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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name NORTH, OLIVER: FILES

Withdrawer

SMF 3/24/2008

File Folder HOSTAGES: FRENCH HOSTAGES (1)

FOIA

S2007-081

Box Number 10

NOUZILLE

214

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
53152	MEMO	TO ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, ET AL RE VISIT	2	12/20/1985	B1 B3
53153	REPORT	RE HOSTAGES	3	12/23/1985	B1 B3
53154	TRANSMITTAL SHEET	WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT	1	1/7/1986	B1 B3
53155	MEMO	TO ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, ET AL	4	1/7/1986	B1 B3
53156	TRANSMITTAL SHEET	WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT	1	1/7/1986	B1 B3
53157	MEMO	TO ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, ET AL	3	1/7/1986	B1 B3
53158	CABLE	171734Z MAR 86 <i>R 4/9/2010 NLRRM2007-081</i>	3	3/17/1986	B1
53159	MEMO	OAKLEY, ET AL TO SECRETARY OF STATE <i>R 4/9/2010 NLRRM2007-081</i>	3	3/18/1986	B1
53160	REPORT	RE FRENCH HOSTAGES	2	ND	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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53161	CABLE	250837Z MAR 86 <i>R 4/9/2010 NLRRM2007-081</i>	6	3/25/1986	B1
53162	CABLE	210116Z MAR 86	3	3/21/1986	B1 B3
53163	CABLE	241716Z MAR 86 <i>R 4/9/2010 NLRRM2007-081</i>	8	3/24/1986	B1
53164	CABLE	262157Z MAR 86	2	3/26/1986	B1 B3
53165	CABLE	271746Z MAR 86 <i>R 4/9/2010 NLRRM2007-081</i>	1	3/27/1986	B1
53166	CABLE	271432Z MAR 86	2	3/27/1986	B1 B3

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2			
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ACTION		FILE
APPROVAL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INFORMATION
COMMENT		PREPARE REPLY
CONCURRENCE		RECOMMENDATION
DIRECT REPLY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RETURN
DISPATCH		SIGNATURE

REMARKS:

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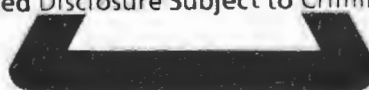
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53153	REPORT	3	12/23/1985	B1
	RE HOSTAGES			B3

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53154	TRANSMITTAL SHEET WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT	1	1/7/1986	B1 B3

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53155	MEMO TO ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, ET AL	4	1/7/1986	B1 B3

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>
53156	TRANSMITTAL SHEET	1	1/7/1986	B1
	WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT			B3

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>
53157	MEMO	3	1/7/1986	B1
	TO ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NAITONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, ET AL			B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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PAGE 01 OF 02 BEIRUT 1391
SIT478

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PRIORITY
STU0833
DE RUEHBL #1391 0761440
P 171438Z MAR 86
FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6799

INFO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 2438
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0451
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 6943

UNCLAS BEIRUT 01391

TERREP

E. O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PTER, FR, LE
SUBJECT: FRENCH HOSTAGES IN LEBANON

1. IN A MARCH 16 PRESS COMMUNIQUE, THE SHIITE
FUNDAMENTALIST GROUP "HIZBALLAH" REITERATED ITS POSITION
THAT IT IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE FRENCH HOSTAGE AFFAIR AND
DISTANCED ITSELF FROM DR. RAZAH RAAD'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN
THE HOSTAGES' RELEASE. SPECIFICALLY, HIZBALLAH REFUTED
DR. RAAD'S CLAIM THAT IT HAD ACCEPTED A COMPROMISE
SETTLEMENT AND THAT IT WAS NOW DEMANDING SYRIAN AND
IRANIAN GUARANTEES BEFORE RELEASING THE HOSTAGES.

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PAGE 02 OF 02 BEIRUT 1391

DTG: 171438Z MAR 86 PSN: 002077

2. THE COMMUNIQUE SAID: "OCS INFORMATION IS TOTALLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION, AND HIZBALLAH IS NOT AND NEVER WAS INVOLVED IN THE FRENCH HOSTAGE AFFAIR OR OTHER HOSTAGE AFFAIRS, WHICH INVOLVE ONLY THE PARTY WHICH CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KIDNAPPINGS. . . . DR. RAAD WAS NOT RECEIVED BY ANY HIZBALLAH OFFICIAL, AND ALL NEWS REPORTS PROPAGATED BY DR. RAAD OR BY THE MEDIA MENTIONING SUCH MEETINGS ARE LIES AND SERVE THE QUESTIONABLE INTERESTS AND PERSONAL AMBITIONS OF DR. RAAD WHO IS PLAYING UPON THE FEELINGS OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE."

3. IN A SEPARATE STATEMENT ISSUED THE SAME DAY, HIZBALLAH "SPIRITUAL GUIDE" SHEIKH FADLALLAH ALSO DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THE FRENCH HOSTAGE AFFAIR, THOUGH HE DID ADMIT TO HAVING RECEIVED DR. RAAD UNOFFICIALLY.

4. FADLALLAH SAID: "I WAS SURPRISED BY THE VISIT OF DR. RAAD, WHO ARRIVED (AT MY HOME) UNEXPECTEDLY AND ALONG WITH SEVERAL FRIENDS, WITHOUT HAVING ARRANGED AN APPOINTMENT AHEAD OF TIME. . . . I THUS DID NOT RECEIVE (HIM) OFFICIALLY. BECAUSE OF THIS, I DID NOT DISCUSS WITH HIM THE MATTERS WHICH INTEREST HIM AND WHICH DO NOT CONCERN ME, ALTHOUGH THE NEWS INVOLVES ME IN THEM. . . . IT IS FOR THIS SAME REASON THAT I DID NOT RECEIVE THE FRENCH EMISSARY (SERGE BOIDEVAIX) EITHER SINCE I DO NOT CONSIDER MYSELF TO BE INVOLVED IN THE HOSTAGE AFFAIR, FROM NEAR OR FROM AFAR. NOR DO I CONSIDER MYSELF TO BE AN INTERMEDIARY IN THIS AFFAIR.

PREVIOUSLY TOOK A PERSONAL INITIATIVE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER IN ORDER TO EASE THE SUFFERING OF THESE PEOPLE, BUT I REACHED A DEADEND." BARTHOLOMEW

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P 171734Z MAR 86
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

5/1/86

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1624

INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY 0936
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 3588

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 11305

TERREP

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, LE, SY, IR
SUBJECT: FRENCH HOSTAGES

1. - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: A NEW CLAIMANT FOR OFFICIAL FRENCH
INTERMEDIARY STATUS (A SYRIAN, OMRANE ADHAM) HAS
SURFACED. RA'AD HAS CALLED ON FRENCH AUTHORITIES TO
DEFEND HIM AGAINST ADHAM'S CHARGES THAT RA'AD IS IN
EFFECT AN IMPOSTER. QUAJ WILL NOT COMMENT ON EITHER'S
ALLEGED ROLE. END SUMMARY.

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3. WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND A SERIES OF JIHAD-ANNOUNCED "DEADLINES" BEHIND THEM, THE FRENCH ARE TAKING A MORE JAUNDICED VIEW OF WHAT A CROSS-SECTION OF THE LOCAL PRESS IS TERMING A DEBACLE WORTHY OF BROAD FARCE IF LIVES WERE NOT AT STAKE. LATEST TWIST IS THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON MARCH 15 BY ONE OMRANE ADHAM IN DAMASCUS THAT HE, AND NOT DR. RA'AD, IS FRANCOIS MITTERRAND'S PERSONAL ENVOY TO PRESIDENT ASSAD. WITHOUT MENTIONING RA'AD BY NAME, OMRANE TOLD FRENCH NEWS IN DAMASCUS THAT IF ALL THE EFFORTS OF SYRIA TO OBTAIN THE HOSTAGES' RELEASE HAD THUS FAR FAILED, IT WAS DUE TO "THE INTERFERENCE OF CERTAIN FRENCH CITIZENS WHO HAVE PROMISED THE CAPTORS THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES WILL ACCEPT ALL THEIR DEMANDS." ON MARCH 16, RA'AD RESPONDED TO THESE CHARGES BY REITERATING THAT HE REMAINS THE OFFICIAL GOF INTERMEDIARY, AND THAT ADHAM'S CLAIM WAS MERELY AN ELECTORAL PLOY BY FRANCOIS MITTERRAND.

4. HAVING RETURNED TO PARIS, ADHAM REITERATED HIS CHARGES ON MARCH 17, ADDING THAT "ONLY SYRIA CAN GUARANTEE" AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON THE HOSTAGE RELEASE. DEFENDING HIS PERSONAL ROLE IN THE AFFAIR, HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT MITTERRAND HAD ASKED HIM ON FRIDAY MORNING (MARCH 14) TO ACCOMPANY MITTERRAND ADVISER PIERRE MUTIN TO DAMASCUS. ADHAM CLAIMED THAT HE DELIVERED BOTH AN ORAL AND A WRITTEN MESSAGE TO ASAD FROM MITTERRAND ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON. THE ELYSEE WOULD NEITHER CONFIRM NOR DENY ADHAM'S CLAIMS. (PRESS REPORTS CIRCULATING MONDAY SAID THAT ADHAM HAD PREVIOUSLY SURFACED IN FEBRUARY 1984 IN CONNECTION WITH THE FRENCH WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON. ALLEGEDLY A FORMER OPPONENT OF ASAD, HE REPORTEDLY RALLIED TO THE PRESIDENT'S CAUSE FOLLOWING THE 1982 INVASION OF

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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LEBANON. A RESIDENT OF PARIS, HE IS MARRIED TO A FRENCHWOMAN.)

5. FOR HIS PART, RA'AD (WHO LOST HIS ELECTORAL BID) HAS THREATENED TO BRING DEFAMATION CHARGES AGAINST ADHAM, AND HAS DECLARED HIMSELF READY TO ABANDON HIS INTERMEDIARY ROLE UNLESS THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES PUBLICLY CLEAR HIM OF THE ACCUSATIONS CASTING DOUBT ON HIS ROLE AS OFFICIAL GO-BETWEEN. HE ALSO CRITICIZED THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES FOR REPORTEDLY ARRANGING WITHOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE A "PARALLEL OPERATION" INVOLVING THE DISPATCH OF A FRENCH MILITARY AIRCRAFT TO DAMASCUS TO TRANSPORT THE HOSTAGES SHOULD THEY HAVE BEEN RELEASED. "THE PURPOSE OF THIS OPERATION WAS TO GATHER THE FRUIT OF MY WORK ... IT WAS A NEW GAFFE, FOR THE PEOPLE THERE NO LONGER TAKE US SERIOUSLY." (RA'AD RETURNED TO PARIS ON MARCH 15 IN THE PRIVATE PLANE OF LEBANESE FORCES BUSINESSMAN MICHEL MURR, ACCOMPANIED BY MICHEL SAMAHA.)

6. ON MARCH 17, FM DUMAS ANNOUNCED THAT OFFICIAL INITIATIVES WILL CONTINUE TOWARD THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. "WE MUST NOW WAIT SEVERAL HOURS OR SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE ALL CAN BE STARTED AGAIN." DUMAS MET MONDAY MORNING WITH QUAI EMISSARIES BOIDEVAIX, SERVANT, AND ROULEAU.

7. WE CONTINUE TO BE UNABLE TO GET TO QUAI OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN HOSTAGE AFFAIR.

8. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. RODGERS
BT

CONFIDENTIAL

To: Ollie North

From: Bob Oakley



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

SECRET /NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON/NODIS

TO: The Secretary

FROM: S/CT - Robert B. Oakley
NEA - Arnold L. Raphel, Acting
INR - Francis J. McNeil, Acting

Subject: French Hostage Update

The French, with their penchant for making deals, combined with the self-imposed March 16 election deadline, have made matters worse for themselves in trying to obtain the release of their hostages in Lebanon. The number of French hostages has doubled with one probably dead; the hostages are no nearer to freedom; and the terms for their release have increased to a point that the GOF is not likely to meet -- Iran is again demanding that France realign its entire policy toward Iran as well as release the five convicted terrorists.

As in earlier attempts, the most recent French attempt failed because:

a. There were too many negotiators who did not speak with a single voice and hence undercut each other:

-- The French sent diplomatic envoys to Damascus, Beirut and Tehran. The envoy to Tehran was not allowed entry and the other two accomplished nothing.

-- Dr. Reza Raad, a Gaullist, self appointed hostage negotiator went to Damascus and Beirut, apparently with the blessing of Foreign Minister Dumas. His role is ambiguous, but he also accomplished nothing.

-- Probably the most important envoys were Umran Adham, a Syrian businessman who appears to have been Mitterrand's secret negotiator, and Presidential Advisor Pierre Mutin. They traveled to Damascus, ostensibly to talk to Assad, but apparently in fact to negotiate with the Iranians (the Syrians seem to have been cut out).

b. There were too many interlocutors on the other side, each with incompatible special interests. In the end, everyone dissatisfied;

c. The French disposition to resolve the issue before elections drove up the price for releasing them;

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BY CU DATE 4/9/10

d. Lack of coordination in the French government led to confusion over what terms Mitterand would accept:

-- Apparently neither Prime Minister Fabius, Foreign Minister Dumas nor Defense Minister Quiles were kept informed of Mitterand's secret negotiations through Adham and Mutin.

e. The leaking of these under-the-table activities on the eve of elections (probably by individuals in the French security services and Quai officials opposed to making concessions) further undermined the French position, forcing it to retreat from promises made or implied.

It appears that Iran is by far the most important negotiating party for the French hostages, much more so than in the case of the Americans, where family ties to the Da'wa prisoners in Kuwait makes Hizballah more impervious to Iran's pressure.

Whatever the Socialist government was prepared to give in order to free the hostages, it was clear they would not and could not meet Iran's demands; the new government will probably be even less willing to do so. The failure of the current French hostage policy may provide an opportunity for us to seek closer cooperation with France on terrorism. We have been seeking to encourage closer cooperation for over a year, particularly on the Lebanon hostage issue, with only a modicum of success and considerable deception on the French side. Nevertheless, with the French hostage policy in shambles and with a new government soon to be in place, we soon will need to consider again raising with the French the need for working more closely together, possibly in an international campaign to put pressure on Iran to set all the hostages free.

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INR/TNA:JSutton
EUR/WE:RWhiteside

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53160	REPORT RE FRENCH HOSTAGES	2	ND	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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NUMBER

1885

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3/25/86

CLASSIFICATION

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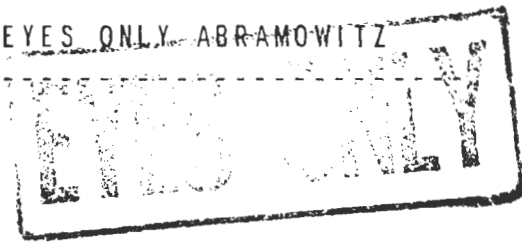
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, SY, LE, IR, FR
SUBJ: EFFORTS TO FREE FRENCH HOSTAGES

REF: DAMASCUS 1780

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH BOTH THE AMBASSADOR AND DCM IN THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS, SYRIAN MFA SECRETARY GENERAL FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, SULAYMAN HADDAD, HAS CONFIRMED MAIN OUTLINES OF REFTEL WHILE ADDING SOME NEW (AND SOME CONTRADICTORY) ITEMS. THE MOST NOTABLE ADDITION ACCORDING TO HADDAD, IS THAT THE FRENCH ASKED THE SYRIANS (WHO AGREED) TO USE FORCE IN INTERCEPTING A HIZBALLAH MOVEMENT OF THE FRENCH HOSTAGES. THE OPERATION DID NOT SUCCEED BUT THE SYRIAN WILLINGNESS TO USE FORCE SHOWS, IN HADDAD'S WORDS, HOW "FED UP" THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT IS WITH BOTH HIZBALLAH AND IRAN. "THEY BROKE THEIR PROMISE TO US, EMBARRASSING PRESIDENT ASAD. WE ARE CLOSE TO CONFLICT WITH THEM." HADDAD, IN FACT, SEES THE HIZBALLAH PROBLEM FOR SYRIA AS INVOLVING, IN ADDITION TO HOSTAGES,

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HIZBALLAH OPPOSITION TO THE TRIPARTITE ACCORD AND SYRIA'S ALLY AMAL AND ALSO ATTACKS ON ISRAEL OUTSIDE THE OCCUPIED PART OF SOUTHERN LEBANON. END SUMMARY

3. THE AMBASSADOR RECENTLY HAD TWO CHANCE ENCOUNTERS WITH SULAYMAN HADDAD, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SYRIAN MFA FOR EUROPEAN STATES AND THE CHIEF INTERLOCUTOR OF THE FRENCH ON RECENT HOSTAGE NEGOTIATIONS. ON BOTH OCCASIONS, HADDAD SPOKE OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HIZBALLAH HAD PRESENTED TO SYRIA IN ITS EFFORTS TO FREE THE FRENCH HOSTAGES AND HINTED AT THE POSSIBILITY THAT SYRIA MIGHT MOVE TO TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST THOSE HOLDING THE HOSTAGES.

4. ON 24 MARCH, IN AN INTERVIEW AT THE MFA IN DAMASCUS, HADDAD TOLD THE DCM THAT IRANIANS HAD TWICE FRUSTRATED THE SYRIANS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO WIN THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. BOTH CAUSED THE SYRIANS TO BE EMBARRASSED AND ANGRY.

5. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, SAID HADDAD (IN JANUARY), HE WAITED UNTIL 1:30 ONE MORNING WITH THE THEN FRENCH AMBASSADOR, HENRI SERVANT, FOR THE HOSTAGES TO BE DELIVERED. "EVERYTHING WAS ARRANGED." SYRIA WAS TO TAKE RECEIPT OF THE HOSTAGES AND KEEP THEM UNTIL THE FRENCH RELEASED ONE OF THE BAKHTIARICIDES AND ALSO TOOK "SOME OTHER STEPS." HADDAD WAS NOT WILLING TO DISCUSS ALL THE OTHER STEPS BUT HE SAID THEY INCLUDED ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT THE OTHER BAKHTIARICIDES WOULD BE RELEASED IN THE FORE-

SEEABLE FUTURE -- "MAYBE TWO YEARS" -- THROUGH A REDUCTION OF SENTENCES. HADDAD SAID THAT

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ASAD HAD ALREADY CONFIRMED THESE ARRANGEMENTS IN A DIRECT PERSONAL MESSAGE TO MITTERRAND AND WAS INTENSELY EMBARRASSED BY THE FAILURE OF THE IRANIANS TO DELIVER. ASKED WHAT THE PROBLEM WAS. HADDAD SAID "THE IRANIANS WANTED MORE. THEY CHANGED THEIR MINDS."

6. HADDAD AGREED VIGOROUSLY WITH DCM'S SUGGESTION THAT THE FRENCH WERE WRONG TO NEGOTIATE AT ALL WITH THE IRANIANS. "LET THE HOSTAGES BE KILLED," HE SAID; "IT WOULD BE BETTER THAN PAYING." HADDAD SAID THAT WHILE HE HAD BEEN HIMSELF THE NEGOTIATOR WITH THE FRENCH -- NOT WITH THE HIZBALLAH, THE INTELLIGENCE DEALT WITH THEM -- HE HAD TOLD BOTH HIS SUPERIORS AND FRENCH AMBASSADOR SERVANT THAT OFFERING THE IRANIANS ANYTHING WAS A MISTAKE. "THE AMERICAN APPROACH IS BETTER," HADDAD SAID, REPEATING WITH VEXATION THAT IT WAS UNWISE TO GIVE ANYTHING IN RETURN FOR HOSTAGES.

7. HADDAD THEN WENT ON TO DESCRIBE ANOTHER, MORE RECENT EFFORT BY THE SYRIANS AND THE FRENCH TO EXTRACT THE HOSTAGES FROM HIZBALLAH CONTROL. HE SAID THAT ON THE 12TH OF MARCH -- HADDAD CHECKED HIS DESK CALENDAR -- SERVANT GAVE HADDAD, IN DAMASCUS, A DETAILED REPORT OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE HOSTAGES, THE IDENTITY OF THE CAPTORS AND PLANS TO MOVE THE HOSTAGES

FROM BEIRUT TO THE BIQA'. SERVANT ASKED ON BEHALF OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT THAT SYRIA INTERCEPT THE MOVEMENT AND RESCUE THE HOSTAGES. HADDAD SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT THE SYRIAN GOVERN-

MENT AGREED, EVEN THOUGH IT KNEW THAT ALL THE HOSTAGES MIGHT BE KILLED IN THE PROCESS AND THE "OPERATION" WAS QUICKLY PUT INTO PLACE.

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HADDAD SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE SYRIANS AND THE FRENCH CAME UP EMPTY-HANDED. HE HINTED HIZBALLAH FOUND OUT, SOMEHOW, IN ADVANCE.

8. THE DCM SAID THAT HE WAS GLAD TO HAVE THIS INFORMATION BUT THAT IT CONFIRMED SOME CONCLUSIONS THAT HE HAD ALREADY REACHED WHILE WATCHING THE RECENT FRENCH AND SYRIAN EFFORTS. NOTING THAT HE SPOKE FOR HIMSELF, DCM SAID THAT HE ACCEPTED HADDAD'S ASSURANCES THAT SYRIA OPPOSED HOSTAGE-TAKING, WANTED TO HELP, AND HAD ACTUALLY TRIED TO BE OF SERVICE. FURTHERMORE, HE THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT AND USEFUL ROLE FOR SYRIA TO PLAY BUT, UNFORTUNATELY, SYRIA SEEMED UNWILLING TO OR UNABLE TO PRESS EITHER HIZBALLAH OR IRAN AND THEREFORE HAD FAILED.

9. THIS PROVOKED SOMETHING OF A TIRADE FROM HADDAD WHO SAID WITH CONSIDERABLE PASSION THAT IF SYRIA WANTED TO, IT WOULD "CRUSH" HIZBALLAH COMPLETELY AND NO POWER ON EARTH COULD CONTAIN IT BUT SYRIA HAD BEEN --HADDAD SHOOK HIS HEAD -- VERY RESTRAINED IN DEALING WITH HIZBALLAH. IT WAS A "BIG PROBLEM." THE DCM SAID HE THOUGHT THE BIG PROBLEMS WERE HIZBALLAH OPPOSITION TO THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND ITS CAPABILITY FOR SETTING OFF A NEW CONFLICT IN SOUTH LEBANON WHERE HIZBALLAH WAS ACCUSING SYRIA OF TRYING TO REACH A "PEACE AGREEMENT" WITH THE ISRAELIS. DCM SAID THE SITUATION IN SOUTH LEBANON HAD

PARALLELES WITH THE ONE IN 1981-'82, WHEN THE SYRIANS LET THE PALESTINIANS GET THEIR FINGER ON THE TRIGGER OF A WAR IN WHICH SYRIA HAD TO FIGHT THE HEAVIEST BATTLES -- AND TAKE THE HEAVIEST LOSSES. NOW, SAID THE DCM, SYRIA SEEMS TO BE WILLING TO LET HIZBALLAH GET ITS

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FINGER ON THE TRIGGER IN SOUTH LEBANON. THIS
WAS A GREAT MISTAKE. HADDAD AGREED.

10. HADDAD WENT ON TO SAY THAT WHILE HE COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT SAY MORE ABOUT THE MATTER, HE WANTED THE DCM TO KNOW THAT SYRIA WAS APPROACHING A "REAL CONFLICT" WITH HIZBALLAH. SPEAKING AGAIN QUITE FORCEFULLY, WE ARE "FED UP," DRAWING HIS HAND ACROSS HIS FACE AT THE LEVEL OF HIS EYES.

11. COMMENT: THE CONVERSATION ON HOSTAGES LED TO SOME OTHER EXCHANGES ON SOUTH LEBANON. ON THE HOSTAGES, IT IS NOTEWORTHY HOW PASSIONATELY HADDAD DENOUNCED HIZBALLAH'S DOUBLE DEALING. HOWEVER, WE CAUTION READERS THAT HADDAD HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF EXAGGERATING HIS ROLE, CONTACTS, AND KNOWLEDGE ON THIS AND OTHER SUBJECTS, AND MAY BE DOING SO HERE AGAIN; BUT WE KNOW FROM FRENCH SOURCES HERE IN DAMASCUS THAT MUCH OF WHAT HADDAD IS SAYING IS TRUE. THE REPORT THAT FRANCE ASKED AND SYRIA AGREED TO TRY TO RESCUE THE HOSTAGES BY FORCE CONTRADICTS WHAT WE WERE TOLD EARLIER IN REFTEL. THIS POINT NEEDS CORROBORATION. STILL, WE SEE THE ACCOUNT THAT HADDAD GAVE US AS A USEFUL ADDITION TO WHAT WE PREVIOUSLY KNEW.

congenital liar & puffed up of himself

true

also true

12. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS BEIRUT AND PARIS.
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53162	CABLE	3	3/21/1986	B1
	210116Z MAR 86			B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, LE, FR
SUBJECT: HOSTAGES: MEETING WITH DR. RA'AD

REF: A) GLASPIE-WINN TELECON 3/22, B) STATE 89159

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DR. RA'AD IS CERTAIN THAT AT LEAST TWO U. S. HOSTAGES ARE BEING HELD IN PRIVATE HOMES IN BIQA' VILLAGE OF BRITAL (BELOW, PARA 8). HE SAID THAT HE WAS SENT ON HIS MISSION WITH SPECIFIC NEGOTIATING POINTS BY THE GOF BUT WAS SABOTAGED BY THE SOCIALISTS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. HOSTAGE CAPTORS ARE DEMANDING THE RELEASE OF KUWAIT DAWA PRISONERS FOR U. S. HOSTAGES, AND BELIEVE U. S. HAS INFLUENCE WITH KUWAITIS. CAPTORS DO NOT, HOWEVER, EXPECT U. S. TO PRESS KUWAITIS, AND IN GENERAL APPEAR TO HAVE LOST MUCH OF THEIR ANTI-AMERICAN ZEAL, PARTICULARLY WITH THE CURRENT FOCUS BEING ON THE FRENCH. RA'AD CAUTIONS AGAINST NEGOTIATING, WITH THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS BEING EITHER A COMMANDO RAID OR, MORE PRODUCTIVELY, "HUMANITARIAN" AID (OR SIMPLE CASH) TO "BUY OFF" THE CAPTORS. HE OBSERVED THE BEGINNINGS OF A RIFT BETWEEN FANATIC MULLAHS AND THE MORE MODERATE "COMMON PEOPLE"

→ ? This is a suspect report

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WHO MAY BE TIRING OF HOSTAGE AFFAIR. HE CLAIMS TO HAVE CEASED HIS INVOLVEMENT IN HOSTAGE CRISIS. WE TAKE MANY OF HIS REMARKS TO BE SELF-SERVING, BUT RESERVE JUDGMENT AS TO HIS FUTURE UTILITY, SINCE HE IS A MEMBER OF CHIRAC'S RPR AND COULD BE ASKED TO SERVE IN A FUTURE HOSTAGE-RELATED TASK. END SUMMARY.

3. DR. RAZAH RA'AD AND WIFE LUNCED EN FAMILLE AT HOME OF EMBOFF MARCH 22, APPARENTLY HAVING MADE THE 240 MILE ROUND-TRIP DRIVE TO PARIS SOLELY FOR THE MEETING. ALTHOUGH REFTEL B WAS NOT BROUGHT TO EMBOFF'S ATTENTION UNTIL MARCH 24, REF TELECON WAS USEFUL. |||

FRENCH NEGOTIATIONS AND POLITICAL MANIPULATION

4. RA'AD IMMEDIATELY LAUNCHED INTO A DENUNCIATION OF GOF, PARTICULARLY THE SOCIALISTS, FOR HAVING "USED" HIM--IN THE END, UNDERMINING HIS CREDIBILITY AND BRINGING THREATS UPON HIS FAMILY. HE HAS WITHDRAWN FROM THE WHOLE AFFAIR. (COMMENT: UNLIKELY, ALTHOUGH HE PROBABLY WILL NOT RETURN TO LEBANON SOON. RA'AD IS TOO MUCH OF A PUBLICITY SEEKER. WE NOTE THAT ON MARCH 23 HE RECEIVED THE KAUFFMAN FAMILY AT HIS HOME.) BEFORE GOING TO BEIRUT, HE HAD BEEN ASKED BY GOF TO PRESENT SPECIFIC TERMS TO THE CAPTORS. DUMAS PERSONALLY OUTLINED THESE TO RA'AD AS 1) RELEASE OF BAKHTIARCIDE LEADER ANIS NACACHE IMMEDIATELY (I.E., BEFORE THE ELECTIONS) ON MEDICAL GROUNDS (WHICH RA'AD TERMED PHONY), FOLLOWED BY 2) RELEASE OF THE OTHER BAKHTIARCIDES OVER A TWO-YEAR PERIOD, WITH ALL TO BE GUARANTEED BY THE SYRIANS. RA'AD SAID THAT DUMAS HAD

CAUTIONED HIM NOT TO REVEAL THESE TERMS IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH OQAI DEPUTY SYG BOIDEVAIX BEFORE

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TRAVELLING TO DAMASCUS-- APPARENTLY, SAID RA'AD, BECAUSE OF POLITICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST DUMAS AND THE CHIRAC SUPPORTER BOIDEVAIX.

5. RA'AD SAID THAT SUCH ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS LAY BEHIND THE CONFUSION OF HIS MISSION. THUS, PUBLIC ACCUSATIONS BY SYRIAN 'UMRAN ADHAM THAT RA'AD WAS NOT ACTING AT THE BEHEST OF THE GOF IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH CAPTORS WERE ORCHESTRATED BY THE SOCIALISTS-- AT THE SAME TIME, SAID RA'AD, AS FRENCH OFFICIALS FROM PARIS AND FRENCH EMBASSY DAMASCUS WERE IN AND OUT OF RA'AD'S HOTEL ROOM GOING OVER EACH DETAIL OF HIS NEGOTIATING BRIEF. IN THIS CONTEXT, RA'AD EXPRESSED DISMAY THAT FORMER FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN DAMASCUS HENRI SERVANT, NOW A ROVING AMBASSADOR AT THE QUAI FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, WILL HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE HOSTAGE DOSSIER, SINCE, SAID RA'AD, SERVANT IS HOPELESSLY ENAMoured OF THE FALSE THEORY THAT CONTINUED

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CAPTORS, THROUGH THE SYRIANS AND IRANIANS, WILL LEAD TO A RELEASE. (COMMENT: RA'AD IS HIMSELF A CHIRAC/RPR SUPPORTER, AND HIS CLAIMS OF POLITICAL MANIPULATION, WHILE PLAUSIBLE, ARE PROBABLY EXAGGERATED.)

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS

6. IN THE EVENT, SAID RA'AD, THE CAPTORS ACCEPTED THE FRENCH TERMS IN PRINCIPLE, BUT INSISTED THAT A SYRIAN GUARANTEE BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN IRANIAN ONE. RA'AD ADDED THAT HE HAD NO IDEA HOW FAR GOF EMISSARY ERIC ROULEAU HAD GOTTEN ALONG THESE LINES IN TEHRAN, BUT HE ASSUMED THAT ROULEAU HAD FAILED. IN ANY CASE, WHOLE NOTION OF NEGOTIATING IS DOOMED TO FAILURE, SINCE

CAPTORS ARE INTERESTED ONLY IN UPPING THE ANTE EACH TIME. IN THIS REGARD, SAID RA'AD THE U.S. APPROACH OF

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NOT NEGOTIATING IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ONE. OTHER SOLUTIONS TO THE HOSTAGE AFFAIR CAN ONLY LIE WITH A MILITARY COMMANDO-TYPE OPERATION, OR BUYING OFF THE CAPTORS WITH "HUMANITARIAN" AID OR HARD CASH. ASKED DIRECTLY, RA'AD SAID THAT CONTRARY TO FRENCH BELIEF, THE SYRIANS CANNOT DICTATE TO THE CAPTORS, "BUT THE IRANIANS CAN."

7. ASKED, IF HE BELIEVED THIS, WHY HE HAD AGREED TO ACT AS A GO-BETWEEN (PARTICULARLY SINCE IN HIS JANUARY CONVERSATION HE HAD EXPRESSED UNWILLINGNESS TO APPEAR AS AN OFFICIAL INTERMEDIARY), RA'AD REPLIED ONLY THAT HE HAD DONE SO RELUCTANTLY AS A PATRIOTIC DUTY. HIS MISGIVINGS HAD BEEN BORNE OUT. HE HOPED THAT THE CHIRAC PEOPLE WILL BE FIRMER.

AMERICANS: LOCATIONS AND CAPTORS' ATTITUDES

8. RA'AD SAID AT LEAST TWO AMERICANS ARE IN VILLAGE OF BRITAL. HE HAD GONE THERE ON HIS LATEST VISIT, AND HAD BEEN TOLD BY "THE SCHOOL MISTRESS" THAT HER STUDENTS HAD OFTEN TOLD HER THAT TWO FOREIGNERS, WHICH SHE TOOK TO BE AMERICANS FOR REASONS UNCLEAR, WERE BEING HELD IN VARIOUS PRIVATE HOMES. RA'AD SAID THAT THE CITIZENS OF BRITAL HAD SENT A PETITION TO FADLALLAH EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR HIS MISSION AND URGING RELEASE OF HOSTAGES. RA'AD ALSO CORRECTED HIS EARLIER ACCOUNT OF A SHAYKH WHOSE SON WAS IN PRISON IN NEW YORK ON DRUG CHARGES BY POINTING OUT THAT THE PRISONER IS THE SON OF A PROMINENT MERCHANT NAMED

*Collett?
Kilburn?
others?*

TAMER (ACCENT ON SECOND SYLLABLE). ASKED WHY HE DID NOT PURSUE ISSUE WITH TAMER IN LIGHT OF US INTEREST, RA'AD SAID THAT "TOO MANY PEOPLE" WERE CONSTANTLY AROUND HIM (RA'AD) TO TALK PRIVATELY. HE WAS LUCKY, HE SAID, TO GET THE TIP FROM THE SCHOOL MISTRESS.

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RA'AD SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE OTHER TWO U.S. HOSTAGES WERE BEING TRANSFERRED BETWEEN THE BEIRUT SUBURBS AND THE BIDA' -- POSSIBLY NABSHIT, MUSAWI'S HOME VILLAGE. IN ANY CASE, HE SAID, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PEOPLE OF BRITAL HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF THE AFFAIR, "AND CAN BE BOUGHT."

9. RA'AD OBSERVED THAT THE CAPTORS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE U.S. HAD BECOME LESS VIRULENT: EXCORIATIONS AGAINST THE AMERICANS AND ISRAELIS HAD NOW BECOME RITUAL INCANTATIONS WITH LITTLE EMOTION. COMMON PEOPLE IN THE BEIRUT SUBURBS, FOR EXAMPLE, CLAPPED HIM ON THE BACK AND WISHED HIM SUCCESS ON HIS MISSION OF GAINING HOSTAGES' RELEASE. (NOTE: WE TAKE THIS ASSERTION WITH A GRAIN A SALT.) THE CAPTORS THEMSELVES HAVE REALIZED THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT DEAL, AND HAVE NOT ADDED TO THEIR DEMAND FOR RELEASE OF KUWAIT PRISONERS--ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE VIRTUALLY NO HOPE THAT THIS DEMAND WILL BE MET. CAPTORS BELIEVE THAT U.S. HAS INFLUENCE WITH KUWAITIS, BUT WILL NOT USE IT. BASICALLY, HOWEVER, CAPTORS' INTEREST REVOLVED AROUND THE FRENCH HOSTAGES, "SINCE THEY SMELL BLOOD WITH THE FRENCH."

10. RA'AD PHILOSOPHIZED THAT THE FRENCH DO NOT UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE DEALING WITH "ANIMALS" WHO HAVE NO REAL INTEREST IN THEIR DEMANDS BEING MET. THE GOAL IS TO HUMILIATE. THEY WERE STILL LAUGHING ABOUT HAVING GOTTEN MONEY FROM TERRY WAITE. BUT THEY "ARE GETTING TIRED"--PERHAPS UNDER SYRIAN PRESSURE. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF LACK OF MONEY. EVEN THE MULLAHS ARE

FEELING THE HEAT: ONE HEARS CONDEMNATIONS OF HOSTAGE-TAKING IN THE FRIDAY PRAYERS. UNLIKE BEFORE, RA'AD'S INTERLOCUTORS DENIED THAT THEY WERE ACTUALLY HOLDING THE HOSTAGES, BUT RATHER, CLAIMED TO BE IN CONTACT WITH THOSE WHO WERE (SUGGESTING, SAID RA'AD,

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SOME EMBARRASSMENT ABOUT BEING LABELED A CAPTOR).

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NAMES AND PLACES

11. RA'AD SAID HE DEALT DIRECTLY WITH HUSSEIN AL-AMINE AND ZUHAIR AL-KANJ IN BIR AL-'ABID, WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS RELIGIOUS LEADERS, AND WITH HASSAN (?) NASRALLAH, A MUCH MORE POWERFUL MILITARY HIZBALLAH CHIEF. THESE, AND OTHERS, WERE "THE SAME ONES" HE DEALT WITH ON PREVIOUS VISITS. RA'AD NOTED THAT THE SECURITY TYPES LIKE NASRALLAH SEEMED TO BE ABLE TO INTIMIDATE THE RELIGIOUS FIGURES. HE ALSO VISITED FADLALLAH, WHO AS USUAL RITUALLY DENIED INVOLVEMENT IN HOSTAGE AFFAIR. (RA'AD, HOWEVER, IS CERTAIN THAT FADLALLAH IS FULLY INVOLVED IN HOLDING THE HOSTAGES.)

12. IN BA'LABAKK, RA'AD SPOKE WITH HUSSAYN MUSAWI AND SUBHI TUFAYLI. MUSAWI "AN OBVIOUS MENTAL CASE," IS A TRUE FANATIC--BY HIS OWN ACCOUNT, INDIFFERENT TO THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO DIE IN SUICIDE ATTACKS. "SINCE I HAVE LARGE FAMILY, AND WHAT ARE FOUR OR FIVE DEAD?" MUSAWI SHOWED RA'AD A BAG FULL OF PETITIONS ALLEGEDLY MAILED TO HIM FROM AMERICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN SEEKING HIS HELP IN THE HOSTAGE AFFAIR. HE DESCRIBED TUFAYLI, EYES HIDDEN BEHIND OPAQUE GLASSES, AS THE MOST FRIGHTENING CHARACTER HE HAS ENCOUNTERED IN LEBANON. (RA'AD CITED THESE TYPES AS EVIDENCE OF A GROWING RIFT

BETWEEN AN INCREASINGLY DERANGED EXTREMIST LEADERSHIP, AND A BROADER SHIA POPULATION WHICH IS COMPARATIVELY MODERATE AND QUIETLY SEEKING A SOLUTION.)

13. QUESTIONED REPEATEDLY, RA'AD COULD PROVIDE NO FURTHER DETAILS. HE NOTED THAT HE WAS IN LEBANON ONLY A SHORT TIME ON HIS LATEST VISIT.

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"INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION" FOR THE HOSTAGES

14. RA'AD SPENT MUCH TIME URGING THE CREATION OF SOME SORT OF NEUTRAL ORGANIZATION WHICH COULD INTERVENE IN A HUMANITARIAN MANNER ON BEHALF OF THE HOSTAGES. ONLY IN THIS WAY, HE SAID, CAN "THE PEOPLE" BE SEPARATED FROM THE FANATICS.

OTHER POINTS

15. -- RA'AD IS CONVINCED THAT THE SYRIANS PICKED UP THE ANTENNE 2 TV CREW, IN ORDER LATER TO RELEASE THEM AND THEREBY DEMONSTRATE THEIR INFLUENCE IN LEBANON. HIS INTERLOCUTORS IN BEIRUT ALSO HELD TO THIS THEORY. HE SAID THAT HIZBALLAH WOULD NOT HAVE CAPTURED THE TEAM NEAR THE CITE SPORTIF, AND THAT ONLY A SYRIAN-SPONSORED GROUP COULD HAVE DONE SO.

-- HE BELIEVES THAT THE FRENCH HOSTAGES ARE IN THE BIQA'. SINCE WHEN IN BEIRUT HE WOULD REQUEST A LETTER OR PHOTO, HE COULD HEAR HIS INTERLOCUTORS ARGUING AMONG THEMSELVES THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE A THREE-HOUR DRIVE. ALEX COLLETTE IS IN THE SOUTH, HELD BY PALESTINIANS.

-- MRS. SEURAT'S FIRST HUSBAND WAS PALESTINIAN.

THIS, COMBINED WITH SEURAT'S KNOWLEDGE OF THINGS ARAB, MADE HIM SUSPECT, AND LED TO HIS KILLING. MRS. SEURAT KNOWS "A SISTER OR COUSIN" OF IMAD MUGHNIYAH PERSONALLY, AS SHE POINTED OUT IN A LETTER (WHICH RA'AD SOMEHOW SAW) WHICH SHE MANAGED TO PASS TO HER HUSBAND.

-- RA'AD ESTIMATES THE HIZBALLAH SECURITY FORCE

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AT AROUND 700 PERSONS.

--RA'AD LOOKED BLANK WHEN ASKED ABOUT NAMES OF GUARDS WHO WANTED TO STUDY IN EUROPE, AND EVEN DENIED THAT HE HAD MENTIONED THEM IN TV INTERVIEWS.

16. COMMENT: RA'AD WAS IRRITATINGLY MORE CONCERNED ABOUT HIS OWN POOR SHOWING IN THE WHOLE HOSTAGE AFFAIR THAN WITH PROVIDING USEFUL INFORMATION ON THE U. S. HOSTAGES. WE BELIEVE THAT HE IS WELL-MEANING IN A VAGUE SENSE, BUT OBVIOUSLY HAS HIS EYE ON THE MAIN CHANCE. AS OF NOW, HE IS BURNED OUT, AND APPEARS SINCERE IN HIS DESIRE NOT TO RETURN TO LEBANON. GIVEN HIS CHIRAC/RPR TIES, HOWEVER, HE COULD BE CALLED UPON BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE FUTURE. WE WILL THEREFORE REMAIN IN TOUCH.

17. DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT AS DESIRED.
RODGERS

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