terrorism.

\* \* \* \*

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If you hold American Express, Visa, or MasterCard, you may call 212/777-8000 to register. Telephone registration is available Monday through Thursday from 9:30 a.m. to 7 p.m. and on Fridays from 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. until February 3rd. If you find the phone lines busy, keep trying - it will be worth it.

In Person:

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- Mon.-Thurs./Jan. 27-Feb. 6: 12 noon to 7 p.m.
- Fri./Jan. 31 and Feb. 7: 12 noon to 5 p.m.
- Sat./Feb. 1: 10 a.m. - 1 p.m.

Late Registration

- Mon.-Thurs./Feb. 10-13: 12 noon-7 p.m.
- Fri./Feb. 14: 12 noon-5 p.m.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, PLEASE CALL: 598-2878

Additional guests scheduled: Israeli Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu on Feb. 25th.  
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# Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

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Statement by Kenneth J. Bialkin, Chairman  
At a News Conference Sunday, Dec. 29, 1985

KENNETH J. BIALKIN  
Chairman

The Palestinian terrorist war against the traveling public requires urgent action by the international community. The indiscriminate terror in Rome and Vienna reflects a barbarism and a primitive mentality which cannot be reached by reason or the rule of law. We extend our condolences to the government of Mexico and to the families of our fellow Americans and of the citizens of Austria, Greece, Italy and Israel who lost loved ones in the senseless massacre.

The PLO in its various factions and groups have placed themselves outside of the company of decent peoples and must be sanctioned by the world community.

Unfortunately, rhetoric will not stop them. Those nations which decry violence and terrorism while at the same time supporting the political aims of the PLO give a double message which, in effect, encourages repetition of those outrages. So-called moderate Arab states like Jordan and Tunisia provide bases for the recruitment and training of terrorists; Saudi Arabia provides them funding; Egypt gives them sanctuary and protection; Syria and Libya arm them and launch their depredations. Iraq provides bases and arms.

Western democracies give them support and respect by diplomatic recognition and by permitting them to have offices. Greece, Spain, Italy, Austria, and France have cordial diplomatic links; Turkey and Cyprus give them diplomatic status; the U.N. grants them observer status and the Soviets provide support and arms. Terrorism is encouraged by U.N. condemnations of Israel and by the failure to react to outrages such as the Achille Lauro, aircraft hijackings, the Olympic murders, the Maalot raid.

The decent people of the world can no longer permit this double standard; while international travel is jeopardized and innocent people are randomly murdered, diplomats continue to

express understanding for the Palestinians' concerns. The root of the Palestinian issue is their xenophobic refusal to accept Israel's existence and legitimacy, their refusal to live in peace with a free and independent Israel. By their rejection of peace they have disqualified themselves from the support of decent people; this is so whether it is the Fatah of Arafat, or the hired killers of Abu Abbas or Abu Musa of Syria and Iraq or Abu Nidal of Libya. They stand for the same message of hate and must be regarded as outlaws and renegades. They use the beguiling phrase "legitimate rights of Palestinians," yet whenever a moderate Palestinian offers to live in peace with Israel he is promptly and brutally murdered.

It is not enough to say that the murderers should be brought to justice. They are only the tools, the fanatic fools who carry out the orders that are fashioned in Damascus, in Tripoli, in Amman, in Baghdad and in Tunis. It is the leaders and planners who must be brought to justice and called to account for their crimes against innocent civilians.

We must, therefore:

(1) Serve notice that support for the PLO and other Palestinian terror groups must end. Saudi Arabia must end its payments of extortion which finances this grotesque machine; Jordan must close the PLO bases it has sanctioned; Tunisia must expel the PLO forces who train and plan; Syria and Iraq must terminate their maintenance of PLO factions; Libya must be called to account.

(2) Diplomatic support must cease; the PLO observer delegation to the UN must be expelled and their offices in New York closed. France, Turkey, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cyprus and other European countries must withdraw their recognition and diplomatic support from the PLO. PLO offices in those countries should be shut.

(3) Countries which give sanctuary or free passage to known murderers must be warned that consequences will follow their craven act. Egypt and Yugoslavia, for example, must not be free to repeat their abetting the flight of the murderers of the Achille Lauro.

(4) Leaders must be extradited and brought to justice, damage suits by victims must be heard and enforced in courts of law, and victims compensated by the PLO.

(5) Diplomatic and economic sanctions must be taken against those countries that fail to cooperate in an international program to combat terrorism and deny sanctuary to leaders and followers of the PLO. For example, aircraft landing rights might be denied to countries which support terrorism by diplomatic or financial means.

(6) World opinion must be mobilized against the deception and deceit of Palestinian radicals who clothe their cause in the language of freedom and human rights but whose real message and cause is conquest and rejection of peaceful coexistence with Israel.

(7) We support Secretary of State Shultz in his rejection of any political justification for terrorists acts, and we call upon the United Nations and the nations of the free world to develop a program of action which goes beyond the welcome words of condemnation of terrorism.

(8) Sadly, but necessarily, so long as the rule of law cannot cope with terrorism, the right and duty of national sovereignty and protection must be recognized to take action against those responsible for terrorist acts.

(9) Our Ambassador to the United Nations should call for an emergency session of the U.N. Security Council to censure Libya and Syria for their continuing support of terrorists in violation of recently adopted General Assembly and Security Council resolutions condemning terrorism.

12/29/85

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Column Number: 316  
Date: Dec. 2, 1985



## KEEPING THE DREAM ALIVE

*By Don McEvoy*

### THE LONG ROAD BACK FROM TRAGEDY

Major catastrophes leave emotional devastation long after the physical repairs have been completed. Buildings can be reconstructed and landscapes repaired far more easily and rapidly than human psyches which have been devastated by sudden and unforeseen trauma. These are the findings of several scientific studies on the emotional impact of disaster which have received current attention due to the Mexican earthquake and the Columbian mudslides.

"The common belief that people recover after a few weeks from disaster is based on mistaking denial for recovery," according to Mardi Horowitz, a psychiatrist at the University of California medical school.

The researchers have been able to identify a pattern of response to overwhelming events that all victims pass through on their road to ultimate recovery. The stages are: (a) the Event, (b) followed immediately by an Outcry of fear, sadness and rage, (c) Denial, or the refusal to face the memory of the disaster, (d) the Intrusion of unbidden thoughts about the catastrophic happening, (e) Working Through by facing the reality of what has happened, (f) and, finally, Completion and going on with life.

Each of these stages of acceptance and resolution may be accompanied by pathological responses inhibiting the process of recovery. Among these are panic or exhaustion

resulting from the emotional overload, extreme avoidance and possible resort to drugs to deny the pain, flooded states of persistent disturbing images and thoughts of the event, physical ailments which are psychosomatically induced, and even, in some instances, character disorders and long-term distortion of the ability to work or love.

University of Massachusetts psychologist Ronnie Janoff-Bulman says "Whenever someone becomes victimized by a disaster, whatever its nature, their most basic assumptions about themselves and their world are undermined. Psychological recovery, to a large extent, requires rebuilding those assumptions."

We need to understand these truths not only to prepare ourselves for possible victimization, but also to inform and temper our attitudes toward those who are still in one of those transition stages from an experience of their personal past.

I have not been as compassionate and understanding as I ought, for example, to Holocaust victims who may never fully recover from the massive trauma of forty years ago. Or, of minorities who still hesitate to enter what seem to me to be doors of opportunity because of their memory of the pain of past rebuffs. Or, of Vietnam veterans who may only now be moving from denial to the intrusion of disturbing memory. I even understand Bernhard Goetz a little better now.

## P4 = Terrorism & Media

- role of media in

alleviating causes of terrorism

### Brad Morse -

- nothing gave any indication
- attempts to eliminate football -
- that condemns it

San José -

ON WALDHEIM

From: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director of International Relations  
American Jewish Committee

- - - - -

The American Jewish Committee welcomes the decisions of the governments of the United States, Israel, and Austria to obtain from the United Nations the sequestered UN files on Dr. Kurt Waldheim. We believe that the cause of justice will be served by a full, careful and systematic scrutiny of the record of Waldheim's involvement in the Nazi war machine which destroyed so many millions of Jews and other human beings.

The revelations thus far about Dr. Waldheim's moral character are deeply disturbing.



ISIS

TERRORISM IN THE 1980s:

AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

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AMERICAN JEWISH  
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A Project Proposal

WORLD POWER STUDIES PROGRAM

The Center for Strategic and International Studies  
Georgetown University

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
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The Center for Strategic and International Studies  
Georgetown University

February 1986

## BACKGROUND AND NEED

Tragically, the failure of the international community to recognize that terrorism is criminal behavior and often a form of low-intensity conflict between nations has encouraged the growth of terrorist activity in the last two decades. The statistics of terrorist violence are, indeed, staggering. From 1970 to 1984, a total of 41,000 individuals were killed and 24,000 wounded in 22,457 domestic and international terrorist incidents. Property damage has been estimated at several billions of dollars.

Americans are victims of a large percentage of recent acts of violence by terrorists, strongly suggesting a strategic international dimension of anti-Americanism underlying this phenomenon.

Yet, the U.S. Government and the American public have not yet grasped the full implications of the scope and intensity of the terrorist threat. Americans tend to see terrorism as a mere nuisance or irritant, a series of isolated and soon forgotten incidents. The result is that the United States has not developed the national commitment needed to deal with the problem.

The major reason for this failure is definitional and moral confusion over what constitutes terrorism. There is a persistent tendency not to recognize terrorist activities aimed to destabilize democratic societies. This general uncertainty leads to an almost endless use of vague terms, many dealing with the entire spectrum of conflict below the level of what is traditionally perceived as an internationally recognized state of organized war.

Yet, local and regional conflicts of irregular and unorthodox kinds are disrupting the fabric of open societies in many parts of the world. A strategic response, including countermeasures to defend such societies, is badly needed.

Recent events in Central America and the Middle East have illustrated dramatically that low-intensity conflict can bring about major changes in the international environment by destabilizing or destroying regimes aligned with the United States. Often the target is an advanced industrial nations' source of vital economic or strategic support such as oil and minerals. Terrorism can severely damage nations economically and destabilize them politically without necessarily leading to conventional military conflict.

Until U.S. policymakers become more conscious of the broad strategic dangers reflected in such anarchic developments and become more skillful in anticipating and countering them, the 1980s will be catastrophic for the worldwide security interest of the United States, its friends, and allies.

In brief, the problem of expanding terrorism is serious and not well understood. Furthermore, the implications, both domestic and international, have scarcely been explored. Answers to terrorist problems are elusive and need much greater attention. For these reasons, a continuing CSIS program on terrorism, with a view toward improving legislation, policy formulation, plans, and procedures for the defense of the basic national security and industrial infrastructure of the United States and other liberal democracies is urgently required in order to cope with this difficult problem.

#### ACTIVITIES 1978 - 1985

CSIS began a project on the role of international terrorism as an element of low-intensity warfare within the World Power Studies Program in the fall of 1978.

For the past two years the program has conducted a number of research and public affairs activities designed to focus governmental, media, and public attention on what many consider to be the most complex geopolitical phenomenon of our time.

Research on this project has been conducted in the United States, Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.

A number of publications have already resulted from this academic research:

Control of Terrorism: International Documents, edited by Yonah Alexander, Marjorie Ann Browne, and Allan S. Nanes, with a Foreword by Ray S. Cline (Crane, Russak, 1979).

Self-Determination: National Regional and Global Perspectives, edited by Yonah Alexander and Robert Friedlander, with a Foreword by Ray S. Cline (Westview Press, 1979).

Political Terrorism and Business: The Threat and Response, edited by Yonah Alexander and Robert A. Kilmarx, with a Foreword by Ray S. Cline (Praeger Publishers, 1979).

The United States and Iran: A Documentary History, edited by Yonah Alexander and Allan S. Nanes (University Publications of America, 1980).

Terrorism: Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives, edited by Yonah Alexander and John Gleason (Pergamon Press, 1981).

Psychological Warfare and Propaganda: Irgun Documentation, edited by Eli Tavin and Yonah Alexander (Scholarly Resources, 1982).

The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications, edited by David C. Rappaport and Yonah Alexander (Pergamon Press, 1982).

Business and the Middle East: Threats and Prospects, edited by Robert A. Kilmarx and Yonah Alexander, with a Foreword by R. Daniel McMichael (Pergamon Press, 1982).

Political Terrorism and Energy: The Threat and Response, edited by Yonah Alexander and Charles K. Ebinger (Praeger Publishers, 1982).

Terrorism and Europe, edited by Yonah Alexander and Kenneth A. Myers (Croom Helm LTD Publishers and St. Martin's Press, 1982).

The Rationalization of Terrorism, edited by David C. Rappaport and Yonah Alexander (University Publications of America, 1982).

International Violence, edited by Tunde Adineran and Yonah Alexander (Praeger Publishers, 1983).



Perspectives on Terrorism, edited by Lawrence Z. Freedman and Yonah Alexander (Scholarly Resources, 1983).

Terrorism in Ireland, edited by Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day (Croom Helm and St. Martin's Press, 1984).

Terrorism: the Soviet Connection, by Ray S. Cline and Yonah Alexander (Crane, Russak, 1984).

State-Sponsored Terrorism, by Ray S. Cline and Yonah Alexander (Report for the U.S. Army, 1985).

Terrorism as State-Sponsored Covert Warfare, by Ray S. Cline and Yonah Alexander (Hero Books, 1986).

Some of the above publications have been translated into different languages, such as Russian, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, German, and Hebrew.

In addition, the project also publishes two international journals, Terrorism and Political Communication and Persuasion. Numerous reports, papers, and articles have been generated, as well as briefings for Members of Congress, business organizations, the academic community, and the news media.

#### PURPOSE AND SCOPE

To assess levels of strength and areas of weakness in international power configurations, the World Power Program of CSIS, Georgetown University, is seeking funding to expand its present capability in this currently especially important area of study.

The project will focus on building and organizing systematically its body of knowledge based on an analysis of data on unconventional threats to the stability of democratic societies. Special attention will be placed on maintaining detailed profiles of political activist groups, their leaders, members, and tactics including the extent to which they receive outside support such as funding, weapons, and

sanctuary. Sponsorship of terrorism by states will be closely watched. The role of terror-prone groups in the national and international security balance, psychological warfare and propaganda for and against terrorism, and risk assessment of specific countries and regions will be matters of continuous study. The geopolitical and strategic effect of these groups will be periodically surveyed for relevance to all ongoing research at CSIS. As the material is collected and assessed, it will be made available to public and private groups through an outreach program, including "update" conferences, briefings, seminars, and publications.

It is essential to conduct research and analyze data not only on traditional military elements of national power but also on the whole spectrum of economic, psychological, and political capabilities and vulnerabilities. The frequency, locale, and sponsorship of irregular and unorthodox incidents are crucial to an understanding of the security of the alliance systems to which the United States belongs and hence to the world balance of power.

#### FUTURE PLANS

The CSIS Program on International Terrorism in its strategic dimension will focus on improving legislative prescriptions, policy formulation, and executive procedures to combat terrorism in the United States and other pluralist democracies. More specifically, the Program will develop forums to inform more fully members of the business, government, academic, and other communities on specific aspects of terrorism and to keep them continually abreast of various world situations through specialized conferences, seminars, and, publications.

The Program will also publish a bi-monthly Terrorism Report, which will survey major developments and providing country assessments and incident chronologies, as well as two other periodicals, Terrorism: An International Journal and Political Communication and Persuasion: An International Journal. Other publications will

include occasional papers, conference proceedings, and books. The following issues will be dealt with in seminars, conferences and in publications:

1. Psychological warfare and propaganda (including misinformation and disinformation);
2. The role of terrorism as an instrument for domestic and foreign policy (policies and actions of communist and third world countries, surrogate warfare, war-by-proxy);
3. terrorist tactics (bombing, kidnapping, assassination, hijacking, facility attacks, hostage situations);
4. The vulnerability of the business community and how to assess it;
5. The threat to the military and industrial mobilization base of the U.S.;
6. The role of the media in covering this phenomenon;
7. Future outlook (risk assessment of specific regions and countries);
8. Responses to terrorism by governmental, non-governmental, and inter-governmental bodies;

Forthcoming manuscripts will:

- \* Analyze the strategic thinking of Third World countries in utilizing terrorism as an instrument of forging policy (case studies in Latin America, Asia, and Africa);
- \* Assess the calculus of actual and potential power capabilities of domestic, transnational, and international terrorist groups;
- \* Appraise the impact of terrorism on the present balance of power and its probable effect on future political and strategic trends; and,
- \* Recommend an appropriate strategy for the United States in preparedness for the 1980s and 1990s.

The question of terrorism will also be incorporated into other ongoing CSIS programs, including the International Business and Economics, Maritime Studies, and Political-Military Studies.

## PROJECT PERSONNEL

The project will be under the general supervision of Dr. Ray S. Cline, senior adviser at CSIS, and director of the World Power Studies Program. He is former deputy director of intelligence at the Central Intelligence Agency, and former director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the U.S. Department of State. He is also chairman of the International Advisory Board for Political Communication and Persuasion: An International Journal. He writes and lectures extensively on the strategic aspects of terrorism. His book on World Power Trends and U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1980s (1980) is used in many university courses on geopolitics and international affairs.

Dr. Yonah Alexander, who is a professor of international studies (terrorism) at the State University of New York and senior staff member in terrorism studies at CSIS, will direct the project. Dr. Alexander is editor-in-chief of Terrorism: An International Journal, and Political Communication and Persuasion: An International Journal. Dr. Alexander is author and editor of 24 books on international affairs, mostly dealing with the various aspects of terrorism and psychological warfare.

The project work will be guided by the CSIS Steering Committee on Terrorism, co-chaired by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski (CSIS Counselor) and Dr. Robert Kupperman (CSIS Senior Adviser). Other members include Dr. William J. Taylor, Jr. (CSIS Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer), Professor Walter Laqueur (Chairman of the CSIS International Research Council), General Edward C. Meyer (U.S. Army Ret.), and Ambassador Richard Helms.

PROPOSED BUDGET

1.	<u>Project Director</u> - Direct Professional Labor (full-time)	
	Salary	\$45,000
	Fringe benefits (21.7% of salary)	9,765
2.	<u>Travel and Research Costs</u> (Project Director)	3,000
3.	<u>Project Supervisor</u> - Direct Professional Labor (20%)	10,000
4.	<u>CSIS Facilities and Support</u> Includes overhead management and administration, rent, office expenses, etc.	30,000
5.	<u>Research Assistant</u>	10,000
6.	<u>Secretarial Support</u>	15,000
7.	<u>Miscellaneous</u> (Contingency)	3,000
		<hr/>
	Total	\$125,765

Americans are becoming increasingly concerned about violent crime. Assaults and muggings, break-ins and shootings, have aroused considerable public indignation. They are also stimulating a good deal of thought about how people might protect themselves from wanton violence, and encouraging discussion about the necessity for preemptive action to protect life and limb.

The current case of Bernhard Goetz, which has attracted nationwide publicity, vividly dramatizes the issue. Here, a subway passenger, asked for five dollars by four young men, shoots them, and claims that he felt that his life was at stake. Quite apart from the rights or wrongs of this particular case, the Goetz episode highlights some serious dilemmas for all of us. Should someone who feels threatened try to get away, or should he confront his tormentors? Should we all carry guns for self-protection? Should citizens be encouraged to take the law into their own hands, or will that merely serve to escalate the level of violence? Such questions are being debated more and more in the halls of Congress, in the mass media, and in the daily conversation of millions of Americans.

One of the purposes of the Jewish Communal Affairs Department of the AJC is to contribute to the informed discussion of such contemporary social issues by pointing out how the traditional sources of Judaism have treated them. The following summary of Jewish approaches to the problems of criminal violence and self-defense is based largely on Violence in our Society: Some Jewish Insights, by David Novak, published in 1983 by the Committee.

Judaism insists that society set up and maintain an organized, efficient system of law and order. As the Bible puts it: "Judges and officers you shall appoint for yourself in all your communities ...and they shall judge the people justly" (Deuteronomy 16:18). Jewish tradition does not look favorably on private citizens executing their own forms of justice: Scripture is highly critical of those periods in Jewish history when "each man did what was right in his own eyes."

Since, the rabbis tell us, the loss of one human life is equivalent to the destruction of the entire world, a breakdown of law and order reflects badly on society and implies the failure of its leaders. In ancient Israel, when a murder victim was found near a city, the community elders performed an atonement ceremony at which they proclaimed: "Our hands did not shed this blood and our eyes did not see it." Puzzled as to why anyone would suspect that the elders committed or even saw the murder, the Talmud offers two explanations. One is that the elders were actually testifying that they had not set the stage for the crime by turning the victim away without food and protection for his journey. The other possibility is that these leaders of society had to declare that they had not been so lenient toward crime as to encourage this particular murder. Interestingly, the Mishnah says that "when murders increased" this atonement rite was abolished. If violent crime gets out of hand,

the leadership is definitely guilty, and nothing they say can absolve them.

But what is a person to do "when murderers increase" and he confronts an immediate threat to his life from which the constituted authorities cannot protect him?

Rabbinic sources, from the Talmud down to modern times, analyze the issue in great detail. Much of their discussion revolves around the interpretation of a Biblical law: "If a thief is found breaking and entering and he is struck and he dies, it is not homicide. If the sun is shining on him, it is homicide" (Exodus 22:1-2). The plain sense of the text seems to be that a burglar who comes in the night is ready to kill if confronted by his victim, since it is unlikely that witnesses will see him; therefore, killing the burglar is self-defense. In daytime, however, we assume that a burglar will not kill, for fear of being recognized by witnesses; killing this burglar, then, is not self-defense, but murder.

The Talmud interprets the law less literally, viewing "if the sun is shining" as a simile: "just as the sun is the sign of peace in the world, so too, if it is obvious that the thief's intentions are not homicidal, then killing him is homicide." Whether it is day or night, preemptive killing cannot be justified if the burglar shows no willingness to murder.

Jewish legal thinkers developed guidelines for the use of violence to prevent crime:

Anyone who is imminently threatening to kill or rape another may-- indeed, should--be killed by whatever means necessary. This does not



apply to lesser crimes. This preemptive killing may be carried out either by the would-be victim or by any bystander.

Killing the pursuer, though, is only justifiable in the absence of any other alternative. If some action less extreme than killing can prevent the crime, killing would be considered an illegal overreaction, and may itself become the basis for a murder charge.

Violence in self-defense must not be confused with revenge or vigilante justice. Once the murder or rape has been committed and the perpetrator apprehended, he may not be harmed by anyone until he is tried, convicted, and sentenced.

If someone is not absolutely sure of his pursuer's homicidal intentions, he nevertheless enjoys the benefit of the doubt; if he kills the person threatening him, the burden is on the dead man's defenders to prove a lack of murderous intent. In the absence of such proof, the killing is considered justified.